RICHARD P.H. GREENFIELD

TRADITIONS OF BELIEF IN LATE BYZANTINE DEMONOLOGY

ADOLF M. HAKKERT - PUBLISHER - AMSTERDAM
1988

RICHARD P.H. GREENFIELD

TRADITIONS OF BELIEF IN LATE BYZANTINE DEMONOLOGY

ADOLF M. HAKKERT - PUBLISHER - AMSTERDAM
1988

CONTENTS

PREFACE ix

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. Abbreviations of Journals and Periodicals xvii
2. Manuscript Sources xix
3. Collections of Sources xx
4. Individual Sources xxii
   4.1 Sources of the Inherited Standard Orthodox Tradition xxii
   4.2 Sources of the Late Byzantine Period xxxiv
   4.3 Other Individual Sources lxvi
5. Selected Secondary Works lxix

PART I: THE BELIEFS OF THE STANDARD ORTHODOX TRADITION

1. Introduction to Part I 3
2. The Origin and Nature of the Demons 7
   2.1 The Angelic Origin and the Fall of the Devil and the Demons 7
   2.2 Angelic and Fallen Aspects of the Demonic Nature 13
3. Activity and Operation in History 34
   3.1 The Fall of Man and its Consequences 35
   3.2 Christ's Victory and the Growth of Christianity 56
4. Activity and Operation against Men 77
   4.1 Methods of Operation a) Physical Assault, Metamorphosis, and the Use of Dreams and False Visions 77
   4.2 Methods of Operation b) Possession 89
   4.3 Methods of Operation c) The Passions 95
   4.4 Methods of Operation d) More General Methods 118
   4.5 Metaphors of Operation 129
5. Resistance to the Demons 135
   5.1 God's Control of the Demonic Powers 135
   5.2 Means of Resisting and Defeating Demonic Aggression 139

PART II: ALTERNATIVE TRADITIONS 153

1. Introduction to Part II 165
2. General Characteristics 179
3. Simple Ideas about Demons 179
   3.1 Simple and Physical Conceptions 182
   3.2 Female Demons 190
   3.3 Στοιχεῖα

4. More Complex Ideas
4.1 The Concept of *Eidola* 196
4.2 Composition of the Demons 196
4.3 Elemental Divisions of the Demons 199
4.4 The Ability of Demons to Feel Pain and to Feed 202
4.5 Ideas Concerning Demonic Possession 211
5. Categorisations and Individual Powers 215
5.1 Astrological Categorisations 219
5.2 Geographical Categorisations 220
5.3 Individual Powers 225
5.4 The Abilities and Uses of Individuals 233
6. Controlling the Demons 236
6.1 General Features of Late Byzantine Sorcery 249
6.2 Inducement 249
6.3 Coercion 252
6.4 Protection 260
6.5 Altered Perception and Techniques of Demonic Divination 286
7. Innocence Beset by Corruption: The Symbolic Power of the Sorcerer over the Demons 291

CONCLUSIONS 298

The Overall Tradition of Late Byzantine Demonology 307

TABLES 328

Table I: The Eight Deadly Sins or Passions and Scholarios' Seven Roots or Heads of Sins and Their Fruits 328
Table II: Lists of Passions or Sins Dependent on New Testament Passages 330
Table III: Gregory of Sinai's Division of the Passions in Relation to the Body and the Three Parts of the Soul 332
Table IV: Early Lists of the Names of the Demon Gylou 335
Table V: Lists of the *Decans* 336
Table VI: Short Lists of Angels and Demons of Each Planet or Day 338
Table VII: Long Lists of Angels and Demons of Each Hour 340
Table VIII: Lists of the Spirits of the Four Quarters 347
Table IX: Demons Listed in Recension C of the *Testament of Solomon* 351

Index of Biblical Passages 353

Index of Proper Names 357

General Index 362

Preface

It is now a little over fifty years since Delatte and Josserand published their article, "Contribution à l'étude de la démonologie byzantine", based largely on the rich source material edited by Delatte seven years previously in the first volume of his *Anecdota Atheniensia*. In the half century which has elapsed since the publication of their "contribution", however, any hopes that may have been implied by such a title for a definitive study of the subject as a whole have not been realised, although two recent conference papers, by Ducellier (Aix-en-Provence: 1978) and Mango (Manchester: 1986), may at least indicate that this area continues to be of interest. Byzantine demonology thus remains today, as it was in the thirties, a subject of contributions, having been the focus of attention in a small number of studies in the intervening period and having occasionally been treated on a more general level in passing by scholars concerned either with other aspects of Byzantine thought, particularly theology, or with parallel ideas in Antique, early Christian, Western, or modern Greek belief.

In the early part of this century important contributions were made, particularly in relation to the alternative traditions of Byzantine demonology, by Perdrizet in his articles "*Σφραγὶς Σολομῶνος*" (1903) and "Negotium perambulans in tenebris" (1922), by Pradel in his collection of texts and commentary *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* (1907), and by Armand Delatte, whose publication of a large range of pseudo-Solomonic and related literature in his *Anecdota Atheniensia* I (1927) first made serious comparative study of Byzantine and early modern Greek "folk" or alternative traditions of belief in this area a possibility. Also vital to the study of the pseudo-Solomonic literature and the demonology it contains was the publication by McCown of a critical edition of the *Testament of Solomon* in 1922. Delatte's later publication of additional material from Leningrad and Athens in 1949 and 1959, and his commentary upon this provided further assistance, while another significant contribution to the study of Byzantine demonology was made

by Louis Delatte in 1957 with the textual material and commentary contained in his *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme*. A number of shorter and more specialised studies are relevant to particular elements of the alternative traditions, such as Barb's "Antaura, the Mermaid, and the Devil's Grandmother" (1966), Blum's "The Meaning of *στοιχεῖον* and its Derivatives in the Byzantine Age" (1946), Müller's "Von Teufel, Mittagsdämon und Amuletten" (1974), or Oikonomides' "*Ἡ Γελλῶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ Ρουμανικὴν λαογραφίαν*" (1976).

Studies of the writings on demons attributed to Michael Psellos, particularly the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων*, have also made direct and important contributions to our knowledge and understanding of Byzantine demonology. Here, earlier work has been superseded to some extent by Gautier's publication of a critical edition in 1980, together with his denial of Psellos' authorship and his suggestion of a later date for the work. Still indispensable, however, is Joannou's study of Psellos' *Life of Saint Auxentios* and belief in demons in the eleventh century (1971); (compare his paper read to the 6th International Byzantine Conference in 1950). Valuable information is also contained in a number of works dealing with more general aspects of Byzantine popular religion and "superstition" such as Oeconomos' *La vie religieuse dans l'empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges* (1918), Koukoules' *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, Α΄.ΙΙ: "*Προλήψεις, δεισιδαιμονίαι καὶ μαγικαὶ καὶ δεισιδαίμονες συνήθειαι τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*" (1948), his "*Μεσαιωνικοὶ καὶ Νεοελληνικοὶ Κατάδεσμοι*" (1921–1928), and the rather more recent dissertation "Superstition et magie dans la mentalité religieuse byzantine sous les Paléologues" by Chantal Bruel (Toulouse: 1970). In the field of visual representation of the Devil and the demons in the Byzantine period, Provatake's lengthy, detailed and well illustrated study *Ὁ Διάβολος εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Τέχνην* (1980) now provides a wealth of information, most of which is, of course, of direct relevance to the subject as a whole.

Other works which are concerned with European demonology in general and with its antecedents in traditions prior to the Byzantine period, are nevertheless important for our understanding of Byzantine demonology. Hopfner's monumental

Greiechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber (1921) is primarily of importance for the information it contains on the Antique pagan background to the subject, but it also considers reflections of this in a number of Byzantine works. From the extensive literature on early Christian demonology and its background in the Near East, Langton's general studies, *Satan, A Portrait* (1945) and *Essentials of Demonology* (1949), may be mentioned as well as more recent works such as those by Böcher, *Dämonenfurcht und Dämonenabwehr; ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (1970), *Christus Exorcista: Dämonismus und Taufe im Neuen Testament* (1972); by Russell, *The Devil, Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (1977), *Satan, the Early Christian Tradition* (1981); and by Kelly, *Towards the Death of Satan; the Growth and Decline of Christian Demonology* (1968), *The Devil at Baptism; Ritual, Theology and Drama* (1985). The latest work in Russell's series of studies, *Lucifer, the Devil in the Middle Ages* (1984), contains a chapter on "The Devil in Byzantium", while Cohn's *Europe's Inner Demons* (1975) also provides a valuable insight into the origins and development of contemporary beliefs in Western Europe. As for the survival of these beliefs into modern Greek traditions, Lawson's classic *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (1910) still provides interesting and valuable information although it is now to be supplemented by quite a number of more recent collections and studies of ethnographical material.

All the works that have been mentioned here, whether directly or indirectly concerned with Byzantine demonology, suffer to a greater or lesser extent from one common drawback. This is their lack of an understanding of how all the separate elements of Byzantine belief in demons or practices involving them fit together and relate to one another in larger patterns; in other words their lack of an overall view of the subject. What has been, and still is needed is a systematic and comprehensive study of the history and content of Byzantine beliefs about demons and other supernatural evil beings in which particular ideas or more general strands and areas of belief might be easily identified, compared and connected. Ideally such a study would also enable these beliefs to be placed in relation to their antecedents in early Christianity and in Classical, Hellenistic,

Jewish and other branches of Near Eastern thought, as well as to contemporary and parallel beliefs in Western Europe and to their survivals and developments in the folklore and superstition of Modern Greece and other lands influenced by Orthodox Christianity or Byzantine culture.

There are probably many reasons why this definitive work has never been written, not least being the enormous and extremely diverse areas it would have to cover. To do the job properly might well require a lifetime of study and it has to be admitted that, fascinating though it is as a subject, Byzantine demonology is not ultimately among the most important, the most necessary to human knowledge or existence. Having said this, however, it should be stressed that, for those interested in Byzantium it *is* important; unless proper consideration is given to the beliefs of Byzantine people in demons it will never be possible to gain a *real* understanding of their thought, of their world-view, and so of their history. If Byzantinists ever aspire to having a true idea of the subjects of their study, of the world in which they lived and the way in which they saw that world, as well as what they did, what they wrote and what physical remains they left behind them, they cannot ignore their belief in demons; to do so would be the same as trying to disregard their belief in God or the saints, for such beliefs pervaded Byzantine thought and were shared in one form or another by the whole of society from the very top to the very bottom, from the beginning of the empire to its end and beyond.

This present study, which represents a somewhat revised and updated version of my doctoral thesis, makes no pretence of supplying the comprehensive guide to Byzantine demonology I have described; the limits of time, space and my own understanding make that impossible. It thus forms yet another "contribution" to the subject, but one, I hope, which may prove somewhat wider in scope and certainly more structured than some of its predecessors, and which may thus prove to be a useful starting point for further work in this area. The material under direct consideration here is thus drawn exclusively from literary sources and is confined to that which was either readily available or actually produced in the late Byzantine period. Although setting boundaries in such a subject is inevitably a

somewhat arbitrary matter, the limits I have imposed here do have a function and a rationale. On the one hand, the imposition of firm chronological restrictions has both reduced the material under consideration to manageable proportions and, more importantly, has made it possible to provide a picture of Byzantine belief about demons which may be accurate for a particular time, not one which is set vaguely against the whole long span of Byzantine history; on the other hand, the choice of the Palaeologan period is dictated by the fact that it is the only era of Byzantine history for which there is enough evidence of alternative traditions to make such a study as this really viable. Despite these limitations, however, I hope to have suggested here a methodological approach suitable to the subject as a whole, and to have indicated in some detail the main areas of categorisation and content discernible within and applicable to these beliefs in every period of Byzantine history.

It remains for me to thank all those without whom it would have been impossible to produce this book. In the first place then my outstanding debt is to Professor Donald Nicol of King's College, London who patiently steered me past many snares and pitfalls while he supervised the writing of my Ph.D. thesis and who has continued to provide me with his valuable advice and encouragement. I would also like to thank Dr. Philip Sherrard for first initiating me into the mysteries of the Byzantine mind and Charles Stewart of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, for generously sharing with me the fruits of his most valuable and as yet largely unpublished research in parallel areas of modern Greek belief. I am grateful to my examiners, Professor Averil Cameron and Dr. Kallistos Ware, who made a number of suggestions which have been helpful in preparing this book for publication; I am also indebted to the Gennadeios Library of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens for permission to use unpublished material from their manuscript *Gennadianus 45* in these pages. I am grateful to the British Department of Education and Science, the Greek Ministry of Education, and the British School at Athens for their financial assistance in the form of grants and scholarships during the initial stages of my research. Thanks of a more general kind are given to all those friends in Oxford and Athens who helped in numerous and not

necessarily scholarly ways but in particular I have to thank my parents for their continuous support and encouragement and my wife Anne Foley; without this book I would probably never have met her but without her this book would almost certainly never have been produced. Despite all this help, however, it remains to be said that the faults, errors, omissions and delusions in this study must, if they cannot be blamed on the Devil and his demons, be my own.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

AND

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Abbreviations of Journals and Periodicals

AFP	*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*
AIPHO	*Annuaire de l'Institute de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales*
AIPHOS	*Annuaire de l'Institute de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*
AnalBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
Ἀρχ.Πόντ.	*Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου*
ARw	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
B	*Byzantion*
BAntFr	*Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BGrottaf	*Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*
BIARC	*Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople*
BNJbb	*Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*
ByzArch	*Byzantinisches Archiv*
ByzF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
Δελτ.Ἑτ.Ἑλλ.	*Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆ Ἑλλάδος*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
Ἐκκ.Ἀλήθ.	*Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*
Ἐκκ.Φάρ.	*Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*
EO	*Echos d'Orient: revue d'histoire, de géographie et de liturgi orientales*
Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυς.Σπ.	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
Ἐπ.Λαογρ.Ἀρχ.	*Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου*
ErJb	*Eranos-Jahrbuch*
Γρηγ.Παλ.	*Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
JbAChr	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JWarb	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
Κεφ.Χρον.	*Κεφαλληνιακὰ Χρονικά*
Κρ.Χρον.	*Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*
Λαογ.	*Λαογραφία*

MélRome	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, publiés par l'Ecole Française de Rome*
MünchBeitr	*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*
Νέος Ἑλλ.	*Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
Ν. Ἑστ.	*Νέα Ἑστία*
OC	*Orientalia Christiana*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
PVGPO	*Programm des Viktoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam Ostern*
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
ROChr	*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*
RSBN	*Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
RSBS	*Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*
RV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*
SBN	*Studi bizantini e neoellenici*
SIFC	*Studi italiani di filologia classica*
SOsl	*Symbolae Osloenses*
TFByzNgPhil	*Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie*
Θεολ.	*Θεολογία*
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
TM	*Travaux et mémoires. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines*
VChr	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VizVrem	*Vizantijskij Vremenik*
WByzSt	*Wiener Byzantinistische Studien*
ZVI	*Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Srpska Akademija Nauka*
ZWTh	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

2. Manuscript Sources

Gennadianus 45	Athens, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadeios Library, (sixteenth century).
Harleianus 5596	London, British Library, (fifteenth century).

3. Collections of Sources

ActaSS	*Acta sanctorum*. ed. Socii J. Bollandi. Antwerp: 1643ff.
Boiss*Anec*	Boissonade, J.F. *Anecdota Graeca*. 5 vols. Paris: 1829-1833.
CatMAG	*Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*.8 vols. Brussels: 1924–1932.
CCAG	*Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum*. 12 vols. Brussels: 1898–1936.
CFHB	*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae*. Berlin-Rome-Washington-Vienna: 1967–.
CSHB	*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. ed. B.G. Niebuhr et al. Bonn: 1828–1897.
Del*Anec*	Delatte, A. *Anecdota Atheniensia I*. Bibliothéque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. XXXVI. Liège-Paris: 1927.
	Demetrakopulos, A.K. *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*. Leipzig: 1872.
	Dositheos of Jerusalem. *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*. Jassy: 1692.
Goar*Euch*	Goar, J. *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*. 2nd edition. Venice: 1730; reprint ed. Graz: 1960.
Hung*PRK*	Hunger, H., and Kresten, O. *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*. *CFHB* XIX, 1. Vienna: 1981–.
Kri*Myth*	Kriaras, E. *Βυζαντινὰ Ἱπποτικὰ Μυθιστορήματα*. Athens: 1955.
	Lampros, S.P. *Collection de romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers*. Paris: 1880.
Lampros*PP*	Lampros, S.P. *Παλαιολογεῖα καὶ Πελοποννεσιακά*. 4 vols. Athens: 1912–1930.
LaurDar	Laurent, V., and Darrouzès, J. *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273–1277)*. Archives de l'Orient chrétien 16. Paris: 1976.
Legrand*Bib*	Legrand, E. *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*. 9 vols. Paris: 1880–1913.
Mercati*Not*	Mercati, G. *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia dell teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*. *Studi e Testi* 56. Vatican: 1931.
Migne*PG*	Migne, J.P. *Patrologiae cursus completus*. *Series Greco-Latina*. 161 vols. Paris: 1857–1866.
MM	Miklosich, F., and Müller, J. *Acta et Diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*. 6 vols. Vienna: 1860-1890.

Mohler *Bess*	Mohler, L. *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsman, III; Aus Bessarions Gelehrtenkreis*. Paderborn: 1942.
	Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A. *Μαυρογοβόατειος Βιβλιοθήκη*. Constantinople: 1884–1888.
PapKer *Anal*	Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A. *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*. 5 vols. St. Petersburg: 1891–1898.
PapKer *Trap*	Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A. *Fontes historiae imperii Trapezuntini*. St. Petersburg: 1897.
	Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A. *Varia Graeca sacra*. St. Petersburg: 1909; reprint ed., Leipzig: 1975.
	Pitra, J.B. *Analecta sacra spicilegio solesmensi*. 8 vols. Paris: 1876–1891.
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*. Paris: 1903–.
PS	*Patrologia Syriaca*. ed. R. Graffin. 3 vols. Paris: 1894–1926.
RP	Rhalles, G.A., and Potles, M. *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ Ἱερῶν Κανόνων*. 6 vols. Athens: 1852–1859.
	Sathas, K. *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*. 7 vols. Venice-Paris: 1872–1894.
	Vassiliev, A. *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* I. Moscow: 1893.
SC	*Sources chrétiennes*. Collection dirigée par H. de Lubac et J. Daniélou. Paris.
Wagner *Carm*	Wagner, G. *Carmina Graeca medii aevi*. Leipzig: 1874.

4. Individual Sources

4.1 Sources of the Inherited Standard Orthodox Tradition

A dagger (†) before a work and its abbreviation indicates false or dubious attribution.

Amphilochios of Iconium

†Amph*Bas* † *Εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας.* *Amphilochii Opera Omnia*, pp155–225. ed. F. Combefis. Paris: 1644.

Εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκου καὶ εἰς τὸν Συμεώνα καὶ Ἄνναν. *Amphilochii Iconiensis Opera*, pp36–73. ed. C. Datema. Leuven: 1978.

† *Ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Σέλευκον ἰάμβων.* *Amphilochii Iconiensis Iambi ad Seleucum*. ed. E. Oberg. Patristiche Texte und Studien. Berlin: 1969.

Anastasios of Sinai

†Anast*Erot* † *Ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις.* Migne*PG* 89, cc311–824.

Anast*Hod* *Ὁδηγός.* *Ibid.*, cc35–310.

Anast*Psalm* *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἕκτον Ψαλμόν.* *Ibid*, cc1077–1116.

Andrew of Crete

And*Apotom* *Εἰς ἀποτομὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου.* Migne*PG* 97, cc.1109–1141.

And*Evang* *Εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου.* *Ibid.*, cc881–913.

And*Hyps* *Εἰς τὸν παγκόσμιον ὕψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ.* *Ibid.*, cc1017–1036.

And*Koim* *Εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου.* *Ibid*, cc1045–1072.

Εἰς τὸν τετραήμερον Λάζαρου. *Ibid.*, cc960–985.

Εἰς τὰ βαία. *Ibid.*, cc985–1017.

Εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου. *Ibid.*, cc1072–1089.

Anonymous

Anon*Bapt*	*Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος*. Goar*Euch*, pp287–291.
Anon*Euch*	*Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ πασχόντων ὑπὸ δαιμόνων*. *Ibid.*, p584.
Anon*Katech*	*Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι κατηχούμενον*. *Ibid.*, pp274–278.
Anon*OikEuch*	*Ευχὴ ἐπὶ οἰκίας περιεργαζομένης ὑπὸ κακῶν πνευμάτων*. *Ibid.*, pp569–570.

Athanasios of Alexandria

Ath*Amoun*	*Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀμοῦν μονάζοντα*. RP IV, pp67-77.
†**Ath***Analeps*	† *Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Migne*PG* 28, cc1092–1100.
Ath*Ant*	*Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀντωνίου*. Migne*PG* 26, cc837–976.
†**Ath***AntArch*	† *Πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἄρχοντα, περὶ πλείστων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ζητημάτων, τῶν ἐν ταῖς θείαις Γραφαῖς ἀπορουμένων, καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι Χριστιανοῖς γινώσκεσθαι ὀφειλομένων*. Migne *PG* 28, cc597–700.
†**Ath***Beirut*	† *Λόγος εἰς τὸ θαῦμα τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν Βηρυτῷ, περὶ τῆς τιμίας καὶ σεβασμίας εἰκόνος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*. *Ibid.*, cc797–805.
	Ἐπιστολὴ ἐγκύκλιος. Migne*PG* 25, cc221–240
	Πρὸς Ἐπίκτητον Κορίνθου, κατὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἐπιστολή. Migne*PG* 26, cc1049–1069.
	Ἐκ τῆς λθ΄ ἑορταστικῆς ἐπιστολῆς. RP IV, pp78–81.
	Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ῥουφινιανόν. *Ibid.*, pp82–87.

Basil of Caesarea

Bas*AitKak*	*Ὁμιλία ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν αἴτιος τῶν κακῶν ὁ Θεός*. Migne *PG* 31, cc329–353.
Bas*ArchPar*	*Εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Παροιμιῶν*. *Ibid.*, cc385–424.
Bas*Bapt*	*Προστρεπτικὴ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Βάπτισμα*. *Ibid.*, cc424–444.
Bas*Barl*	*Εἰς Βαρλαὰμ μάρτυρα*. *Ibid.*, cc484–489.
Bas*EnArch*	*Εἰς τό, <Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος>*. *Ibid.*, cc472–481.
Bas*EpDiod*	*Ἐπιστολὴ Διοδώρῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ Ἀντιοχείας*. *S. Basile; Lettres III*. ed. Y. Courtonne. Paris: 1966.
†**Bas***Ex*	† *Εὐχαὶ ἤτοι ἐξορκισμοί*. Goar*Euch* pp578–581.
Bas*Gord*	*Εἰς Γόρδιον τὸν μάρτυρα*. Migne*PG* 31, cc489–508.
Bas*Hex*	*Ὁμιλίαι θ΄ εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον*. *Basile de Caesarée, Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron*. ed. S. Giet. *SC* 26. Paris: 1949.
Bas*Ioul*	*Εἰς τὴν μάρτυρα Ἰουλίτταν*. Migne*PG* 31, cc237–261.
Bas*Kathelo*	*Εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ κατὰ Λοῦκαν Εὐαγγελίου, <Καθελῶ μου τὰς ἀποθήκας καὶ μείζοντας οἰκοδομήσω>, καὶ περὶ πλεονεξίας*. *Ibid.*, cc261–277.

BasKatOrg *Κατὰ ὀργιζομένων*. *Ibid.*, cc353–372.

†**BasLakiz** † *Ὁμιλία ῥηθεῖσα ἐν λακίζοις*. *Ibid.*, cc1437–1457.

BasLet *Περὶ τῆς ἐν παρθενίᾳ ἀληθοῦς ἀφθορίας πρὸς Λητόϊον ἐπίσκοπον Μελιτηνῆς*. Migne*PG* 30, cc669-809.

Bas40Mar *Εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους τεσσαράκοντα μάρτυρας*. Migne*PG* 31, cc508–525.

BasMeth *Κατὰ μεθυόντων*. *Ibid.*, cc444-464.

BasNestA *Περὶ νηστείας λόγος Α΄*. Migne*PG* 31, cc164–184.

BasNestB *Περὶ νηστείας λόγος Β΄*. *Ibid.*, cc185–197.

BasPist *Περὶ πίστεως*. *Ibid.*, cc464–472.

BasPsalm *Ὁμιλίαι εἰς τοὺς Ψαλμούς*. Migne*PG* 29, cc209–494.

BasPhthonou *Περὶ φθόνου*. Migne*PG* 31, cc372–385.

BasTapein *Περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης*. *Ibid.*, cc525–540.

Περὶ εὐχαριστίας. *Ibid.*, cc217–237.

Ὁμιλία ῥηθεῖσα ἐν λιμῷ καὶ αὐχμῷ. *Ibid.*, cc304–328.

Κατὰ Σαβελλιανῶν, καὶ Ἀρείου, καὶ τῶν Ἀνομοίων. *Ibid.*, cc600–617.

† *Ὁμιλία περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*. *Ibid.*, cc1429–1437.

† *Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἅγιαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέννησιν*. *Ibid.*, cc1457–1476.

† *Ὁμιλία πρὸς τοὺς συκοφαντούντας ἡμᾶς ὅτι τρεῖς Θεοὺς λέγομεν*. *Ibid.*, cc1488–1496.

Ὁμιλία εἰς τὸ, <Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ>. *L'homélie de Basile de Caesarée sur le mot 'Observe-toi toi-même'*. ed. S.Y. Rudberg. Studia Graeca Stockholmiensia II. Uppsala: 1962.

Πρὸς τοὺς νέους ὅπως ἂν ἐξ Ἑλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖντο λόγων. *St. Basil on the Value of Greek Literature*. ed. N.G. Wilson. London: 1975.

Πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιον ἐπιστολαὶ κανονικαὶ Α΄ - Γ΄. RP IV, pp88–256.

Ἐπιστολαὶ Λιβανίῳ. *S. Basile, Lettres III*. ed. Y. Courtonne. Paris: 1966.

Ἐπιστολαὶ Χωρεπισκόποις. *Ibid.*

Ἐπιστολὴ Γρηγορίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ. *Ibid.*

Cyril of Alexandria

Ἐπιστολαὶ μδ΄; με΄; μς΄; ος΄; οθ΄. Migne*PG* 77, cc224f, 360f.

Περὶ ὀρθοδοξίας κεφάλαια ιβ΄ κατὰ Νεστορίου. RP IV, pp405ff.

Diadochos of Photike

Diad*Keph*	*Κεφάλαια γνωστικὰ ρ΄* . *Diadoque de Photicé, Oeuvres Spirituelles*. ed. E. des Places. *SC* 5 bis. Paris: 1955.

Dionysios of Alexandria

	Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Βασιλείδην. RP IV, pp1–13.

Dionysios the Areopagite

†Dion*Ekkl*	† *Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας*. Migne*PG* 3, cc369–584.
†Dion*Ep*	† *Ἐπιστολαὶ Α΄ - Ι΄* . *Ibid.*, cc1065–1122.
†Dion*Onom*	† *Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων*. Ibid cc585–984.
	† *Περὶ τῆς οὐρανίας ἱεραρχίας*. *Ibid.*, cc120–369.
	† *Περὶ μυστικῆς θεολογίας*. *Ibid.*, cc997-1048.

Dorotheos of Gaza

Doroth*Did*	*Διδασκαλίαι διάφοραι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς*. ed. L. Regnault and J. de Préville. *SC* 92. Paris: 1963; (also Migne*PG* 88, cc1617–1837).

Ephraem of Syria

Eph*Arete*	*Περὶ ἀρετῆς κεφάλαια δέκα*. *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri opera omnia quae exstant Graecae*, I pp216–229. ed. I. Assemani. 3 vols. Vatican: 1732–1746.
Eph*Charit*	*Περὶ τῆς θείας χάριτος*. *Ibid.*, III pp42-47.
Eph*DeutPar*	*Εἰς τὴν δεύτεραν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου*. *Ibid.*, II pp192–209.
Eph*Gloss*	*Περὶ γλωσσαλγίας καὶ παθῶν*. *Ibid.*, pp279–289.
Eph*Joseph*	*Λόγος εἰς τὸν πάγκαλον Ἰωσήφ*. *Ibid.*, pp21–41.
Eph*Mak*	*Μακαρισμοὶ Α΄, Β΄*. *Ibid.*, pp282–299.
Eph*OrthBi*	*Περὶ ὀρθοῦ βίου*. *Ibid.*, II pp56–72.
Eph*PatTel*	*Λόγοι εἰς πατέρας τελειωθέντας Α΄, Β΄*. *Ibid.*, I pp172–180.
Eph*Proseche*	*Εἰς τό, <Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ>*. *Ibid.*, pp230–254.
Eph*Tapein*	*Πῶς κτᾶται τις τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνη*. *Ibid.*, pp290–335.
Eph*TelMon*	*Περὶ τοῦ τέλειον εἶναι μοναχόν*. *Ibid.*, II pp411–423.
	Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γελᾶν. *Ibid.*, I pp254–258.

Epiphanios of Cyprus

Περὶ τῶν ΙΒ' λίθων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς στολισμοῖς τῶν Ἀαρῶν βιβλίον. *Les lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen age, II, les lapidaires grecs*, pp193–198. ed. F. de Mely. Paris: 1898.

Euthymios Zigabenos

EuZig*Psalt* *Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ Ψαλτήριον*. Migne*PG* 128, cc73–1325.

Evagrios of Pontos [Pseudo-Neilos]

Evag*Pnev* *Περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ πνευμάτων πονηρίας*. Migne*PG* 79, cc1145–1164.

Evag*Log* *Περὶ προσευχῆς λόγος εἰς ρνγ' κεφάλαια διειλημμένος*. *Ibid.*, cc1165–1200.

Gennadios I of Constantinople

Ἐπιστολὴ ἐγκύκλιος. RP IV pp368–372.

George of Nikomedia

Λόγος εἰς τὸ, <Εἱστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ Μήτηρ αὐτοῦ...>. Migne*PG* 100, cc1457–1489.

Germanos I of Constantinople

Germ*Enc* *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν ἅγιαν Θεοτόκον*. Migne*PG* 98, cc309–320.

Gregory of Nazianzus

GNaz*Or1* *Εἰς τὸ Πάσχα, καὶ εἰς τὴν βραδυτῆτα*. *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 1-3*, pp71–83. ed. J. Bernadi. *SC* 247. Paris: 1978.

GNaz*Or2* *Ἀπολογητικός*. *Ibid.*, pp84–241.

GNaz*Or3* *Πρὸς τοὺς καλέσαντας ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ μὴ ἀπαντήσαντας μετὰ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐν τῷ Πάσχα*. *Ibid.*, pp242–255.

GNaz*Or6* *Εἰρηνικὸς Α', ἐπὶ τῇ ἑνώσει τῶν μοναζόντων, μετὰ τὴν σωπὴν ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτου*. Migne*PG* 35, cc721–752.

GNaz*Or7* *Εἰς Καισάριον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν ἐπιτάφιος περιόντων ἔτι τῶν γονέων*. *Ibid.*, cc755–788.

GNaz*Or8* *Εἰς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἑαυτοῦ Γοργονίαν ἐπιτάφιος*. *Ibid.*, cc789–818.

Ἀπολογητικὸς εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα Γρηγόριον συμπαρόντος αὐτῷ Βασιλείου, ἡνίκα ἐπίσκοπος ἐχειροτονήθη Σασίμων, (Or.9). *Ibid.*, cc819–826.

	Εἰς ἑαυτὸν, καὶ εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ Βασίλειον τὸν μέγαν μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἐκ φυγῆς, (Or.10). *Ibid.*, cc827-832.
GNazOr11	*Εἰς Γρηγόριον Νύσσης, τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἀδελφόν, ἐπιστάντα μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν*. *Ibid.*, cc831-842.
	Εἰς τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ ἡνίκ'ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτὸν φροντίζειν τῆς Ναζιανζοῦ ἐκκλησίας, (Or.12). *Ibid.*, cc843-850.
	Εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν Δοαρῶν ὁμιλία ἐκδοθεῖσα Εὐλαλίῳ, (Or.13). *Ibid.*, cc851-856.
GNazOr14	*Περὶ φιλωπτωχίας*. *Ibid.*, cc857-910.
	Εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους, (Or.15). *Ibid.*, cc911-934.
	Εἰς τὸν πατέρα σωπῶντα διὰ τὴν πληγὴν τῆς χαλάζης, (Or.16). *Ibid.*, cc933-964.
GNaz18	*Ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν πατέρα παρόντος Βασιλείου*. *Ibid.*, cc985-1044.
GNazOr19	*Εἰς τοὺς λόγους, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξισωτὴν Ἰουλιανόν*. *Ibid.*, cc1043-1064.
	Περὶ θεολογίας καὶ καταστάσεως ἐπισκόπων, (Or.20). *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 20-23*, pp56-85. ed. J. Mossay. *SC* 270. Paris: 1980.
GNazOr21	*Εἰς Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας*. *Ibid.*, pp110-193.
GNazOr22	*Εἰρηνικὸς τρίτος*. *Ibid.*, pp218-259.
	Εἰρηνικὸς δεύτερος, (Or.23). *Ibid.*, pp280-311.
GNazOr24	*Εἰς Κυπριανόν*. *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 24-26*, pp40-85. ed. *Idem, SC* 284. Paris: 1981.
GNazOr25	*Εἰς Ἥρωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον*. *Ibid.*, pp156-205.
GNazOr26	*Εἰς ἑαυτόν*. *Ibid.*, pp224-273.
GNazOr27	*Πρὸς Εὐνομιανοὺς προδιάλεξις*. *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 27-31*, pp70-99. ed. P. Gallay. *SC* 250. Paris: 1978.
GNazOr29	*Περὶ θεολογίας*. *Ibid.*, pp100-175.
	Περὶ Υἱοῦ λόγος Α', (Or.29). *Ibid.*, pp176-225.
	Περὶ Υἱοῦ λόγος Β', (Or.30). *Ibid.*, pp226-275.
GNazOr31	*Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*. *Ibid.*, pp276-343.
	Περὶ τῆς ἐν διαλέξεσιν εὐταξίας καὶ οὐ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, οὔτε παντὸς καιροῦ τὸ περὶ Θεοῦ διαλέγεσθαι,(Or.32). Migne*PG* 36, cc173-212.
	Πρὸς Ἀριανοὺς, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτόν, (Or.33). *Ibid.*, cc213-238.
GNazOr34	*Εἰς τοὺς Αἰγύπτου ἐπιδημήσαντας*. *Ibid.*, cc241-256.
GNazOr36	*Εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς καθέδρας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ προθυμίαν, ἣ ἐπεδείξαντο εἰς αὐτόν*. *Ibid.*, cc265-280.
GNazOr37	*Εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, <Ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τουτοὺς>, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς*. *Ibid.*, cc281-308.
GNazOr38	*Εἰς τὰ θεοφάνια*. *Ibid.*, cc311-334.

GNazOr39	*Εἰς τὰ ἅγια Φῶτα.* *Ibid.*, cc335-360.
GNazOr40	*Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα.* *Ibid.*, cc359-426
	Εἰς τὴν Πεντηκοστήν. (Or.41) *Ibid.*, cc427-452
GNazOr42	*Συντακτήριος, εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐν ἐπισκόποις παρουσίαν.* *Ibid.*, cc457-492
GNazOr43	*Εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον ἐπιτάφιος* *Ibid.*, cc493-606
GNazOr44	*Εἰς τὴν καινὴν Κυριακήν.* *Ibid.*, cc607-622
GNazOr45	*Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα.* Ibid cc623-664
	Ἔπη: I/1.12 Περὶ τῶν γνησίων βιβλίων τῆς Γραφῆς. MignePG 37, cc472-474
	Ἔπη: I/2.9 Πρὸς παρθένους παραινετικός *Ibid.*, cc632-640.
GNazCarm21	*2/1.21 Εἰς τὸν πονηρόν* *Ibid.*, c1280.
GNazCarm50	*2/1.50 Κατὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ εἰς τὴν νάσον.* *Ibid.*, cc1385-1393.
GNazCarm54	*2/1.54 Κατὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ* *Ibid.*, cc1397-1399
GNazCarm55	*2/1.55 Ἀποτροπὴ τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπίκλησις.* *Ibid.*, cc1399-1401
GNazCarm56	*2/1.56 Κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ* *Ibid.*, c1401
GNazCarm57	*2/1.57 Κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ* *Ibid.*, c1402
GNazCarm58	*2/1.58 Κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ* *Ibid.*, c1402
GNazCarm59	*2/1.59 Κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ* *Ibid.*, c1403
GNazCarm60	*2/1.60 Κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ* *Ibid.*, cc1403-1404
GNazCarm63	*2/1.63 Περὶ τῶν δαιμονίων πολέμων* *Ibid.*, cc1428-1430

Gregory of Nyssa

GNyssKan	*Κανονικὴ ἐπιστολή* RP IV pp295-330
GNyssAnth	*Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου* MignePG 44, cc125-256

Gregory the Presbyter

GregPres	*[illegible] τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου* MignePG 35, [illegible]44-304

Gregory Thavmatourgos

	Κανονικὴ ἐπιστολή RP IV pp45-66

Hesychios of Sinai (Jerusalem)

Hesychios	*Πρὸς Θεόδουλον λόγος ψυχωφελὴς περὶ νήψεως καὶ θεω[illegible] τῆς κεφαλαιώδης, τὰ λεγόμενα ἀντιῤῥητικὰ καὶ εὐτικά.* Migne PG 93, cc1479-1544.

Isaac Syrus

IsaacAsk	*Ἀσκητικά*. In *Τὰ εὑρεθέντα Ἀσκητικά*. ed. N. tou Theotokou. Leipzig: 1770; reprint edition, Athens: 1970.

John of Antioch (The Oxite)

	Ἐπιστολὴ ΛΗ΄. Migne*PG* 77, cc169–173.

John Chrysostom

JChrAdam	*Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ εἰς ἐξορίαν τοῦ Ἀδάμ, καὶ περὶ πονηρῶν γυναικῶν*. Migne *PG* 56, cc525–538.
JChrAkat	*Περὶ ἀκαταλήπτου. Jean Chrysostome sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu I, (Homs. I-V)*. ed. A-M. Malingrey and R. Flacelière. *SC* 28 bis. Paris: 1970.
†JChrAnal	† *Εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν Δ΄*. Migne*PG* 52, cc799–802.
†JChrAsot	† *Εἰς τὴν παραβολὴν περὶ τοῦ ἀσώτου*. Migne*PG* 59, cc515–522.
†JChrBaia	† *Εἰς τὰ βαΐα*. *Ibid.*, cc703–708.
†JChrBaia2	† *Εἰς τὰ βαΐα*. Migne*PG* 61, cc715–720.
†JChrEuch	† *Εὐχαί*. GoarEuch, pp581-584.
†JChrEvang	† *Εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν τῆς ὑπερενδόξου Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου*. Migne*PG* 50, cc791–796.
JChrHeb	*Ὁμιλία ῥηθεῖσα εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἑβδομάδα*. Migne*PG* 55, cc519–528.
†JChrHerod	† *Εἰς τὸν Ἡρώδην καὶ εἰς τὰ νήπια*. Migne*PG* 61, cc699–702.
JChrHier	*Περὶ ἱερωσύνης*. *Jean Chrysostome sur le sacerdoce*. ed. A.M. Malingrey. *SC* 272. Paris: 1980.
†JChrHypo	† *Περὶ ὑπομονῆς καὶ τοῦ μὴ πικρῶς κλαίειν τοὺς τελευτῶντας*. Migne*PG* 60, cc723–730.
JChrIoud	*Εἰς τὴν προδοσίαν τοῦ Ἰούδα Α΄*. Migne*PG* 49, cc373–382.
†JChrJob	† *Εἰς τὸ δίκαιον καὶ μακάριον Ἰωβ Α΄ - Δ΄*. Migne*PG* 56, cc563–582.
JChrJohn	*Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστήν*. Migne*PG* 59, cc23–482.
†JChrKat	† *Κατηχητικὸς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα*. *Ibid.*, cc721–724.
JChrMart	*Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ μαρτυρήσαντας*. Migne*PG* 50, cc705–712.
JChrOlymp	*Τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπιστολαὶ Α΄ - ΙΖ΄*. *Jean Chrysostome lettres à Olympias*. ed. A-M. Malingrey. *SC* 13. Paris: 1968, (2nd edition).

†JChrPet † *Εἰς τοὺς κορυφαίους τῶν ἀποστολῶν Πέτρου καὶ Παῦλου, καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν μαρτύριον ἐνδοξότατον*. MignePG 59, cc491–496.

JChrPhil *Εἰς τὸν μακάριον Φιλογόνιον γενόμενον ἀπὸ δικολόγου ἐπίσκοπον*. MignePG 48, cc747–756.

†JChrPnev † *Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*. MignePG 52, cc813–826.

†JChrPorn † *Εἰς τὴν πόρνην καὶ εἰς τὸν Φαρισαῖον*. MignePG 59, cc531–536.

†JChrProd † *Εἰς τὴν ἀποτομὴν τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἡρωδιάδα*. *Ibid*., cc485–490.

†JChrPseud † *Λόγος περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν καὶ ψευδοδιδασκάλων καὶ ἀθέων αἱρετικῶν*. *Ibid*., cc553–568.

JChrStag *Πρὸς Σταγείρον ἀσκητὴν δαιμονῶντα Α΄ - Γ΄*. MignePG 47, cc423–494.

†JChrSuke † *Εἰς τὴν παραβολὴν περὶ συκῆς, ὁμιλία*. MignePG 59, cc585–590.

JChrTheoEp *Πρὸς Θεόδωρον μοναχόν, σκεπτόμενον ἐξελθεῖν τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ γαμῆσαι καὶ πραγματευέσθαι*. *Jean Chrysostome à Théodore*, pp47–79. ed. J. Dumortier. *SC* 117. Paris: 1966.

JChrTheoLog *Πρὸς Θεόδωρον ἐκπεσόντα καὶ περὶ μετνοίας λόγος*. *Ibid*., pp80–219.

† *Εἰς τὰ ἅγια Θεοφάνια*. MignePG 50, cc805–808.

† *Εἰς τὴν ὑπαπαντήν*. *Ibid*., cc807–812.

† *Εἰς τὴν παραβολὴν τῶν δέκα παρθένων, καὶ περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης*. MignePG 59, cc527–532.

† *Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα Β΄*. *Ibid*., cc725–730.

† *Περὶ νηστείας λόγος Ε΄*. MignePG 60 cc717–720.

† *Περὶ σωτηρίας ψυχῆς*. *Ibid*., cc735–738.

† *Εἰς γέννησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου*. MignePG 61, cc757–762.

John Damaskenos

†JDamBarl † *Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἰωάσαφ*. *St. John Damascene, Barlaam and Ioasaph*. ed. G.R. Woodward and H. Mattingley. Loeb, London: 1914.

JDamHer *Περὶ αἱρεσέων*. MignePG 94, cc677–780.

†JDamKekoi † *Περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων*. MignePG 95, cc247–278.

JDamKoim *Λόγος δεύτερος εἰς τὴν ἔνδοξον κοίμησιν τῆς Θεοτόκου*. *S. Jean Damascène, Homélies sur la nativité*. ed. P. Voulet. *SC* 80. Paris: 1961.

JDamOrth *Ἔκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως*. *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos II*. P.B. Kotter. Patristiche Texte und Studien 12. Berlin-New York: 1973.

JDamPhil *Κεφάλια φιλοσοφικά*. Migne*PG* 94, cc521–676.
Περὶ τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ δύο θελημάτων. Migne*PG* 95, cc127–186.

John Karpathios

JKarp *Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ μοναχοὺς παραμυθητικὰ κεφάλιο, Ρ΄*. Migne*PG* 85, cc1837–1856.

John Klimakos

JKlim *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου, Κλῖμαξ*. Migne*PG* 88, cc595–1164.

John Mauropous (Euchaitorum)

JMaurPat *Λόγος εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς ἁγίους πατέρας καὶ διδασκάλους Βασίλειον τὸν μέγαν, Γρηγόριον τὸν θεολόγον, καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον. Johannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt*. ed. P.A. de Lagarde. Abhand. der k. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Göttingen, Bd. XXVIII, hist. phil. Classe I. Göttingen: 1882.

John Zonaras

JZonKan *Ἐξήγησις εἰς τοὺς ἱεροὺς κανόνας*. Migne*PG* 137–138.

Mark Eremites

MarkBap *Ἀπόκρισις πρὸς τοὺς ἀποροῦντας περὶ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος*. Migne*PG* 65, cc985–1028.

MarkDik *Περὶ τῶν οἰομένων ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦσθαι*. *Ibid.*, cc929–966.

MarkMetan *Περὶ μετανοίας τοῖς πᾶσι πάντοτε προσηκούσης εἰς τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἐνεργείας*. *Ibid.*, cc965–984.

MarkNik *Πρὸς Νικόλαον νουθεσίαι ψυχωφελεῖς*. *Ibid.*, cc1027–1054.

MarkNom *Περὶ νόμου πνευματικοῦ*. *Ibid.*, cc905–930.

MarkSymb *Συμβουλία νοὸς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν*. *Ibid.*, cc1103–1110.

Maximos Homologetes

MaxKeph *Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀγάπης*. *Massimo Confessore Capitoli sulla Carità*. ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo. Rome: 1963.

MaxTheol *Περὶ θεολογίας καὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ Θεοῦ*. Migne*PG* 90, cc1083–1176.

Περὶ τῶν δύο τοῦ Χριστοῦ φύσεων. Migne*PG* 91, cc145–150.

Michael Synkellos

MSynk*Lib* *Λίβελλος περὶ τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως*. *Bibliotheca Coislinianа*, pp90–93. ed. B. de Montfaucon. Paris: 1715.

Neilos

Nellos*Keph* *Κεφάλαια ἢ παραίνεσις*. Migne*PG* 79, cc1249–1261.

Nektarios of Constantinople

Nekt*Theod* *Διήγησις δι'ἣν αἰτίαν τῷ πρώτῳ Σαββάτῳ τῶν ἁγίων νηστειῶν ἑορτάζομεν τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος θεοδώρου*. Migne*PG* 39, cc1821–1840.

Nicholas III Grammatikos

NikGram *Κανόνες Ἐρωτήσεις καὶ Ἀποκρίσεις*. RP IV, pp417–425.

Origen

Origen*Phil* *Φιλοκαλία*. *The Philocalia of Origen*. ed. J. Armitage-Robinson. Cambridge: 1893.

Palladios

Pall*Laus* *Λαυσαϊκόν*. *The Lausiac History of Palladius*. ed. C. Butler. Texts and Studies 6, 2 vols. Cambridge: 1898–1904.

Peter of Alexandria

Peter*Kan* *Κανόνες ἐμφερομένοι ἐν τῷ περὶ μετανοίας αὐτοῦ λόγῳ*. RP IV, pp14–44.

Proklos of Constantinople

Proklos*Enc* *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν παναγίαν Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν*. Migne *PG* 65, cc680–692.

Sophronios of Jerusalem

Soph*MaryEg* *Βίος Μαρίας Αἰγυπτίας*. Migne*PG* 87, cc3697–3726.

Symeon the New Theologian

SymNT † *Μέθοδος τῆς ἱερᾶς προσευχῆς* ed., I. Hausherr, "La methode d'oraison Hesychaste", *OC* IX.2. Rome: 19[illegible]

Theodore Balsamon

TBalsKan *Ἐξήγησις εἰς τοὺς ἱεροὺς Κανόνας*. Migne*PG* [illegible]: 137–138.

Theophylakt of Bulgaria

Theoph*John* *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον*. Migne*PG* 124, cc9–318.

Theoph*Luke* *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον*. Migne*PG* 123, cc683–1126.

Theoph*Mark* *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον*. *Ibid.*, cc427–682.

Theoph*Matt* *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον*. *Ibid.* cc[illegible]44–487.

Timothy of Alexandria

Tim*Kan* *Ἀποκρίσεις κανονικαί*. RP IV, pp[illegible]–[illegible].

4.2 Sources of the Late Byzantine Period

A star (*) before a work indicates that it contains reference to the Devil, the demons, or similar forces.

A dagger (†) before a work and its abbreviation indicates false or dubious attribution. The number in parentheses after an author's name is that given in Trapp, *PLP*.

Agallianos, Theodore (94)

Agal*Apol* * *Λόγος ἀπολογητικός*. Ch.G. Petrinele. *Ὁ Θεόδωρος Ἀγαλλιανός, ταυτιζόμενος πρὸς τὸν Θεοφάνην Μηδείας καὶ οἱ ἀνέκδοτοι λόγοι του*, pp129–152. Athens: 1966.

Agal*Log* * *Λόγος περὶ τῶν κατ'αὐτὸν ἢ κατὰ τῶν κατ'αὐτοῦ*. *Ibid.*, pp91–129.

Συλλογή. Dositheos of Jerusalem. *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, pp432–439. Jassy: 1692.

Akindynos, Gregory (495)

* *Ἐπιστολαί*. A.C. Hero. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*. *CFHB* XXI. Dumbarton Oaks: 1983.

Akropolites, George (518)

AkropG*Apost* * *Λόγος εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον*. A. Heisenberg. *Georgii Acropolitae opera*. Vol. II pp81–111. Leipzig: 1903.

AkropG*Herm* * *Ἑρμηνεία τῶν θεολογικῶν ῥητῶν τοῦ τό, <Ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἓν στασιάζον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πολλὰ γίνεσθαι...>*. *Ibid.*, pp70–80.

Akropolites, Konstantine (520)

AkropK*Barb* * *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Βάρβαρον*. PapKer*Anal* I, pp405–420.

AkropK*Dem* * *Λόγος εἰς τὸν μεγαλομάρτυρα καὶ μυροβλύτην Δημήτριον*. *Ibid.*, pp160–215.

AkropK*Eudok* * *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου ἔνδοξου Εὐδοκίμου*. Ch. Loparev, *BIARC* 13 (1908), pp199–219.

AkropK*JDam* * *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν Δαμάσκηνον*. *ActaSS* May II, pp731–760.

AkropK*JnEl* * *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἐλεήμονα τὸν νέον*. D.I. Polemis, *AnalBoll* 91 (1973), pp31–54.

AkropKKonst ⋆ *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ θεόστεπτον βασιλέα Κωνσταντίνον τὸν Μέγαν*. C.I. Simonides. London: 1853.

AkropKMyth ⋆ *Μύθοι*. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Δελτ.Ἐτ.Ἑλλ.* III (1890-1891), 445–451.

AkropKTest ⋆ *Διαθήκη*. M. Treu, *Δελτ.Ἐτ.Ἑλλ.* IV (1892), pp45–49.

⋆ *Ἀντίφωνα εἰς τὴν ἅγιαν Θεοτόκον*. *Ibid.*, pp42–44.

⋆ *Διαθήκη ἑτέρα*. *Ibid.*, pp49–50.

AkropKThav ⋆ *Ἀνάμνησις τοῦ τελεσθέντος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων θαύματος παρὰ τοῦ περιβοήτου μάρτυρος Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τήρωνος*. *ActaSS* Nov IV, pp72–76.

AkropKTheod ⋆ *Λόγος εἰς τὴν ὁσιομάρτυρα θεοδοσίαν*. *ActaSS* May VII, pp69–86.

Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιον Ἀβραμύτιον. Ph. Photopulos, *Νέα Σιών* 12 (1912), pp665–672.

Ἐπιστολή. M. Treu, *BZ* 1 (1892), pp361–365.

Ἐπιστολαὶ ΙΘ΄. H. Delehaye, *AnalBoll* 51 (1933), pp263–284.

Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνακαίνισιν τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσεως διαθετικός. *Ibid.*

Amiroutzes, George (784)

AmirJPal ⋆ *Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον*. N.B. Tomadakes, *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυς.Σπ. κβ΄* (1952), pp115–134.

Γνώμη ... ἣν ἔδωκεν ἐν τῇ Φλωρεντίᾳ ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου. M. Jugie, *EO* 36 (1937), pp175–180.

⋆ *Πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα Ναυπλίου Δημήτριον ....* *Idem*, *B* XIV (1939), pp77–93.

Anagnostes, John (839)

Διήγησις περὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἁλώσεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. I. Bekker. *CSHB*, pp483–528. Bonn: 1838.

Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἅλωσει τῆς πόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης. *Ibid.*, pp529–534.

Anonymous

AnonAchilles ⋆ *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως*. D.C. Hesseling. *L'Achilléide byzantine*. Amsterdam: 1919.

AnonAlex ⋆ *Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεύς*. S. Reichmann. *Das byzantinische Alexandergedicht*. Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 13. Meisenheim-am-Glan: 1963.

AnonApoll ⋆ *Διήγησις πολυπαθοῦς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τύρου*. Wagner *Carm* pp248–276.

Anon*BiosAth* ⋆ *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου ... πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου, ἀσκήσαντος ἐν τοῖς σταγοῖς*. N.A. Bees, *Βυζαντίς* I (1909), pp237–260.

Anon*BiosNiph* ⋆ *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου ... πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νίφωνος*. F. Halkin, *AnalBoll* 58 (1940), pp12–27.

Anon*BiosRom* ⋆ *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία ... τοῦ νεοφανοῦς ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ρομύλου*. *Idem*, *B* 31 (1961), pp114–145.

Anon*Diavol* ⋆ *Λόγοι Α΄, Β΄, τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀντιλογίας τοῦ διαβόλου*. R.P. Casey and R.W. Thomson, "A dialogue between Christ and the Devil", *JThS* 6 (1955), pp50-55.

Anon*Dialexis* ⋆ *Διάλεξις Κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου ... μετὰ τοῦ Γαρδιναρίου Εὐφροσύνου*. N. Krasnoselcev. *Lětopisou Istoriko-Filologičeskago Obščestba pri Imperatorskom Novorossijskom Universitete Vizantijskoe otdělenie* 3 (1896), pp311–329; (cf. A. Vasiliev *Analecta Graeco-byzantina* I, pp179–188. Moscow: 1893.

Anon*Dyst* ⋆ *Λόγος παρηγορητικὸς περὶ Δυστυχίας καὶ Εὐτυχίας*. S.P. Lampros. *Collection de romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers*. Paris: 1880.

Anon*EncJnPal* ⋆ *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον*. Lampros*PP* III, pp292–308.

Anon*Evgen* ⋆ *Ἕτερα θαύματα Εὐγενίου*. PapKer*Trap*, pp137–149.

Anon*FlorPlat* ⋆ *Τὸ μυθιστόρημα τοῦ Φλωρίου καὶ τῆς Πλάτζια-Φλώρας*. Kri*Myth* pp131–196.

Anon*KallChrys* ⋆ *Τὸ μυθιστόρημα τοῦ Καλλιμάχου καὶ τῆς Χρυσορρόης*. *Ibid.*, pp17–83.

Anon*LibRhod* ⋆ *Τὸ μυθιστόρημα τοῦ Λιβίστρου καὶ τῆς Ῥοδάμνης*. J.A. Lambert. *Le roman de Libistros et Rhodamné*. Amsterdam: 1935.

Anon*Porik* ⋆ *Ὁ Πωρικολόγος*. G.Th. Zoras. Athens: 1958.

Anon*Poul* ⋆ *Ὁ Πουλολόγος*. St. Krawczynski. Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 22. Berlin: 1960.

Anon*Spanos* ⋆ *Σπανός*. H. Eideneier. *Spanos, eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie*. Supplementa Byzantina Band 5. Berlin-New York: 1977.

Anon*Tetrapod* ⋆ *Παιδιόφραστος διήγησις τῶν ζώων τῶν τετραπόδων*. V. Tsiouni. Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 15. Munich: 1972.

Anon*TheodPal* ⋆ *Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ Θεοδώρῳ Β΄ Παλαιολόγου*. Lampros*PP* IV, pp177–186.

Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος θαύματος παρὰ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Κῦρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου...P. Gautier, *REB* 23 (1965), pp100–117.

Διήγησις ὡραιοτάτη τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ λεγομένου Βελισαρίου. Wagner*Carm* pp304–321.

Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα ... Μανουὴλ τὸν Παλαιολόγον καὶ τὸν εὐσεβέστατον αὐτοκράτορα ... Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον. Lampros*PP* III, pp200–221.

* *Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ αὐθεντοπούλᾳ Κυρᾷ Ἑλένῃ τῇ Παλαιολογίνῃ θυγατρὶ τοῦ δεσπότου Δημητρίου.* Lampros*PP* IV, pp221–229.

Τὸ μυθιστόρημα τοῦ Βελθάνδρου καὶ τῆς Χρυσάντζας. Kri*Myth* pp85-130.

Τὸ μυθιστόρημα τοῦ Ἰμπερίου καὶ τῆς Μαργαρώνας. *Ibid.*, pp197–249.

Ὁ Ὀψαρολόγος. K. Krumbacher. *Das Mittelgriechische Fischbuch.* Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und der histor. Klasse der Kgl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Heft III, pp345–381. Munich: 1903.

Πανηγυρικὸς εἰς Μανουὴλ καὶ Ἰωάννην Η΄ τοὺς Παλαιολόγους. Lampros*PP* III, pp132–199.

Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Κυροῦ (Matthew Kantakuzenos) ἐγκώμιον. G.H. Karlsson. *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 28*, pp85–88. Bibliotheca Ekmaniana 69. Stockholm: 1981.

(*) *Ἡ Φυλλάδα τοῦ Γαδάρου.* L. Alexiou, *Κρ.Χρον. Θ΄. 1*, (1955), pp81–118.

Φυσιολογικὴ διήγησις τοῦ ὑπερτίμου κρασοπατέρος Πετροῦ τοῦ ζυφομούστου. G.Th. Zoras, *Ν.Ἑστ.* 57 (1955), pp359–363.

Anthimos of Athens (993)

AnthAth * *Λόγος ἀνέκδοτος εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* K.I. Dyovouniotes, *Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυς.Σπ. Ζ΄* (1930), pp38–45.

Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσὴφ Φιλάγρην. *Idem*, *Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυς.Σπ. Η΄* (1931), p31.

Λόγος ... περὶ τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος προόδων. *Ibid.*, pp33–41.

Apostoles, Michael (1201)

ApostolKPal * *Προσφώνημα εἰς Κωνσταντίνον Παλαιολόγον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνάῤῥησει.* Lampros*PP* IV, pp67–82.

Προσφώνημα πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντίνον τὸν Παλαιολόγον. *Ibid.*, pp83–87.

Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς διισχυρισαμένους τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν. B. Laourdas, *Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυς.Σπ.* 19 (1949), pp239–244.

(*) *Μενεξενος ἢ περὶ Τριάδος.* *Idem*, *Κρ.Χρον.* 6 (1952), pp52–57.

Ἐπιτάφιος θρηνώδης ἔχων φροίμιον ἐπὶ τῷ θειοτάτῳ Βησσαρίωνι. Migne*PG* 161, cc. cxxvii–cxl.

(*) *Πρὸς τὰς ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ οὐσίας κατὰ Πλήθωνος Θεοδώρου τοῦ Γαζῆ ἀντιλήψεις.* Mohler*B-ss* pp159-169.

Argyropoulos, John (1267)

Argyrop * *Μονῳδία εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἰωάννην Παλαιολόγον.* Lampros*PP* III, pp313-319.

Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως. Migne*PG* 158, cc991-1008.

Argyros, Isaac (1285)

Argyros*Ged* * *Τῷ μοναχῷ Κῦρ Γεδεὼν τῷ ζωγράφῳ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν τοῦ σωτῆρος φωτός.* M. Candal, *OCP* 23 (1957), pp90-113.

Argyros*Kant* * *Κατὰ Καντακουζενοῦ* (in part). Mercati*Not* pp275-282.

Τόμος (in part). Ibid pp205-206.

Περὶ διακρίσεως μετοχῆς Θεοῦ ἐν τέσσαρσι τρόποις (in part). *Ibid.*, pp271-272.

Λύσις ἀπορίας τινος Παλαμιτικῆς. M. Candal, *OCP* 22 (1956), pp108-137.

Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople (415)

Athan*Ep* * *Ἐπιστολαί.* A-M Maffrey-Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasios I. CFHB* VII, Dumbarton Oaks, 1975.

Barlaam of Kalabria (2284)

Λόγος περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἀρχῆς. Migne*PG* 151, cc1253-1280.

Bekkos, John IV, Patriarch of Constantinople (2548)

Bek*Agall* * *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαλλιανὸν κύριον Ἀλέξιον.* Migne *PG* 141, cc275-282.

Bek*Apol* * *Ἀπολογία.* *Ibid.*, cc1009-1020.

Bek*Hen* * *Περὶ τῆς ἑνώσεως.* *Ibid.*, cc15-158.

Bek*Konst* * *Πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον Α΄-Δ΄.* *Ibid.*, cc337-396.

Bek*Pap* * *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ἰταλὸν Πάπαν.* LaurDar pp478-485.

Bek*Phot* * *Ἀντιῤῥητικὰ τοῦ λόγου ὃν ὁ Φώτιος κατὰ Λατίνων πρὸς τινα φιλόσοφον Εὐσέβιον ἔγραψε.* Migne*PG* 141, cc727-864.

Bek*Tom* * *Εἰς τὸν τόμον τοῦ Κύπριου.* *Ibid.*, cc863-926.

(*) *Περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.* *Ibid.*, cc157-276.

* *Σημείωμα συνοδικόν.* *Ibid.*, cc281-290.

Πρὸς τὸν Σουγδαίας Θεόδωρον Α'-Γ'. *Ibid.*, cc289-338.

Ἀντιῤῥητικὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος γραφικαῖς χρήσεσιν ἐπιστασιῶν Κυρίου Ἀνδρόνικου τοῦ Καματηροῦ. *Ibid.*, cc395-614.

Ἐπιγραφαὶ εἰς τὰ παρ'αὐτοῦ συνειλέγμενα ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ῥητὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. *Ibid.*, cc613-724.

Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εἰρήνης. LaurDar pp424-457.

Περὶ ἀδικίας, ἧς ὑπέστη, τοῦ οἰκείου θρόνου ἀπελαθείς. Migne*PG* 141, cc949-970.

Λόγος πῶς μὲν ἐν δευτέρῳ ἀπολογητικὸς ἐφ' ᾧπερ ἀδικία ὑπέστη, πῶς δὲ ἀντιῤῥητικὸς ἐπὶ παρεσηγήσεσι ῥησέων τινῶν γραφικῶν. *Ibid.*, cc969-1010.

Ἐπισημείωσις τῶν αὐτοῦ ἁπασῶν βιβλίων καὶ γραφῶν συμφωνίας. *Ibid.*, cc1019-1028.

Διαθήκη. *Ibid.*, cc1027-1031.

Bessarion, Cardinal (2707)

Bess*AlexK* * *Προσφώνημα εἰς τὸν εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος Ἀλέξιον Δ' τὸν μέγαν Κομνηνόν.* Archbishop Chrysanthos, *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.* 12 (1946), pp120-130.

Bess*Ep* * *Ἐπιστολαί.* Mohler*Bess* pp416-449, 455-470, 478-489, 511-513, 531-538, 545-546.

Bess*Exarch* * *Λόγος ἐν ᾧ ἐγκωμίοις ἑτοίμησε τὴν σύνοδον καὶ ἐμακάρισε τοὺς ἐξάρχους αὐτῆς ὅσον τὸ ἱκανόν.* Migne*PG* 161, cc531-542.

Bess*Kleop* * *Μονῳδία ... τῇ ἀοιδίμῳ ... κυρᾷ Κλεόπῃ Παλαιολογίνῃ.* Lampros*PP* IV pp154-160.

Bess*Synod* * *Πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον ἢ περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς.* Archbishop Chrysanthos, *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.* 9 (1939) pp7-42.

Περὶ τοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς εὐχαριστίας μυστηρίου. Mohler*Bess* pp2-69.

Εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τό, <'Εὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν ἕως ἔρχομαι, τι πρὸς σε;>. *Ibid.*, pp70-87.

Ὅτι ἡ φύσις βουλεύεται. *Ibid.*, pp88-90.

Εἰ ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ τέχνη βουλεύονται ἢ οὔ. *Ibid.*, pp91-147.

Πρὸς τὰ Πλήθωνος πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλη περὶ οὐσίας. *Ibid.*, pp148-150.

Ἀπόκρισις πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Ἐφέσου κεφάλαια. Migne*PG* 161, cc137-244.

Πρὸς τὰς τοῦ Παλαμᾶ κατὰ τοῦ Βέκκου Ἀντιῤῥήσεις. *Ibid.*, cc243-288.

Πρὸς τοῦ Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ, τοῦ Πλανούδη. *Ibid.*, cc309–318.

Πρὸς Ἀλέξιον Λάσκαριν τὸν Φιλανθρωπίνον περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. *Ibid.*, cc321–406.

Ἐπιστολὴ καθολική. *Ibid.*, cc449–480.

Πρόλογος ἐν ταῖς ἑπομέναις τοῦ παμμάκαρος πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀσκητικαῖς διατάξεσι. *Ibid.*, cc527–530.

* *Δογματικὸς λόγος, ἢ περὶ ἑνώσεως*. *Ibid.*, cc543–612.

Ἐπιστολὴ τῷ Ἀμιρούτζῃ. N.B. Tomadakes, *Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυς.Σπ.* 22 (1952), pp131–134.

Ἐπιστολὴ τῷ Ἀποστολίῳ. S.P. Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλλ.*, 6 (1908), pp393–394.

Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῷ ... βασιλεῖ κυρῷ Μανουὴλ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ. Lampros*PP* III pp284–290.

Bryennios, Joseph (3257)

Bry *Apist* * *Μετὰ ἀπίστου διάλεξις* (in part). I. Ševčenko, "The decline of Byzantium through the eyes of its intellectuals", *DOP* XV (1961), p179; (from *Vallicellianus Gr.* 27 (B128) f149v).

Bry *Erot* * *Ἐρώτησεις τῶν ἀπὸ Κρήτης τινῶν ἱερέων περὶ τοῦ παντὸς παραλευσέως*. N.B. Tomadakes, *Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυς.Σπ.* 19 (1949), pp136–139.

Bry *Keph* * *Κεφάλαια ἑπτάκις ἑπτά*. E. Voulgaris and T. Mandrakases. *Ἰωσὴφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου, τὰ εὑρεθέντα* III, pp48–126. Leipzig: 1768–1794. (See also L. Oeconomos. *Mélanges C. Diehl* I, pp225–233. Paris: 1932)

Bry *Log* * *Λόγοι*. Voulgaris and Mandrakases. II pp1–432 and III pp1–47.

Bry *Paramyth* * *Παραμυθητικός*. N.B. Tomadakes, *Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυς.Σπ.* 19 (1949), pp139–154.

Bry *Triad* * *Λόγοι Α΄-ΚΑ΄ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος*. Voulgaris and Mandrakases. I pp1–406; (* *β,δ,η,θ,ιγ,ιδ,ιε,ις*).

Διάλεξεις Α΄-Γ΄ περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως. *Ibid.*, I pp407–468.

* *Λόγος συμβουλευτικὸς περὶ τῆς ἑνώσεως τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*. *Ibid.*, pp469–500.

Ἐπιστολαὶ ΚΕ΄. *Ibid.*, III pp127–182.

Ἐπιστολὴ ἀνωνύμῳ. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus. *Varia Graeca sacra*, pp292–293. St. Petersburg: 1909; reprint edition Leipzig: 1975.

Ἐπιστολὴ εἰς κῦρ Γιανούλη Δὲ Σπίγα. *Ibid.*, pp293–294.

Ἐπιστολὴ τῷ ... κῦρ Νικολάῳ τῷ Κατζαβούρῃ. *Ibid.*, pp294–295.

Διάταξις. *Ibid.*, pp295–296.

Ἐπιστολὴ τῷ ... κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Συριαδῷ. N.B. Tomadakes. *Ὁ Ἰωσὴφ Βρυέννιος καὶ ἡ Κρήτη*, pp133–138. Athens: 1947.

Περὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀνακτίσματος. *Idem*, *Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυς. Σπ.* 36 (1968), pp1–15.

Τῷ ... κυρῷ Μανουὴλ τῷ Ὁλοβόλῳ. M. Treu, *BZ* 1 (1892), pp93–95.

Chatzikes, Athanasios

Ἐπιστολή. M.Treu, *BZ* 18 (1909), pp481–489.

Cheilas, John

Πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Migne*PG* 135, cc505–508 and 142, c245.

Cheilas, Nikephoros

Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῇ θειοτάτῃ ... κυρίᾳ ἡμῶν ... Κλεόπῃ τῇ Παλαιολόγινᾳ. Lampros*PP* IV pp144–152.

Chioniades, Gregory

Chion*Ep* ⋆ *Ἐπιστολαί.* I.B. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Πανεπιστίμιου Θεσσαλονίκης*, 1929, pp151–205; also in *Mélanges C. Diehl* I, pp257–262. Paris: 1932.

Ὁμολογία. L.G. Westerink, *REB* 38 (1980), pp233–245.

Choumnos, Makarios

ChoumM*Epit* ⋆ *Ἐπιτελεύτιος ὁμιλία.* V. Laurent, *Ἑλληνικὰ* 14 (1955–1956), pp76–85.

ChoumM*Hyp* ⋆ *Ὑποτύπωσις.* *Ibid.*, pp60–71.

Ἐπιστολὴ γραφεῖσα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. *Ibid.*, p71.

⋆ *Μονῳδία ἐπὶ Γρηγορίῳ καὶ Ἀκακίῳ.* *Ibid.*, pp71–76.

Choumnos, Nikephoros

ChoumN*Anep* ⋆ *Ἀνεπίγραφος.* Boiss*Anec* V, pp297–313.

ChoumN*Dys* ⋆ *Πρὸς τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας ...* *Ibid.*, III, pp365–391.

ChoumN*El* ⋆ *Ἔλεγχος κατὰ τοῦ κακῶς τὰ πάντα πατρὶ ἀρχεύσαντος Νίφωνος.* *Ibid.*, V, pp255–283.

ChoumN*Theo* ⋆ *Ἐπιτάφιος (on Theoleptos of Philadelphia).* *Ibid.*, pp183–239.

ChoumN*Symb* ⋆ *Θεσσαλονικεύσι συμβουλευτικὸς περὶ δικαιοσύνης.* *Ibid.*, II, pp137–187.

ChoumN *Test* ⋆ *Διαθήκη*. *Ibid.*, V, pp314-350.

ChoumN *Thesp* ⋆ *Θέσπισμα ἐπὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ τελευταίᾳ ἑορτῇ*. Migne *PG* 140, cc1497-1526.

Ἀντιθετικὸς πρὸς Πλωτῖνον περὶ ψυχῆς. Migne *PG* 140, cc1403-1438.

Πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα βασίλισσαν. Boiss *Anec* I, pp293-305.

Πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. *Ibid.*, pp306-312.

Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κύρον Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Παλαιολόγον. *Ibid.*, II, pp1-56.

Λόγος χρυσόβουλλος ἐπὶ τινι δεσποινικῷ βουλήματι καὶ ζητήματι. *Ibid.*, pp57-62.

Λόγος χρυσόβουλλος ἀποδοθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλότατον Κράλην Σερβίας. *Ibid.*, pp63-69.

Λόγος χρυσόβουλλος ἐπὶ τῇ ἑνώσει τῶν διαστάντων μοναχῶν. *Ibid.*, pp70-76.

⋆ *Λόγος χρυσόβουλλος ἐπὶ τῇ ἑνώσει τῆς ἐν τῷ Γαλησίῳ μονῆς*. *Ibid.*, pp77-84.

⋆ *Ἐκ βασιλέως θέσπισμα κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων*. *Ibid.*, pp85-106.

Περὶ λόγου κρίσεως καὶ ἐργασίας ... *Ibid.*, III, pp356-364.

Περὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ... *Ibid.*, pp392-397.

Ἀντιθετικὸς πρὸς τοὺς πάλαι σοφούς ... *Ibid.*, pp398-406.

Ἐπιστολαὶ δύο. *Ibid.*, pp407-408.

Πρὸς τὸν φιλαδελφίας περὶ τοῦ ἐν Καυᾷθαύματος. *Ibid.*, V, pp240-245.

Πρὸς τινὰς τῶν ἑταίρων. *Ibid.*, pp284-288.

Παραμυθητικὸς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ φίλου τῶν γνώσιων τινος. *Ibid.*, pp289-296.

Chrysoberges, Maximos

Περὶ ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος λόγος πρὸς τοὺς Κρήτας. Migne *PG* 154, cc1217-1230.

Chrysokephalos, Makarios

Chrysokeph ⋆ *Λόγος εἰς τὴν ὕψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ*. Migne *PG* 150, cc173-232.

Εὐχὴ ... *ἐπὶ ἐπίδρομας ἐθνων*. *Ibid.*, cc237-240.

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία ... *τοῦ* ... *Μελετίου τοῦ Ὁμολογητοῦ*, (in part). Sp. Lauriotou, *Γρηγ.Παλ.* 5 (1921), pp582-584 and 609-624.

Chrysolaras, Demetrios

ChrysolDem * *Λόγος εἰς τὸν μέγαν Δημήτριον καὶ εἰς τὰ μύρα.* B. Lacurdas, *Γρηγ.Παλ.* 40 (1957), pp343–351.

ChrysolTheot * *Προσφώνημα εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον εὐλογητήριον.* P. Gautier, *REB* 19 (1961), pp340–357.

Διάλογος ἀναιρετικὸς Λατίνων ἔνστατις, Ῥωμαίων λύσις. I. Basikkos, *Ἐκκ.Ἀλήθ. ΚΘ'* (1909), pp159–160, 166–167, 173–174, 181–183.

Σύγκρισις παλαιῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ νέου, τοῦ νῦν αὐτοκράτορας {Μανουὴλ Παλαιολόγου}. LamprosPP III, pp222–245.

Damilas, Neilos (5085)

* *Τύπικον.* S. Petrides, *BIARC* 15 (1911), pp92–111.

Διαθήκη. S.P. Lampros, *BZ* 4 (1895), pp585–587.

Ἀπολογία. Arsenios Kyrillovou, *Ἐκκ.Ἀλήθ.* 15–16 (1895–1897), pp346–347, 391–392, 31–32, 61–63.

Doukas (5685)

DoukasHist * *Ἱστορία.* V. Grecu. *Istoria Turco-bizantina 1341–1462.* Bucharest: 1958.

Evgenikos, John (6189)

EvgenJKan * *Κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα Εὐγένιον.* O. Lampsidou, *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.* 18 (1953), pp178–190.

Evgenikos, Mark (6193)

* *Κεφάλαια συλλογιστικὰ κατὰ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Ἀκινδυνιστῶν.* W. Gass. *Die Mystik des Nikolaus Cabasilas vom Leben in Christo*, pp217–232. Griefenswald: 1849.

Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus. *Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Τόμ. ΙΗ'*, pp99–100. Constantinople: 1888.

Συναξάριον Συμεὼν Μεταφραστοῦ. *Ibid.*, pp100–101.

Ἔμμετρά τινα. *Ibid.*, pp102–105.

Εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ σοφώτατον πατριάρχην Εὐθύμιον. E. Legrand, *REG* 5 (1892), pp422–426.

Ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς τῶν δεσποτικῶν ῥημάτων ἁγιάζονται. Migne*PG* 160, cc1079–1090.

Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἰσίδωρον ἱερομόναχον περὶ σωφ. αἰτήσαντα. *Ibid.*, cc1193–1200.

Gabras, John (3362)

Gabra*Log* ⋆ *Λόγος εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου.* Boiss*Anec* III, pp71–111.

Gabriel of Thessaloniki (3416)

Gabriel*Hom* ⋆ *Ὁμιλίαι ς΄.* B. Laourdas, *Ἀθήνα* 57 (1953), pp142–173, (⋆ *α΄, γ΄, ε΄, ς΄*).

Gazes, Theodore (3450)

Gazes*Ep* ⋆ *Ἐπιστολαί.* Mohler*Bess* pp572–592.

Πρὸς Πλήθωνα ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοτέλους. *Ibid.*, pp151–158.

Ἀντιῤῥητικόν. *Ibid.*, pp204–235.

Περὶ ἑκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου. *Ibid.*, pp236–246.

Λύσεις. *Ibid.*, pp247–250.

Κυνὸς ἐγκώμιον. Migne*PG* 161, cc985–998.

Περὶ ἀρχαιογονίας Τουρκίων. *Ibid.*, cc997–1006.

George of Pelagonia (4117)

(⋆) *Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου βασιλέως τοῦ Ἐλεήμονος.* A. Heisenberg, *BZ* 14 (1905), pp193-233.

Glabas, Isidore (4223)

Glabas*Ep* ⋆ *Ἐπιστολαὶ Η΄.* S.P. Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλλ.* IX (1913), pp353-391.

Glabas*Nomik* ⋆ *Εἰς τὸ εὐγγέλιον τὸ νομικὸς τις προσῆλθε τῷ Ἰησοῦ πειράζων αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων* (in part). *Ibid.*, p349.

Gregoras, Nikephoros (4443)

Gregoras*Ant* ⋆ *Λόγοι ἀντιῤῥητικοὶ 1-3.* H.-V. Beyer. *Gregoras Antirrhetika* I, pp123–431. *WByzSt* XII. Vienna: 1976.

Gregoras*DeIns* ⋆ *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸν Συνεσίου περὶ ἐνυπνίων λόγον.* Migne *PG* 149, cc521–642.

Gregoras*Dem* ⋆ *Εἰς τὸ μεγαλομάρτυρα καὶ μυροβλήτην Δημήτριον.* B. Laourdas, *Μακεδονικὰ* 4 (1955–1960), pp83–96.

Gregoras*Hist* ⋆ *Ρωμαικῆς ἱστορίας.* L. Schopeni and I. Bekker. *CSHB* 3 vols. Bonn: 1829–1855.

Gregoras*Jn* ⋆ *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεράρχου Ποντοηρακλείας.* V. Laurent, *Ἀρχ.Πόντ* 6 (1934), pp3–66.

GregorasMerk * *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα Μερκούριον*. S. Binon. *Documents grecs inédits relatifs à S. Mercure de Césarée*, pp66–91. Louvain: 1937.

GregorasMich * *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία ... τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Συγκέλλου*. Th. Schmitt, *BIARC* XI (1906), pp260–279.

Λόγος εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον. *Ibid.*, pp280–294.

Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Κοδράτου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Migne*PG* 149, cc503–520.

Ὁμολογία. G. Papamichael, *Ἐκκ.Φάρ. ΙΑ'* (1913), pp70–71.

Ἐπιστολὴ τῷ ὁσιωτάτῳ. G.H. Karlsson. *Ein Philosophisch-Theologischer Traktat in Briefform von Nikephoros Gregoras; Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 28*, pp70–75. Bibliotheca Ekmaniana 69. Stockholm: 1981.

Gregory of Cyprus, Patriarch of Constantinople (4590)

GCypEvth * *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μέγαν Εὐθύμιον, ἐπισκόπον Μάδυτων*. B. Antoniadou, *Δελτ.Ἐτ.Ἑλλ. Δ'* (1982), pp387–422.

GCypGeorge * *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ μεγαλομάρτυρα καὶ τροπαιοφόρον Γεώργιον*. Migne*PG* 142, cc299–346. Also *ActaSS* April III.

GCypLaz * *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λαζάρου, τοῦ ἐν τῷ Γαλησίῳ ὄρει ἀσκήσαντος*. *ActaSS* November III, pp588–606.

GCypMarina * *Λόγος εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ ἀληθόρου Μαρίνης*. G.G. Stauroniketianou, *Γρηγ.Παλ.* 19 (1935), pp189–200, 227–239.

Διηγήσεως μερικῆς λόγος τὰ καθ' ἑαυτον περιέχων. Migne *PG* 142, cc19–30.

* *Ἔκθεσις τοῦ τόμου τῆς πίστεως*. *Ibid.*, cc233–246.

Ὁμολογία. *Ibid.*, cc247–252.

Ἀπολογία πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τοῦ τόμου μέμψιν ἰσχυρότατη. *Ibid.*, cc251–270.

Περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. *Ibid.*, pp269–290.

Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κύρον Μιχαὴλ Παλαιολόγον. *Ibid.*, cc345–386.

Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κύρον Ἀνδρόνικον. *Ibid.*, cc387–418.

Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. *Ibid.*, cc433–444.

Παροιμίαι. *Ibid.*, cc445–470.

Ἐπιστολὴ τῷ Πεδιασίμῳ Χαρτοφύλακι Ἀχριδῶν. M. Treu, *PVGPO* 1899, pp48–49.

Gregory of Sinai (4601)

GSinHesych * *Περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο τρόπων τῆς προσευχῆς* MignePG 150, cc1313–1330.

GSinHetKeph * *Ἕτερα κεφάλαια. Ibid.*, cc1299–1304.

GSinKath * *Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ καθέζεσθαι τὸν ἡσυχάζοντα εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ μὴ ταχέως ἀντίστασθαι. Ibid.*, cc1329–1345.

GSinKeph * *Κεφάλαια δι' ἀχροστιχίδος. Ibid.*, cc1239–1300.

GSinKeph4 * *Κεφάλαια Δ' συνέχεια τοῦ κεφ. Γ'*. D. Balfour, *Θεολ. ΝΓ'*. 3 (1982), pp700ff.

Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μεταμόρφωσιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Idem, Θεολ. ΝΒ'. 4 (1981), pp644–681.

* *Περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ προσευχῆς*. MignePG 150, cc1303–1312.

Gregory monachos (4602)

GmonLas *† *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ἄσκησις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Λαζάρου τοῦ ἐν Γαλησίῳ. ActaSS* November III, pp508–588.

Harmenopulos, Konstantine (1347)

HarmHer * *Περὶ τῶν οἱ κατὰ καιροὺς αἱρετικοὶ ἐδόξασαν*. MignePG 150, cc19–30.

HarmTom * *Τόμος. Ibid.*, cc864–876.

Περὶ πίστεως ὀρθοδόξου. Ibid., cc29–32.

* *Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων. Ibid.*, cc45–168.

* *Λόγος εἰς τὴν προεόρτην ἑορτὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Δημητρίου τοῦ Μυροβλύτου*. D.S. Gkine, *Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυς.Σπ. ΚΑ'* (1951), pp150–162.

Hierotheos philosophos (8135)

Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς συκοφαντοῦντας αὐτόν, (in part). A.K. Demetrakopulos. *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, pp53–55. Leipzig: 1872.

Hyrtakenos, Theodore

HyrtakAnin * *Ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἀνιναν τὸν θαυματουργόν*. BoissAnec II, pp409–453.

HyrtakEir * *Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς ἀοιδίμου καὶ μακαρίας δεσποίνης κύρας Εἰρήνης. Ibid.*, I, pp269–281.

HyrtakMich * *Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως κύρου Μιχαὴλ Παλαιολόγου. Ibid.*, pp254–268.

HyrtakPros * *Προσφώνημα πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Ibid.*, pp248–253.

* *Μονωδία ἐπι τῷ περιποθήτῳ συμπενθέρῳ τοῦ κράτιστου καὶ ἁγίου αὐτοκράτορας ἡμῶν κύρου Ἀνδρόνικου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου.* *Ibid.*, pp282–292.
* *Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τῇν πολιτείαν τῆς ... ἀειπαρθένου καὶ Θεοτόκου.* *Ibid.*, III, pp1–58.
* *Ἔκφρασις εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης.* *Ibid.*, pp59–70.

Iasites, Job Melias (7959)

Iasites*Hymn* * *Ὕμνοι.* M. Petta, *BGrottaf* 19 (1965), pp81–139.

Ἀπολογία, (in part). A.K. Demetrakopulos, *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, pp58–59. Leipzig: 1872.

Περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ μυστηρίων. Archbishop Chrysanthos. *Συνταγμάτιον*, pp123–135. Tergovist: 1715.

Σύντομα. J. Pitra. *Analecta sacra* I, pp425–431. Paris: 1876.

Ioakeim of Zichnai (8372)

Ioakeim*Typ* * *Τυπικόν.* M. Jugie, *B* 12 (1937), pp25–69.

Isaias of Cyprus (6745)

Γράμμα πρὸς Νικόλαον τὸν Σκελεγγίαν περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Migne*PG* 158, cc971–976.

Isidore of Kiev (8300)

Πρὸς τὴν ἐν βασιλείᾳ σύνοδον. Lampros*PP* I, pp324–335.

Ivankos, Konstantine (7973)

Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ καὶ ἀοιδίμῳ μητροπολίτῃ Θεσσαλονίκης Κυρῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ Γλαβᾷ. E. Legrand. *Lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue*, pp105–108. Paris: 1893.

Εἰς τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ ἁγίου Ὄρους ἱερομόναχον κυρὸν Σίμωνα ἐπιστολή. *Ibid.*, pp109–112.

Joseph I, Patriarch of Constantinople (9072)

Κατὰ Λατινῶν. V. Laurent, *EO* 26 (1927), pp396–407.

Joseph II, Patriarch of Constantinople (9073)

Ἡ τελευταία γνώμη τοῦ πατριάρχου. Migne*PG* 158, cc1051–1052.

Joseph Rhakendytes (9078)

JRhak*Stich* ⋆ *Στίχοι ἱκετήριοι πρὸς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον*. G. Pentogalou, *Ἑλληνικά* 23 (1970), pp115–116.

Εὐχαί. *Ibid*., pp116–117.

⋆ *Στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ περιέχοντες ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὴν ἅπασαν ὑπόθεσιν*. M. Treu, *BZ* 8 (1899), pp39–42.

Σύνοψις ἐν ἐπιτομῇ εἰς τὰ κατ'αὐτόν. *Ibid*., pp34–38.

Joseph (9079)

Joseph ⋆ *Προσφωνηματικὸς εἰς τὸν εὐσεβέστατον ... δεσπότην ... κῦρ Δημήτριον τὸν Παλαιολόγον*. Lampros*PP* IV, pp211–220.

Kabasilas, Nilos (10102)

Kab*Draft* ⋆ (Author's Draft of the "Anti-Zealot" Discourse). I. Ševčenko, "The author's draft of Nicholas Cabasilas 'Anti-Zealot' discourse", *DOP* 14 (1960), pp181–201.

Kab*Euch* ⋆ *Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν*. S. Salaville, *EO* 35 (1936), pp43–50.

Kab*KataTok* ⋆ *Λόγος κατὰ τοκιςόντων*. Migne*PG* 150, cc727–750.

Kab*Zealot* ⋆ *Λόγος περὶ τῶν παρανόμως τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς τολμωμένων*. I. Ševčenko, "Nicolas Cabasilas 'Anti-Zealot' discourse: a reinterpretation", *DOP* 11 (1957), pp81–171.

Λόγος ἀποδεικνὺς ... τὸ τῆς διαστάσεως τῆς Λατίνων Ἐκκλησίας ... αἴτιον ... Migne*PG* 149, cc683–700.

Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάππα ἀρχῆς. *Ibid*., cc699–730.

⋆ *Τόμος συνοδικός*. Migne*PG* 151, cc717–764.

Εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐγκώμιον. M. Jugie, *BIARC* XV (1911), pp112–121.

⋆ *Τῇ εὐσεβεστάτῃ Αὐγούστῃ κυρᾷ Ἄννῃ Παλαιολογίνῃ*. *Ibid*.

Κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ ληρημάτων λόγος. A. Garzya, *B* 24 (1954), pp521–532.

Ἐπιστολαί. P. Erepekides, *BZ* 46 (1953), pp18–46.

Λόγος σύντομος πρὸς τὴν κακῶς ἐκλαμβανομένην φωνὴν παρὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀκινδυνιανῶν. M. Candal, *OCP* 23 (1957), pp240–256.

Προσφώνημα εἰς τὸν ἔνδοξον τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρα Δημήτριον. B. Laourdas, *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυς.Σπ.* 22 (1952), pp99–105.

Εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους τρεῖς μεγάλους Ἱεράρχας. K.I. Dyovouniotes, *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυς.Σπ.* 14 (1938), pp155–162.

Περὶ τόκου. R. Guilland, *Εἰς Μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λαμπροῦ*, pp269–277. Athens: 1935.

Kalekas, John XIV, Patriarch of Constantinople (10288)

Kal*Acta* ⋆ *Acta*. *MM* I, pp168–255.

Kal*Kyr* ⋆ *Εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν πρὸ τῆς ὑψώσεως*. Migne*PG* 150, cc253–262.

Kal*Stavr* ⋆ *Εἰς τὴν τρίτην τῶν νηστείων κυριακὴν ἤτοι τῆς σταυροπροσκυνήσεως*. *Ibid*., cc263–280.

⋆ *Τόμος*. *Ibid*., cc864–872.

Kallistos I, Patriarch of Constantinople (10478)

Kall*Acta* ⋆ *Acta*. *MM* I, pp295–448.

Kall*Apotom* ⋆ *Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἀποτομὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ τιμίου προφήτου Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου*. S. Leontopoleos, *Ἐκκ.Φάρ*. 8 (1911), pp120–128.

Kall*Hyps* ⋆ *Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ὕψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ*. *Ibid*., pp128–137.

Kall*JnNest* ⋆ *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἰωάννην τὸν νηστευτήν*. H. Gelzer, *ZWTh* 29 (1886), pp64–89.

Kall*Koim* ⋆ *Ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν Κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνη ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου*. S. Leontopoleos, *Ἐκκ.Φάρ*. 8 (1911), pp114–119.

Kall*Theod* ⋆ *Βίος Θεοδοσίου*, (summary). A.B. Gone. *Τὸ Συγγραφικὸν ἔργον τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχοῦ Καλλίστου Α΄*. Athens: 1980.

Kallistos monachos (10482)

Kall*MonEp* ⋆ *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Θεσσαλονίκης Κύριον Ἐμμανουὴλ τὸν Διασύπατον*. I. Sykoutre, *Ἑλληνικὰ Γ΄* (1930), pp15–44.

Kalothetos, Joseph (10615)

Kaloth*AkBar* ⋆ *Ἕτερος κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀκινδύνου καὶ Βαρλαὰμ τῶν κακοδόξων*. D.G. Tsame. *Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Λόγοι*, pp111–139. Thessaloniki: 1975.

Kaloth*AkBar2* ⋆ *Πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς Βαρλααμίτας καὶ Ἀκινδυνιανοὺς λόγος ἀντιθετικός*. *Ibid*., pp205–233.

Kaloth*AntAk* ⋆ *Λόγος ἀντιθετικὸς κατὰ τοῦ Ἀκινδύνου*. *Ibid*., pp81–109.

Kaloth*Ath* ⋆ *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀθανασίου*. *Idem*. *Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα*, pp453–502. Thessaloniki: 1980.

Kaloth*Ep* ⋆ *Ἐπιστολαί*. *Idem*, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετερὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονικῆς* 19 (1974), pp47–128.

KalothGreg * *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῆς Νικομηδείας ἀσκήσαντος*. *Idem*. *Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα*, pp503–522. Thessaloniki: 1980.

KalothPrag * *Πραγματεία κατὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰωάννου Καλέκα*. *Idem*, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονικῆς* 18 (1973), pp221–251.

* *Κατὰ τοῦ κινδυνεύσαντος Ἀκινδύνου*. *Idem*. *Ἰωσὴφ Καλοθέτου Λόγοι*, pp141–157. Thessaloniki: 1975.

* *Λόγος ἀντιθετικὸς πρὸς τοὺς Βαρλααμίτας*. *Ibid*., pp159–203.

* *Λόγος ἀντιθετικὸς κατὰ τοῦ Ἀκινδύνου πρὸς τὸν Πατριάρχην Κῦρ Ἰωάννην*. *Ibid*., pp235–268.

* *Λόγος ἀντιθετικὸς εἰς τὸν τοῦ Γαβρᾶ λόγον*. *Ibid*., pp269–301.

* *Λόγος κατὰ Νικηφόρου Γρηγορᾶ*. *Ibid*., pp303–341.

Kamariotes, Matthew (10776)

KamarHierarch* *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους τρεῖς Ἱεράρχας*. K.I. Dyovouniotes, *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυς.Σπ*. 10 (1933), pp57–71.

Kananos, John (10891)

Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πολέμου. I. Bekker. *CSHB*, pp457–479. Bonn: 1838.

Kantakouzene, Theodora Raoulina (10943)

KantTTheoph * *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοφάνους τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ καὶ αὐταδέλφου αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρου*. PapKerAnal IV, pp186–223.

Kantakouzenos, John VI (10973)

KantApol * *Ἀπολογίαι Δ΄ (κατὰ τῶν Μουσουλμάνων)* MignePG 154, cc371–584.

KantHist * *Ἱστοριῶν βιβλία*. L. Schopeni. *CSHB*. 3 vols. Bonn: 1828–1832.

KantMahom * *Κατὰ τοῦ Μωάμεθ λόγοι Δ΄*. MignePG 154, cc589–692.

Kantakouzenos, Matthew Asanes (10983)

Λόγος περὶ φιλομαθίας. I. Sakkelion, *Παρνασσὸς* 11 (1887), pp270–278.

Περὶ τῶν τρίων τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεων. *Ibid*., pp278–284.

Katrones, John (11551)

Katrones*Herm* ⋆ *Ἑρμιππος ἢ περὶ ἀστρολογίας*; (attributed to John Katrares). G. Kroll and P. Viereck. Leipzig: 1895.

Kokkinos, Philotheos, Patriarch of Constantinople (11917)

Kok*Acta* ⋆ *Acta. MM* I, pp295–595.

Kok*Antirrhet* ⋆ *Ἀντιῤῥητικοὶ ΙΒ΄ πρὸς τὰ συγγραφέντα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ Γρηγορᾷ*. Migne*PG* 151, cc773–1138.

Kok*Anysia* ⋆ *Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ὁσιομάρτυρα Ἀνυσίαν*. Ch. Triantaphylle and A. Grappoutou. *Συλλογὴ Ἑλληνικῶν ἀνεκδότων Α΄ α΄*, pp99–114. Venice: 1874.

Kok*Entol* ⋆ *Λόγος περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Migne*PG* 154, cc729–746.

Kok*Germ* ⋆ *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γερμανοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ... μεγίστῃ Λαύρᾳ*. P. Ioannou, *AnalBoll* 70 (1952), pp50–114.

Kok*Helen* ⋆ *Ἐπιστολὴ τῇ ... βασιλίδι τῶν Ῥωμαίων κυρίᾳ Ἑλήνῃ*. K.I. Dyovouniotes, *Θεολ.* 9 (1931), pp18–26.

Kok*Herak* ⋆ *Ἐπιστολὴ ... πρὸς τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας διασπαρέντας*. Triantaphylle and Grappoutou, pp35–46.

Kok*Hierarch* ⋆ *Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τοὺς μεγάλους ἱεράρχας ... Βασίλειον ... Γρηγόριον, καὶ Ἰωάννην ...*. Migne*PG* 154, cc767–820.

Kok*Hyps* ⋆ *Εἰς τὴν ὕψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταύρου*. *Ibid.*, cc719–730.

Kok*Palam* ⋆ *Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Γρηγόριον, ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης τὸν Παλαμάν*. Ed., *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Ὁμιλίαι α΄ - πς΄*. Jerusalem: 1857; (also Migne *PG* 151).

Kok*Synk* ⋆ *Ὁμιλία πρώτη τῇ Κυριακῇ τῆς Συγκυπτούσης*. Triantaphylle and Grappoutou, pp63–78.

Kok*SynodA* ⋆ *Τόμος Συνοδικὸς Α΄ (1351)*. Migne*PG* 151, cc717–764.

Kok*SynodB* ⋆ *Τόμος Συνοδικὸς Β΄ (1368)*. *Ibid.*, cc693–716.

Kok*Theod* ⋆ *Λόγος διδασκαλικὸς εἰς τὸν μέγαν Θεόδωρον τὸν Τήρωνα*. *ActaSS* November IV, pp76–80.

(⋆) *Λόγος ἱστορικὸς εἰς τὴν παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων γεγονυῖαν ... ἅλωσιν τῆς Ἡρακλείας*. Triantaphylle and Grappoutou, pp1–33.

(⋆) *Εἰς τὴν ἀναστήλωσιν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων*. *Ibid.*, pp47–61.

⋆ *Εἰς τὰ τῆς Συγκυπτούσης ὑπόλοιπα*. *Ibid.*, pp79–97.

⋆ *Λόγος περὶ φιλαργυρίας*. *Ibid.*, pp115–121.

⋆ *Λόγος Α΄ εἰς τὴν περικοπὴν τῶν Παροιμιῶν τὸ, <Ἡ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον καὶ ἐπήρεισε στύλους ἑπτά>*. *Ibid.*, pp123–143.

(*) *Λόγοι Β΄ - Γ΄*. Bischof Arsenij. *Filotheija, patriarha Konstantinopol' skago XIV věka, tri rečči kepiskopu Ignatiju*, pp39–99 and 100–140. Novgorod: 1898.

Διάταξις τῆς θείας λειτουργίας. P.N. Trembela. *Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, pp1–16. Athens: 1935.

(*) *Ὁμιλία εἰς τὸν μεγαλομάρτυρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ θαυματουργὸν καὶ μυροβλήτην Δημήτριον*. B. Laourdas. *Μακεδονικὰ* 2 (1941–1952), pp558–580.

Διάταξις τῆς ἱεροδιακονίας. Migne*PG* 154, cc745–766.

(*) *Ἀνατροφὴ τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων παρὰ τῷ Ἀρμενόπουλῳ ἀναθεματισμῶν*. *Ibid.*, cc821–826.

Kydones, Demetrios (13876)

Kyd*Apol* * *Ἀπολογία Β΄*. Mercati*Not*, pp403–425.

Kyd*Konst* * *Δόγμα βασιλικὸν γραφέν, πραχθὲν καὶ δοθὲν τῇ ἱερᾷ ... ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Ῥώμης παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Κωνσταντίνου*, (translation). P. Pavlov, *VizVrem* III (1896), pp59–80.

Kyd*Mahom* * *Libri Fratris Richardi, ordinis praedicatorum, contra Mahometi Asseclas*, (translation). Migne*PG* 154, cc1035–1152.

Kyd*Palam* * *Κατὰ τοῦ Παλαμᾶ*. *Ibid.*, cc837–864.

Kyd*Thess* * *Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ πέσουσι*. Migne*PG* 109, cc639–652.

Περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Migne*PG* 154, cc863–958.

Ῥωμαίοις συμβουλευτικός. *Ibid.*, cc961–1008.

Περὶ Καλλιπόλεως. *Ibid.*, cc1009–1036.

Περὶ τοῦ καταφρονεῖν τὸν θανάτου λόγος. *Ibid.*, cc1169–1212.

Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν μεγάλου πριμικερίου τὸν Φακρασην. *Ibid.*, cc1213–1216.

* *Ἐπιστολὴ τῷ πατριάρχῃ κυρῷ Φιλοθέῳ* Mercati*Not*, pp293–295.

* *Τῷ αὐτῷ πατριάρχῃ*. *Ibid.*, pp296–313.

(*) *Λόγος ἕτερος ἐπιστολιμαῖος πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν πατριάρχην κῦρον Φιλόθεον περὶ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ κυροῦ Προχόρου*. *Ibid.*, pp313–318.

Ἀπολογία Α΄. *Ibid.*, pp359–403.

Ἀπολογία Γ΄. *Ibid.*, pp425–435.

Lazaropulos, Joseph (14320)

Lazar*Evgen* ⋆ *Λόγος ὡς ἐν συνόψει διαλλαμβάνων τὴν γενέθλιον ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐν θαύμασι περιβοήτου καὶ μεγάθλου Εὐγενίου*. PapKer*Trap*, pp52–77.

Ἐπὶ σύνοψις τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου θαυμάτων μερικὴ ἐκ τῶν πλείστων. *Ibid.*, pp78–136.

Lazaros monachos (14329)

Ἐπιστολαί. LaurDar pp538–553.

Livadenos, Andrew (14864)

Liv*Phok* ⋆ *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις ἱερομάρτυρα Φωκᾶν τὸν θαυματουργόν*; (in part). C. van de Vorst, *AnalBoll* 30 (1911), pp284–289.

Liv*Theot* ⋆ *Μόνημα βραχὺ καὶ οἰκτρὸν ἱκετήριον διὰ στίχων ἰάμβων εἰς τὸν κοσμοσώστον καὶ θεῖον εὐαγγελισμὸν τῆς ἁγνης Θεοτόκου*. N. Banescu, *Βυζαντὶς* (1911–1912), pp392–395.

Ὁμολογία πίστεως. *Ibid.*, pp366–376.

Εὐχὴ λιμῷ καὶ φθορᾷ. *Ibid.*, pp376–380.

Ἐπιστολαί. *Ibid.*, pp380–384.

Στίχοι. *Ibid.*, pp384–387.

Ἰάμβοι. *Ibid.*, pp387–392.

Loukites, Konstantine (15153)

Louk*Evgen* ⋆ *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Εὐγένιον*. PapKer*Trap*, pp1–32.

Ἐπιτάφιον εἰς τὸν ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἀοίδιμον ἐκεῖνον καὶ τρισμακάριστον κύριον Ἀλέξιον τὸν μέγαν Κομνηνόν. PapKer*Anal* 1.

Makarios of Pisidia (16271)

Πρὸς τὸν μητροπολίτην Θεσσαλονίκης κῦρ Μανουὴλ τὸν Δισύπατον ... E. Evstratiades, *Ἑλληνικὰ Α΄* (1928), pp78–94.

Makarios monachos (16320)

Makar*Ia* ⋆ *Μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἴας*. H. Delehaye, *PO* II, pp461–473.

Makres, Makarios (16379)

Πρὸς Λατίνους. Dositheos of Jerusalem. *Τόμος Καταλλαγῆς*, pp412–420. Jassy: 1692.

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπου Κρήτης. B. Laourdas, *Κρ.Χρον.* 2 (1953), pp63–74.

(⋆) *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ... ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης Γαβριὴλ*. A. Syndika-Laourdas, *Μακεδονικὰ* 4 (1960), pp352–370.

Matthew of Ephesus

Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ φιλτάτου μοι Καλλιέργη. L. Previale, *BZ* 41 (1941), pp21–26.

Τῇ βασιλίσσῃ παραινετικὸς ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου συντεθειμένος ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Φιλαδελφίας κυροῦ Θεολήπτου. *Ibid.*, pp26–31.

Meletios Homologetes (17753)

Melet*Alpha* ⋆ *Ἀλφαβηταλφάβητος*. Sp. Lavriotes, *Ὁ Ἄθως, ἔτος Β΄, Τεῦχη Η΄ καὶ Θ΄*, 1928.

[*Λόγος τρίτος*] *κατ' Ἰταλῶν*. LaurDar pp554–563.

Meliteniotes, Konstantine (17856)

Melitenk*Ek* ⋆ *Περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*. Migne*PG* 141, cc1139–1274.

Melitenk*Hen* ⋆ *Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἑνώσεως Λατίνων τὲ καὶ Γραικων*. *Ibid.*, cc1031–1138.

Meliteniotes, Theodore (17851)

Melitent*Dial* ⋆ *Διάλεξις πρώτη τοῦ τετάρτου*. Migne*PG* 149, cc883–988.

Ἐκ τῆς ἀστρονομικῆς βιβλίου. *Ibid.*, cc987–1002.

Methodios of Kyzikos (17597)

Συλλογὴ ἐκ διαφόρων συνοπτικῶν βιβλίων. Migne *PG* 140, cc781–806.

Metochites, George (17979)

Metg*Man* (⋆) *Ἀντίῤῥησις τῶν ὧν συνεγράψατο Μανουὴλ ὁ τοῦ Κρήτης ἀνεψιός*. Migne*PG* 141, cc1307–1406.

Ἀντίῤῥησις τῶν τριῶν κεφάλαιων, ὧν ἐξέθετο Μάξιμος μοναχὸς ὁ Πλανούδης. *Ibid.*, cc1275–1308.

Metochites, Theodore (17982)

MetTDem * *Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα καὶ μυροβλήτην Δημήτριον.* B. Lasourdas, *Μακεδονικὰ* 4 (1955–1960), pp56–82.

MetTJohn * *Εἰς τὸν ὅσιον Ἰωάννην τὸν νέον.* *ActaSS* November IV, pp679–687.

Ὅτι τὸ ἐξαρχῆς ἡ πόλις Κυρήνη Ἑλληνὶς ἐν Λιβύῃ. J.C. Orelli. *Supplementum editionis ... Nicola Damasceni*, p91–94. Leipzig: 1811.

Περὶ Καρχηδόνος καὶ κατ'αὐτὴν πολιτείας. *Ibid.*, pp94–96.

* *Δοξολογία εἰς Θεὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν καθαυτὸν καὶ τῆς μονῆς τῆς Χώρας.* M. Treu, "Dictungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites", *PVGPO* 1895, pp1–37.

Εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον καὶ περὶ τῆς μονῆς ἔτι τῆς Χώρας. *Ibid.*, pp38–54.

* *Πρὸς τοὺς μοναχοὺς τῆς Χώρας.* I. Ševčenko in *Kariye Djami* 4, pp57–83. Edited by P. Underwood. London: 1975.

Ἐπιστολὴ τῷ μοναχῷ Κυρῷ Μεθοδίῳ τῷ Σεναχηρειμ. *Ibid.*, pp86–88.

Modenos, Theodore (19228)

Ἐπιστολαὶ Α' - Η'. M. Treu, *PVGPO* 1899, pp41–43.

Moschampar, George (19344)

MoschBek * *Κεφάλαια ἀντιῤῥητικὰ κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Βέκκου δογμάτων.* A.K. Demetrakopoulos. *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, pp60–62. Leipzig: 1872.

Ὁμολογία. Migne*PG* 142, c129.

Muzalon, Theodore (19439)

Ἐπιστολαὶ ρις', ριη'. S. Evstratiades, *Ἐκκ.Φάρ.*3 (1909), pp281–282, 284–285.

Ἐπιστολὴ ρνς'. *Idem*, *Ἐκκ.Φάρ.*4 (1909), pp114–115.

Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Νικήτα τοῦ νέου (in part). H. Delehaye. *Mélanges Schlumberger* I, pp205–211. Paris: 1924.

Περὶ ἐκπορεύσεως. Migne*PG* 142, cc290–300.

Neilos, Patriarch of Constantinople

NeilActa * *Acta.* *MM* II, pp1–111.

NeilAnth * *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἄνθιμον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀθηνῶν.* K.I Dyovouniotes, *Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 9 (1932), pp56–79.

NellPalam * *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Γρηγόριον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης τὸν Παλαμάν*. Migne*PG* 151, cc655–678.

Nikephoros monachos (20325)

NikMon*Neps* * *Περὶ νήψεως καὶ φυλακῆς καρδίας*. Migne*PG* 147, cc945–966.

Niphon monachos (20687)

NiphonMax * *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου καὶ Καυσοκαλύβη λεγομένου*. E. Kourilas and F. Halkin, *AnalBoll* 54 (1936), pp42–65.

Pachymeres, George

Pach*Andron* * *Ἀνδρόνικος Παλαιολόγος*. I. Bekker. *CSHB*. Bonn: 1835.

Pach*Michael* * *Μιχαὴλ Παλαιολόγος*. *Ibid*.

Palaiologos, John V

Ὁμολογία πίστεως. Migne*PG* 154, cc1297–1308.

Palaiologos, John VIII

Πρὸς τὸν φιλόσοφον Γεμιστόν. Lampros*PP* III, p330.

Χρυσόβουλλα. *Ibid*., pp331–344.

Πρόσταγμα ... ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φλωρεντίνου Ἰακώβου de Morellis. *Ibid*., pp345–348.

Πρόσταγμα ... ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φλωρεντίνου Παγκρατίου Μιχαὴλ Φεδίνη. *Ibid*., pp349–352.

Palaiologos, Manuel II

PalMan*Pers* * *Διάλογος ἐποιήσατο μετά τινος Πέρσου τὴν ἀξίαν Μουτερίζη ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ τῆς Γαλατίας*. E. Trapp. *Manuel II Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem „Perser"*. *WByzSt* II. Vienna: 1966.

* *Ἐπιστολαί*. G.T. Dennis. *the Letters of Manuel II Palaeologos*. *CFHB* VIII; Dumbarton Oaks Texts 4. Dumbarton Oaks: 1977.

* *Κανὼν παρακλητικός*. E. Legrand. *Les lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue*, pp94–102. Paris: 1893.

* *Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν αὐτάδελφον αὐτοῦ ... Θεόδωρον τὸν Παλαιολόγον*. Lampros*PP* III, pp11–119.

Ὑποθήκαι βασιλικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐν κεφαλαίοις ρ΄. Migne *PG* 156, cc313–384.

Palaiologos, Michael VIII

De vita sua. H. Gregoire, *B* 29/30 (1959–1960), pp447–476.

Palamas, Gregory

Palam*Antirrhet* ⋆ *Ἀντιῤῥητικοὶ Α΄ - Ζ΄ πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον*. D. Kontogianne and B. Phanourgake in *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα*, III pp39–506. Edited by P.Ch. Chrestou. Thessaloniki: 1962.

Palam*Dek* ⋆ *Δεκάλογος τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν Νομοθεσίας*. Migne*PG* 150, cc1089–1101.

Palam*Ekpor* ⋆ *Λόγοι ἀποδεικτικοὶ δύο περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως*. B. Bobrinsky in Chrestou. Vol. I, pp23–77 and 78–153.

Palam*Ep* ⋆ *Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς διάφορους*. N.A. Matsouka in Chrestou. Vol. II, pp315–547.

Palam*EpBarl* ⋆ *Ἐπιστολαὶ Α΄ - Β΄ πρὸς Βαρλαάμ*. J. Meyendorff in Chrestou. Vol. I, pp225–295.

Palam*Hesych* ⋆ *Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡσυχάζοντων*. P.Ch. Chrestou in *ibid*., pp359–694; also ed. J. Meyendorff. *Défense des saints Hésychastes*, 2 vols. Spicilegium Sacrum Lovan., Études et Documents fasc. 30-31. Louvain: 1959; (cited as Mey.). English translation by N. Gendle. *Gregory Palamas, The Triads* . The Classics of Western Spirituality series. New York, Ramsey, Toronto: 1983.

Palam*Hom* ⋆ *Ὁμιλίαι Α΄ - ΜΑ΄*. Ed., *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Ὁμιλίαι*, pp1–235. Jerusalem: 1857; (also Migne*PG* 151).

Palam*Hom* ⋆ *Ὁμιλίαι ΜΒ΄ - ΞΓ΄*. Ed., S.K. tou ex Oikonomou, pp1–289. Athens: 1861.

Palam*JnTh* ⋆ *Λόγος ἐπιστολιμαῖος πρὸς Ἰωάννην καὶ Θεόδωρον τοὺς φιλόσοφους*. *Ibid*., pp290–308.

Palam*Keph* ⋆ *Κεφάλαια φυσικά, θεολογικά, ἠθικὰ καὶ πρακτικὰ ΡΝ΄*. Migne*PG* 150, cc1121–1226.

Palam*Peter* ⋆ *Λόγος εἰς τὸν θαυμαστὸν βίον τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ ὄρει τῷ Ἀθῷ ἀσκήσαντος*. *Ibid*., cc995–1040.

Palam*Xen* ⋆ *Πρὸς τὸν σεμνότατην ἐν μοναζουσίαις Ξένην ....* *Ibid*., cc1043–1088.

Ἀντεπιγραφαὶ εἰς ἐπιγραφαὶ Βέκκου. P. Papevangelou in Chrestou. Vol. I, pp161–175.

⋆ *Ἐπιστολαὶ Α΄ - Γ΄ πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον*. J. Meyendorff in Chrestou. Vol. I, pp203–219, 220–224, 296–312.

Περὶ ἑνώσεως καὶ διακρίσεως. G.I. Pantzaridou in Chrestou. Vol. II, pp69–95.

Περὶ θείων ἐνεργειῶν. *Ibid*., pp96–136.

Περὶ θεοποιοῦ μεθέξεως. *Ibid*., pp137–163.

⋆ *Διάλεξις ὀρθοδόξου μετὰ Βαρλααμίτου*. *Ibid*., pp164–218

Θεοφάνης .... *Ibid.*, pp219–262; (also Migne*PG* 150, cc909–960).

Ὅτι Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἀκίνδυνος εἶσιν οἱ διχοτομούντες κακῶς ὄντως εἰς δύο ἄνισσους θεότητας τὴν μίαν. Ibid., pp263–277.

Ἁγιορετικὸς τόμος. B.S. Psevtonka in Chrestou. Vol. II pp567–578.

* *Ἔκθεσις τῆς τῶν Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου δυσσεβημάτων ἀλλοκότου πληθύος. Ibid.*, pp579–586.

* *Ἀναίρεσις γράμματος Καλέκα. Ibid.*, pp587–623.

Ἀναίρεσις γράμματος Ἰγνατίου. Ibid., pp625–647.

Ἀναίρεσις ἐξηγήσεως Καλέκα. Ibid., pp649–670.

Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Δαυὶδ μοναχόν. M. Treu, *Δελτ.Ἐτ.Ἑλλ.* III (1890), pp227–234.

* *Ἐπιστολὴ ἣν ἐξ αἰχμάλωτος ὤν.* K.I. Dyovouniotes, *Νέος Ἑλλ.* 16 (1922), pp7–21.

* *Περὶ προσευχῆς καὶ καθαρότητος καρδίας, Κεφάλαια Γ΄.* Migne*PG* 150, cc1117–1121.

* *Εὐχὴ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ... πρὸ τῆς πόλης τῆς πόλεως.* S.K. tou ex Oikonomou, pp308–311. Athens: 1861.

Ἕτεραι εὐχαὶ τρεῖς. Ibid., pp311–316.

Panaretos, Michael

* *Περὶ ... τῶν μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν.* O. Lampsidos, *Ἀρχ. Πόντ.* 22 (1958), pp5–128.

Pediasmos, John

Ἐπιστολαί. M. Treu, *PVGPO* 1899, pp44–48.

Pediasmos, Theodore

Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν ὅσιον Ἰωσὴφ τὸν Ὑμνογράφον. M. Treu, *PVGPO* 1899, pp1–14.

Ἔκφρασις περὶ ἱεροῦ τῶν Φερρῶν. Ibid., pp14–16.

Ἔκθεσις τινων θαυμάτων τῶν ἁγίων μεγάλων μαρτύρων καὶ θαυματουργῶν Θεοδώρων. Ibid., pp17–25.

Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἥλιον. Ibid., pp25–29.

Εἰς τὴν τοῦ θέρους ὥραν ἐγκώμιον. Ibid., pp29–30.

Ἐπιστολαί. Ibid., pp31–37.

Στίχοι ἡρωικοὶ εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς. Ibid., p37.

Εἰς τὸν μέγαν Χρυσόστομον ἡρωικοί. Ibid., p38.

Philotheos of Selymbria

Λόγος περὶ τοῦ στεφανίτου μάρτυρος Ἀγαθονίκου, (in part). Migne*PG* 154, cc1229–1240.

Planoudes, Maximos

PlanPeter * *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον*. Migne*PG* 147, cc1017–1112.

PlanTaph * *Εἰς τὸν θεόσωμον τάφον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. *Ibid.*, cc985–1016.

Plethon, George Gemistos

PlethNom * *Περὶ νόμων*. C. Alexandre, *Pléthon, Traité des Lois*. Paris: 1858.

* *Ζωροαστρείων τὲ καὶ Πλατωνικῶν δογμάτων συγκεφαλαίωσις*. *Ibid.*, pp262–269.

Πρὸς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λατινικοῦ δόγματος βιβλίον. *Ibid.*, pp300–311.

Πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Βεσσαρίωνος ἀντιλήψεως ... *Ibid.*, pp311–312.

Διασάφησις τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ζωροάστρου λογίοις ἀσαφέστερον εἰρημένων. J. Opsopoei. *Oracula magica Zoroastris scholiis Plethonis et Pselli*. Paris: 1599.

Προθεωρία εἰς τὸν ἐπιτάφιον Μανουὴλ Παλαιολόγου εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Θεόδωρον. Lampros*PP* III, pp3–7.

Εἰς Μανουὴλ Παλαιολόγον περὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πραγμάτων. *Ibid.*, pp246–265.

Μονῳδία εἰς Ἑλένην Παλαιολογίναν. *Ibid.*, pp266–280.

Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα |Ἰωάννην Η΄ Παλαιολόγον|. *Ibid.*, pp309–312.

Πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην Θεόδωρον περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου. *Ibid.*, IV, pp113–135.

Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἀοιδίμῳ βασιλίδι Κλεόπῃ. *Ibid.*, pp161–175.

* *Ἐπιστολαὶ (to Bessarion)*. MohlerBess pp455–470.

Περὶ ἀρετῶν. Migne*PG* 160, cc865–882.

Περὶ ὧν Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸς Πλάτωνα διαφέρεται. *Ibid.*, cc889–929.

Περὶ εἱμαρμένης. *Ibid.*, cc961–984.

Πρὸς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λατινικοῦ δογμάτος βιβλίον. *Ibid.*, cc975–980.

Plusiadenos, John

PlusEp ⋆ *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ ἄνδρας.* B. Laourdas, *Κρ.Χρον.* 5 (1951), pp252–258.

Pseudo-Psellos

PD *Περὶ δαιμόνων.* P. Gautier, "Le de Daemonibus du Pseudo-Psellos", *REB* 38 (1980), pp105–194.

PDAltRed *Περὶ δαιμόνων.* J. Bidez. *Michel Psellus Epître sur la Chrysopée. CatMag* IV, pp97–131. Brussels: 1928.

Raoul, Manuel

RaoulEp ⋆ *Ἐπιστολαὶ ΙΒ΄.* R.J. Loenertz, *Ἐπ.Ἑτ.Βυς.Σπ.* 26 (1956), pp130–163.

Scholarios, George Gennadios

ScholAphes ⋆ *Περὶ τῆς ἀφῆς τοῦ Κυριακοῦ σώματος.* L. Petit, X.A. Siderides and M. Jugie. *Oeuvres complètes de Georgios Scholarios.* Vol. III, pp319–322. Paris: 1930.

ScholDevtPar ⋆ *Περὶ τῆς δευτέρας παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.* *Ibid.*, pp331–337.

ScholEvang ⋆ *Λόγος εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας ... Θεοτόκου Μαρίας.* *Ibid.*, I, pp1–61.

ScholGenn ⋆ *Εἰς τὴν κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* *Ibid.*, pp223–237.

ScholHamart ⋆ *Περὶ διαφορᾶς τῶν συγγνωστῶν καὶ θανασίμων ἁμαρτημάτων σύντομον.* *Ibid.*, IV, pp274–284.

ScholHelen ⋆ *Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ αὐθεντοπούλῃ κυρᾷ Ἑλένῃ τῇ Παλαιολογίνῃ θυγατρὶ τοῦ δεσπότου Κῦρ Δημητρίου.* *Ibid.*, I, pp270–277.

ScholHod ⋆ *Περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων.* *Ibid.*, III, pp434–452.

ScholJud ⋆ *Ἔλεγχος τῆς ἰουδαϊκῆς νῦν πλάνης ἐκ τε τῆς Γραφῆς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν Χριστιανικὴν ἀλήθειαν παραθέσεως.* *Ibid.*, pp251–304.

ScholKeph ⋆ *Κεφάλαια πάνυ ὠφέλιμα.* *Ibid.*, IV, pp300–306.

ScholLat ⋆ *Περὶ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ Θεοῦ λατρείας, ἢ νόμος εὐαγγελικὸς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ.* *Ibid.*, pp236–264.

ScholMirac ⋆ *Sur la rareté des miracles au temps présent.* *Ibid.*, III, pp368–390.

ScholMorph ⋆ *Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεταμόρφωσιν.* *Ibid.*, I, pp149–161.

ScholNest ⋆ *Ὁμιλία πρώτη τῶν νηστειῶν ....* *Ibid.*, pp81–91.

ScholOrth * Εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κυριακῇ τῶν νηστειῶν. *Ibid.*, pp102–122.

ScholParask * Ὁμιλία ῥηθεῖσα τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ παρασκευῇ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ. *Ibid.*, pp137–149.

ScholSoma * Περὶ τοῦ μυστηριώδους σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Ibid.*, pp123–136.

ScholTel * Ὁμιλία ἐπὶ τῇ παραβολῇ τοῦ τελώνου καὶ φαρισαίου. *Ibid.*, pp61–71.

ScholXylon * Περὶ τῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ ξυλῶν, τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλου καὶ τῆς γνώσεως. *Ibid.*, III, pp338–343.

ScholZet * Ἀναγκαῖα ζητήματα. *Ibid.*, IV, pp306–309.

* Ὁμιλία ἐπὶ τῇ παραβολῇ τοῦ ἀσώτου, καὶ περὶ μετανοίας. *Ibid.*, I, pp71–80.

Περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης. *Ibid.*, pp91–102.

Τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν εἰσοδίων προσφωνητικός. *Ibid.*, pp161–172.

* Πανηγυρικὸς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους. *Ibid.*, pp172–187.

* Τινας ἂν εἴπε λόγους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος ἐν τῷ κλαίειν μετὰ τὴν ἄρνησιν. *Ibid.*, pp189–196.

Ἐπὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου. *Ibid.*, pp197–210.

* Λόγος ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τοῦ τιμίου προφήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου. *Ibid.*, pp211–223.

* Μουψδία ἐπικήδειος ἐπὶ τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ πατρὶ καὶ διδασκάλῳ κυρῷ Μάρκῳ τῷ Ἐφέσσῳ κατὰ κόσμον Εὐγενικῷ. *Ibid.*, pp247–254.

Ἐπιτάφιος τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ βασιλέως κῦρ Θεοδώρῳ δεσπότῃ. *Ibid.*, pp255–262.

Παραμυθητικὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνου ἐπὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς δεσποίνης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. *Ibid.*, pp262–270.

Ἐπιτάφιος τῷ υἱῷ Κῦρ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Σοφιανῷ. *Ibid.*, pp277–283.

Θρῆνος. *Ibid.*, pp283–294.

* Κατὰ τῆς σιμωνιακῆς αἱρέσεως ἢ ἀπιστίας. *Ibid.*, III, pp240–251.

Εἰς τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν ῥητὸν τό, <Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες>. *Ibid.*, pp315–319.

Περὶ τῆς ἀρνήσεως τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀλεκτόρος φωνῆς. *Ibid.*, pp322–326.

Περὶ τῆς ὥρας καθ' ἣν ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Δεσπότης ἡμῶν. *Ibid.*, pp326–331.

Εἰ μία οὐσία Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. *Ibid.*, pp343–362.

Λύσις ζητήσεως περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ἀνθρωπότητος. *Ibid.*, pp363–368.

Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν Χριστῷ ἀνθρωπότητος. *Ibid.*, pp390–396.

Ὅτι οἱ ἄγγελοι οὐ προκόπτουσιν εἰς τὴν μακαριότητα μετὰ τὸ βεβαιωθῆναι ἐν αὐτῆς καίτοι τι τῆς προκοπῆς λαμβανούσιν. *Ibid.*, pp396–406.

Περὶ τῶν τὰ φαῦλα πραττόντων, πότερον ἄκοντες πράττουσιν ἢ ἑκόντες, ἀπορία καὶ λύσις. *Ibid.*, pp407–416.

Περὶ τῶν κατ'ἀρετὴν ἔργων, ὧν ἄνευ ἡ πίστις ἄκαρπος ἐστὶ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. *Ibid.*, pp416–424.

Περὶ τοῦ ἀσυγκρίτως ἐνδοξοτέραν εἶναι τῶν Σεραφὶμ τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον. *Ibid.*, pp425–427.

Ἀπόδειξις. Ὅτι μείζων πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος. *Ibid.*, pp427–430.

* *Περὶ τῆς ἡμῶν πίστεως.* *Ibid.*, pp453–458.

Ἀπόκρισις πρὸς τὰ κεφάλαια συλλογιστικὰ πρὸς Λατίνους τοῦ Μάρκου Μητροπολίτου Ἐφεσοῦ τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ. Migne*PG* 161, cc11–138.

* *Ἐπιστολὴ τῇ βασιλίσσῃ περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ Γεμιστοῦ.* Petit, Siderides and Jugie. Vol. IV, pp151–155.

Τῷ τιμωτάτῳ καὶ πάντα ἀρίστῳ κυρίῳ Ἰωσὴφ τῷ ἐξάρχῳ περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ Γεμιστοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς πολυθείας. *Ibid.*, pp155–172.

Περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἐν Τριάδι Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ὄντων δημιουργοῦ, καὶ κατὰ ἀθέων .... *Ibid.*, pp172–189.

Ἃ δεῖ ἀρχιερέα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκειν. *Ibid.*, pp190–197.

* *Τῷ τιμωτάτῳ ἐν μοναχοῖς κῦρ Μαξίμου.* *Ibid.*, pp198–206.

Ζητήματα καὶ ἐρωτήσεις τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου δεσπότου Σερβίας καὶ ἀποκρίσεις τοῦ πατριάρχου. *Ibid.*, pp207–211.

* *Ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῇ παραιτήσει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης.* Ibid pp211–231.

Τῇ κατὰ Θεὸν εὐγενεστάτῃ ... κυρᾷ ... Σωφροσύνῃ. *Ibid.*, pp234–235.

* *Ἐπιστολὴ ἀπολογίας.* *Ibid.*, pp264–274.

Fragments. Ibid pp284–300.

Staurakios, John

StaurDem * *Λόγος εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ μυροῤῥόα μεγάλου Δημητρίου.* I. Iberites, *Μακεδονικὰ* I (1940), pp334–376.

Symeon of Thessaloniki

SymThesDem * *Διάταξις ἀκριβὴς περὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου.* B. Laourdas, *Γρηγ.Παλ.* 39 (1956), pp327–334.

SymThesDem2 * *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις μέγιστον ἀθλητὴν καὶ μυροβλύτην Δημήτριον* ... D. Balfour. *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessaloniki. WByzSt* XIII, pp39–69. Vienna: 1979.

SymThesDid * *Διδασκαλία πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβῆ δεσπότην κυρὸν Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Παλαιολόγον γενόμενον μοναχὸν παραμυθητικὴ τὲ ἅμα καὶ παραινετική. Ibid.*, pp78–82.

SymThesSym * *Συμβουλία καὶ εὐχὴ τοῖς ἱσταμένοις πιστῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίως ἔχουσιν ἐπιτίμησις. Ibid.*, pp83–87.

* *Ὁμιλία καὶ ἀπολογία ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς Κωνσταντινούπολιν. Ibid.*, pp70–76.

* *Συμβουλία ὁμοίως περὶ τοῦ ἵστασθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ κατὰ τῶν φρονούντων τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐπιτίμησις. Ibid.*, pp88–90.

Ἐπιστολαί. Ibid., pp91–97.

Symeon monachos

SymMonDem * *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ πανένδοξον τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρα Δημήτριον.* B. Laourdas, *Μακεδονικὰ* 4 (1955–1960), pp97–104.

Symeonakes, John

SymeonGen * *Εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ τιμίου προφήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου.* S.G. Mercati. *Miscellanea G. Mercati.* Vol. III, pp326–328. Vatican: 1946.

* *Διὰ αἰχμαλώτους. Ibid.*, pp329–330.

Ἐπιτάφιος εἰς Ἰωάννην τὸν Κάκον. Ibid., pp331–334.

Μουψδία εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου Μυλαίου μοναχοῦ γενομένου Καλλίστου. Ibid., pp334–336.

Theoktistos of Adrianople (7492)

Περὶ τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ. A. Dondaine, *AFP* 21 (1951), pp433–446.

Theoktistos of Studium (7498)

TheokAth * *Βίος Ἀθανασίου.* H. Delehaye, *MélRome* 17 (1897), pp39–75.

TheokRel * *Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ... πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου.* A-M. Maffrey-Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium.* Brookline, Mass.: 1983.

Theoleptos of Philadelphia (7509)

TheolepInst * *Instruction sur les devoirs de la vie commune*; (excerpts in French translation). S. Salaville, *REB* 2 (1944), pp119–125.

TheolepPhev * *Ὅτι δεῖ φεύγειν τοὺς ἀποσχιζομένους τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν*; (in part). *Idem*, *REB* 5 (1947), pp122–128.

Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς βασίλισσαν Εἰρήνην. *Ibid.*, pp105–106.

Τῇ λαμπρᾷ κυριακῇ .... *Ibid.*, pp110–112.

Λόγος λαληθεὶς πρὸς τὸ κατὰ τὴν Φιλαδελφίαν χριστιανικώτατον πλήρωμα; (in part). *Ibid.*, pp128–135.

Λόγος τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ κρυπτὴν εὐγασίαν διασαφῶν; (in part). Migne*PG* 143, cc381–404.

Διδασκαλία πρὸς μοναζούσας εὐφυῶς τὸ μυστήριον τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως προσαρμόζουσα τῇ μοναδικῇ πολιτεία. S. Salaville. *Mélanges J. de Ghellinck*. Vol. II, pp881–883. Gembloux: 1951.

Theophanes III of Nikea (7615)

TheophNikEp * *Ἐπιστολαὶ Α΄ - Γ΄*. Migne*PG* 150, cc287–300, 300–320, 319–350.

TheophNikEu * *Εὐχὴ εὐχαριστήριος*. *Ibid.*, cc351–356.

Theophanes of Peritheorion (7616)

TheophPMax * *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία ... τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου τοῦ καλύβην πυροπολούντος ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει*. E. Kourilas and F. Halkin, *AnalBoll* 54 (1936), pp65–109.

Trapezountios, George

TrapPist * *Περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως πρὸς τὸν Ἀμιρᾶν*. G.Th Zoras. *Γεώργιος ὁ Τραπεζούντιος καὶ αἱ πρὸς ἑλληνοτουρκικὴν συνεννόησιν προσπάθειαι αὐτοῦ*, pp93–165. Athens: 1954.

Πρὸς Ἰωάννην τὸν Κουβωκλήσιον περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Migne*PG* 161, cc769–828.

(*) *Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*. *Ibid.*, cc829–868.

* *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ... βασιλέα ... Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον*. *Ibid.*, cc895–908.

Zacharias, John (6489)

Ἐπιστολὴ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Μοδηνῷ. M. Treu *PVGPO* 1899, p39.

Στίχοι εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου. *Ibid.*, pp39-40.

Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννην τὸν Πρόδρομον. *Ibid.*, p40

4.3 Other Individual Sources

Achmet*On* Achmet. *Ὀνειροκριτικόν*. F. Drexl. *Acmetis Oneirocriticon*. Leipzig: 1925.

Ampelius, Lucius. *Liber memorialis*. E. Assmann. Leipzig: 1935.

Anna Komnena. *Ἀλεξιάς*. B. Leib. *Anne Comnène Alexiade*. 3 vols. Paris: 1937–1945; (with an index by P. Gautier. Paris: 1976).

Anonymous. *The Mysteries of Saint John the Apostle and Holy Virgin*. E.A.W. Budge. *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, pp59–74 (text) and 241–257 (translation). Oxford: 1913.

Apollonius Rhodius. *Ἀργοναυτικῶν*. H. Fränkel. *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica*. Oxford: 1961.

Aristotle. *Περὶ ψυχῆς*. W.D. Ross. *Aristotelis de Anima*. Oxford: 1956.

Basil of Caesarea. *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸν προφήτην Ἠσαίαν*. Migne*PG* 30, cc117–668.

Basil of Caesarea. *Περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος*. Migne *PG* 32, cc67–218.

BibSoph *Βίβλος σοφίας*. F. Nau. *PS* I/ii. Paris: 1907, pp1363–1392; Del*Anec* pp601–603; and *CCAG* VII, pp174–181.

Choniates, Niketas. *Χρονικὴ διήγησις*. I.A. van Dieten. *CFHB* XI. Berlin: 1975.

Clement of Alexandria. *Παιδαγωγός*. H-I. Marrou, C. Mondésert, and C. Matray. *Clement d'Alexandrie, Le Pédagogue*. 3 vols. *SC* 70, 108, and 178. Paris: 1960–1970.

Conybeare*Bapt* The Greek Baptismal Service from the Barbarini Euchologion of the eighth century. F.C. Conybeare. *Rituale Armenorum, Being the administration of the sacraments and the breviary rites of the Armenian Church together with the Greek rites of Baptism and Epiphany*. Oxford: 1905.

CorpHerm *Corpus Hermeticum*. A. Nock, with a translation by A.J. Festugière. 4 vols. Paris: 1954.

Delatte*Ex* *Ἐξορκισμοί*. L. Delatte. *Un office Byzantin d'exorcisme*. Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe de Lettres, Mémoires 2ème série, 52.1. Brussels: 1957.

DigAk *Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης*. J. Mavrogordato. *Digenes Akrites*. Oxford: 1956.

Eusebios of Caesarea. *Προπαρασκευῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς*. E.H. Gifford. *Eusebii Praeparatio Evangelica*. 2 vols., with two further volumes of translation and notes. Oxford: 1903

EuZig Pan — Euthymios Zigabenos *Πανοπλία δογματική* Migne *PG* 130, cc33-1362

GermBogomils — Germanos [illegible] *ταις ἐν Κ[illegible] ουνόλοις* [illegible] [illegible]kar, *Phundagiagites* pp115-125

Homer *Ὀδύσσεια* T W Allen *Homeri opera* III-IV Oxford 1917, 1919

Iamblichus *Περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μυστηρίων* E des Places *Jamblique, Les Mystères d'Egypte* Paris 1966

Joh[illegible]ntom *Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ματθαῖον* [illegible] Migne *PG* 57, c13-58, c794

John Damaskenos *Περὶ αἱρέσεων* Migne *PG* 94, c1604a-b

Josephus, Flavius *Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία* H St J Thackeray, R Marcus, A Wikgren, and L-H Feldman *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities* 7 vols London Loeb, 1961-1981

Justin Martyr *Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας* Migne *PG* 6, cc241-312

Kyran — *Κυρανίδες* D Kaimakis *Die Kyraniden* Frankfurt-am-Main 1980

LegrandEx — *Ἐξορκισμοί* Legrand *Bib* II, pp.xviii-xx and 17-19

Lucan, M. Annaeus *Pharsalia* C E Haskins London 1887, reprint ed New York 1971

Lucian of Samosata *Ἀληθῆ διηγήματα B'* M D Macleod *Luciani opera* I, pp103-125 Oxford 1972

Lucian of Samosata *Μένιππος ἢ νεκυομαντεία* Ibid, II 38 pp261-275 Oxford 1974

NikOn — N[illegible]m of Co[illegible] *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικηφόρου* [illegible] *στίχων ἰάμβων κατὰ στοιχεῖον* [illegible] Trans[illegible] b[illegible] Patriarchen Nikephoros", in [illegible] [illegible]rhard, pp[illegible] Ed A M Koeniger Beiträge zur Geschichte des Christlichen Altertums und der Byzantinischen Literatur Bonn-Leipzig 1922

OrChal — *Oracula Chaldaica* E des Places *Oracles Chaldaïques* Paris 1971

Pausanias *Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις* M H Ro[illegible] *Pausanias Graeciae descriptio* 3 vols Leipzig [illegible]1981

Petronius Arbiter *Satyricon* E H Warmington London Loeb, 1969

[illegible] *Πολιτεία* I Burnet *Platonis Opera* IV Oxford

Plotinus. *Ἐννεάδες*. P. Henry and H-R. Schyzer. *Plotini Enneas*. 3 vols. Paris-Brussels: 1951-1973.

Porphyrius Tyrius. *Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψυχων*. J. Bouffartigue and M. Patillon. *Porphyre de l'Abstinence*. 2 vols. Paris: 1977-1979.

Proclus Diadochus. *Εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον Πλάτωνος*. E. Diehl. *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria*. 3 vols. Leipzig: 1903-1906.

Prodromos, Theodore. *Στιχοὶ συντεθέντες παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου φιλοσόφου κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου τῇ σεβαστοκρατορίσσῃ Κυρᾷ Εἰρήνῃ*. E. Miller, "Poèmes astronomiques de Théodore Prodrome et de Jean Camatère", *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, XXIII.2 (1872), pp1-112.

Psellos, Michael. *Διηγήσεις περὶ γελλοῦς*. K. Sathas. *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* V, pp572-573. Venice-Paris: 1876.

†PsellosHel †Psellos, Michael. *Περὶ τῶν δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες*. Migne*PG* 122, cc875-882.

Sextus Empiricus. *Πρὸς μαθηματικούς*. R.G. Bury. *Sextus Empiricus*. London: Loeb, 1960.

Sophronios of Jerusalem. *Διήγησις θαυμάτων τῶν ἁγίων Κύρου καὶ Ἰωάννου*. Migne*PG* 87(3), cc3423-3676.

StrittmatterExI *Ἐξορκισμοί*. A. Strittmatter, "Ein Griechisches Exorzismusbüchlein", *OC* XX-3, 66 (1930), pp169-178.

StrittmatterExII *Ἐξορκισμοί*. *Idem*, "Ein Griechisches Exorzismusbüchlein II", *OC* XXVI-2, 78 (1932), pp127-144.

Synesios Synesios of Cyrene. *Περὶ ἐνυπνίων*. N. Terzaghi. *Synesii Cyrenensis Hymni et Opuscula* II, pp143-189. Rome: 1944.

TestSol *Διαθήκη Σολομῶντος*. C.C. McCown. *The Testament of Solomon*. Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Heft 9. Leipzig: 1922.

Treatise *Traité de magie de Salomon (Ἀποτελεσματικὴ πραγματεία)*. DelAnec pp397-445.

Zonaras, John. *Ἐπιτομὴ ἱστοριῶν*. L. Dindorf. *Zonaras Epitome Historiarum*. 6 vols. Leipzig: 1868-1875.

5. Selected Secondary Works

Abel, K. "Akephalos", *RE* Suppl. XII (1970), pp9-14

Abrahamse *Magic* Abrahamse, D. de F. "Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period", *ByzF* 7 (1982), pp3-17.

Aitken, W.E.M. "Beelzeboul", *JBL* XXXI (1912), pp34-53.

d'Alverny, M.-T. "Survivance de la magie antique", in *Antike und Orient im Mittelalter*. ed., P. Wilpert. Miscellanea Mediaevalia I, Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-instituts an der Universität Köln. Berlin: 1962.

de Andres, G., Irigoin, J., and Hörandner, W. "Johannes Katrares und seine dramatisch-poetische Produktion", *JÖB* 23 (1974), pp201-214.

Angelov, D. "Zur Geschichte des Bogomilismus in Thrakien in der 1. Hälfte des 14 Jahrhunderts", *BZ* 51 (1958), pp374-378.

Angold, M. *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*. London and New York: 1984.

Arbesmann, R. "The 'Daemonium meridianum' and Greek and Latin Patristic Exegesis", *Traditio* XIV (1958), pp17-31.

Armstrong, A.H., (ed.) *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Mediaeval Philosophy*. Cambridge: 1967.

Armstrong, A.H., and Markus, R.A. *Christian Faith and Greek Philosophy*. London: 1960.

Arnaud, L. "La baskania ou le mauvais oeil chez les Grecs modernes", *EO* 15 (1912), pp385-394 and 510-524.

Asdracha, C. "La region des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siécles, étude de geographie historique", *TFByzNGPhil* 49. Athens: 1976.

Astruc, C., and Concasty, M.L. *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs III: Le Supplément Grec*. Paris: 1960.

Asveste, M.B. "*Μαγικαὶ καὶ δεισιδαίμονες συνήθειαι*", *Λαογ.* 20 (1962), pp204-212.

Aune *Magic* Aune, D.E. "Magic in Early Christianity", *Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. ed., W. Haase. II.23.2, pp1507-1557. Berlin, New York: 1980.

Baker, D., (ed.) *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*. Edinburgh: 1973.

Balfour, D. "St. Gregory of Sinai's Life Story and Spiritual Profile", *Θεολ. ΝΓ'* (1982), pp30-62.

Bamberger *Angels* Bamberger, B.J. *Fallen Angels*. Philadelphia: 1952.

Barb, A.A. "The Vulture Epistle", *JWarb* 13 (1950), pp319-322.

Barb, A.A. "The Surv
flict between Paganism
tury, pp100–125. ed., A
Barb, A.A. "Three P
pp1–22.

Barb *Antaura* — Barb, A.A. "Antaura, U
mother", *JWarb* 29 (196

Barker, E. *Social and P*
Justinian I to the Last P

Barker, J.W. *Manuel II*
in Late Byzantine State
Rutgers U.P., 1968.

Bartelink, G.J.M. "*Mu*
12 (1958), pp37–44.

Bartelink, G.J.M. "Les
21 (1967), pp12–24.

Barton *Na*[illegible] — Barton, G.A. "The Or
Demons in the Extra-Ca
100 A.D.", *JBL* XXXI (1

Bauckham, R. "The Fa
Philosophy in Hermias a
39 (1985), pp313–330.

Beck, H.-G. *Theodoros*
tinischen Weltbildes im

Beck *Kirche* — Beck, H.-G. *Kirche und*
ischen Reich. Handbuch
Munich: 1959.

Beck, H.-G. *Geschichte*
Munich: 1971.

Bees, N.A. *Τὰ χειρόγρα*
oussis. Athens: 1967.

Betz, H.D., (ed.) *The*
Chicago and London: 19

Beyer *Gregoras* — Beyer, H.-V. *Gregoras*
Studien XII. Vienna: 19

Bloomfield *Cardinal* — Bloomfield, M.W. "Th
Cardinal Sins", *HThR* 5

Bloomfield *Deadly* — Bloomfield, M.W. *Th*
to the History of a Religio
Mediaeval English Litera

Blum, C. "The Meanin
in the Byzantine Age".

Blum, R. and E. *Healt*
ford: 1965.

B m & Blum *Hour* — Blum, R. and E. *The*
and Mystery in Rural

of the Magic Arts", in *The Con-*
Christianity in the Fourth Cen-
omigliano. Oxford: 1963.

ve Amulets", *JWarb* 27 (1964),

Mermaid and the Devil's Grand-
pp1–23.

itical Thought in Byzantium from
eologus. Oxford: 1957.

'alaeologus (1391–1425). A Study
anship. New Brunswick, N.J.:

καλος, épithéte du diable", *VChr*

emons commes brigands", *VChr*

in of the Names of Angels and
onical Apocalyptic Literature to
12), pp156–167.

of the Angels as the Source of
d Clement of Alexandria", *VChr*

Gokey *Terminology*

letochites. Die Krise des byzan-
Jahrhundert. Munich: 1952.

teologische Literatur im Byzantin-
er Altertumswissenschaft XII.2.1.

Gone *Kallistos*

der *Byzantinischen Volksliteratur*.

βα τῶν Μετέωρων. ed., L. Vran-

Goodenough *Symb*

eek Magical Papyri in Translation.
6.

Goosens *Femmes*

tirrhetica I. Wiener Byzantinische

Origin of the Concept of the Seven
(1941), pp121–128.

even Deadly Sins: An Introduction
a Concept with Special Reference to
re. East Lansing, Michigan: 1952.

; of στοιχεῖον and its Derivatives
rJb XLIV (1946), pp315–325.

and Healing in Rural Greece. Stan-

angerous Hour. The Lore of Crisis
ece. London: 1970.

Böcher *Dämonen.* Böcher, O. *Dämonenfurcht und Dämonenabwehr; Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe.* Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom alten und neuen Testament, Fünfte Folge, Heft 10. Kohlhammer-Stuttgart-Berlin, etc.: 1970.

Böcher *Christus* Böcher, O. *Christus Exorcista: Dämonismus und Taufe im Neuen Testament.* Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom alten unde neuen Testament, Fünfte Folge, Heft 16. Kohlhammer-Stuttgart-Berlin, etc.: 1972.

Bogdanović, D. *Jean Climaque dans la litterature byzantine et la litterature serbe ancienne.* Belgrade: 1968.

Bonner, C. "Demons of the Bath", in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp203–208. Egypt Exploration Society. London: 1932.

Bonner, C. "The Technique of Exorcism", *HThR* 36 (1943), pp39–49.

Bonner, C. "The Violence of Departing Demons", *HThR* 37 (1944), pp334–336.

Bonner *Amulets* Bonner, C. *Studies in Magical Amulets.* Michigan-London: 1950.

de Boor, C. "Zur Vision Taxaotes", *BZ* 5 (1896), pp306–310.

Bouché-Leclercq, A. *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité.* 4 volumes. Paris: 1879–1882; reprint ed., New York: 1975.

duBoulay *Portrait* du Boulay, J. *Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village.* Oxford: 1974; Clarendon, 1979.

duBoulay *Vampire* du Boulay, J. "The Greek Vampire: a Study of Cyclical Symbolism in Marriage and Death", *Man* 17 (n.s.) (1982), pp219–238.

Bousset, D.W. "Die Himmelreise der Seele", *ARw* 4 (1901), pp136–169, 229–273.

Bousset, W. *The Antichrist Legend. A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore.* Translated by A.H Keane. London 1896.

Boyd, J.W. *Satan and Māra. Christian and Buddhist Symbols of Evil.* Leiden: 1975.

Brehier, L. "Un Patriarche sorcier à Constantinople", *ROChr* 9 (1904), pp261–268.

Bromiley, G.W., (trans., and ed.) *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* 10 vols Grand Rapids: 1968–1976.

Brown *Sorcery* Brown, P. "Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages", in *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*, pp17–45. ed., M. Douglas. ASA Monographs 9. London: 1970.

Browning, R. *Mediaeval and Modern Greek.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: 1983.

Bruel *Superstition* — Bruel, C. "Superstition et magie dans la mentalité religieuse byzantine sous les Paléologues". Mémoire de la Maîtrise d'Histoire. Toulouse: 1970.

Burkert, W. "Στοιχεῖον: Eine semasiologische Studie", *Philologus* 103 (1959), pp167–197.

Butler *Magic* — Butler, E.M. *Ritual Magic*. Cambridge: 1949.

Caillois *Démons* — Caillois, R. "Les démons du midi", *RHR* 115 (1937), pp142–173; and (II), 116 (1937), pp54–83 and 143–186.

Cajkanovic, V. "De daemonibus quibusdam Neohellenicae et Serbicae superstitione communibus". Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini. *SBN* V (1939), pp416–426.

Campbell *Honour* — Campbell, J.K. *Honour, Family and Patronage*. Oxford: 1964.

Canart, P. *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1745–1962*. 2 parts. Vatican: 1970–1973.

Casey, R.P., and Thomson, R.W. "A Dialogue Between Christ and the Devil", *JThS* 6 (1955), pp49–65.

Chadwick, H. *The Early Church*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967.

Chalandon, F. *Les Comnène*. Paris: 1912.

Chantraine, P. *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue Grecque; histoire des mots*. Paris: 1968.

Charanis, P. *Social, Economic and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1973.

Charles, R.H. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*. Oxford: 1913.

Clucas, L.M. "Eschatological Theory in Byzantine Hesychasm", *BZ* 70 (1977), pp324–346.

Cohn *Demons* — Cohn, N. *Europe's Inner Demons*. St. Albans: Paladin, 1976.

Colpe, C. "Geister (Dämonen): B.III, Östliche Mittelmeerwelt seit dem 4./3. Jh. vC.; a) Synkretismus in Ägypten", *RAC* 9 (1976), cc615–625.

Conybeare, F.C. "The Testament of Solomon", *JQR* XI (1898–1899), pp1–45.

Coxe, H.O. *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues I; Greek Manuscripts*. Oxford: 1853; reprinted with corrections, 1969.

Cumont, F. "Demetrios Chloros et la tradition des Coiranides", *BAntFr* 1919, pp175–181.

Cupane *Magia* — Cupane, C. "La magia a Bisanzio nel secolo XIV: azione e reazione", *JÖB* 29 (1980), pp237–262.

Daniélou *Démons* — Daniélou, J. "Les démons de l'air dans la 'Vie d'Antoine'", in *Antonius Magnus eremita, 356–1956*. ed., B. Steidle. *Studia Anselmiana* 38 (1956), pp136–147.

Daniélou, J. "Démon: II. Dans la littérature ecclésiastique jusqu'a Origène", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire* 3 (1957), cc152–189.

Dawes, E., and Baynes, N.H. *Three Byzantine Saints*. Oxford: 1948.

Dawood — Dawood, N.J., (trans.) *The Koran*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.

Delatte, A. "Études sur la magie grecque (I) v, *Ἀκέφαλος Θεός*", *BCH* 38 (1914), pp189–249.

Delatte *Catoptro.* — Delatte, A. *La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés*. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. XLVIII. Liège-Paris: 1932.

Delatte *Plantes* — Delatte, A. "Le Traité des Plantes Planétaires d'un manuscrit de Leningrad". Mélanges H. Grégoire I. *AIPHOS* IX (1949), pp145–177.

Delatte *Gennadianus* — Delatte, A. "Un nouveau témoin de la littérature Solomonique, le codex Gennadianus 45 d'Athènes", *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politique*, 5ème série, XLV (1959), pp280–321.

Delatte, A., and P. Derchain. *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*. Paris: 1964.

Delatte *Contrib.* — Delatte, A., and Josserand, Ch. "Contribution à l'étude de la démonologie byzantine". Mélanges Bidez. *AIPHO* II (1934), pp207–232.

Delatte *Cyranides* — Delatte, L. *Textes latins et vieux français relatifs aux Cyranides*. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. XCII. Paris: 1942.

Delatte *Ex* — Delatte, L. *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme*. Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe de Lettres, Mémoires 2ème série, 52.1. Brussels: 1957.

Demponos, A.-D. "*Μαγική ἰατρική στὴν Κεφαλονιά. Θεραπευτικὰ ξόρκια*", *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Χρονικά*, 1 (1976), pp192–206.

Derrett *Gerasene* — Derrett, J.D.M. "Spirit Possession and the Gerasene Demoniac", *Man* 14 (n.s.) (1979), pp286–293.

Devreesse, R. *Codices Vaticani Graeci 330–603*. Vatican: 1937.

Devreesse, R. *Codices Vaticani Graeci 604–866*. Vatican: 1940.

Devreesse, R. *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs II: le Fonds Coislin*. Paris: 1945.

Dimaras, C.T. *A History of Modern Greek Literature*. London: 1974.

Dodds *Progress* — Dodds, E.R. *The Ancient Concept of Progress and Other Essays on Greek Literature and Belief*. Oxford: 1973.

Dölger, F. *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual: Eine Religionsgeschichtliche Studie*. Paderborn: 1969.

Douglas, M. *Natural Symbols*. London: 1970.

Ducellier *Drame* — Ducellier, A. *Le drame de Byzance, idéal et échec d'une société Chrétienne*. Paris: 1976.

Ducellier *Diable* — Ducellier, A. "Le Diable à Byzance", *Le Diable au Moyen Age (doctrine, problèmes moraux, représentations). Senefiance No 6*. 3eme Colloque organisé par le C.U.E.R.M.A. à Aix-en-Provence, Mars 1978. Publications du CUERMA, Univeristé de Provence: 1979.

Dujčev, I. "La miracula S. Demetrii Thesalonicensis di Giovanni Stavracio", *RSBN* 14-16 (1977-1979), pp239-247.

Dujčev, I. "A quelle époque vécut l'hagiographie Jean Staurakios", *AnalBoll* 100 (1982), pp677-681.

Duling, D.C. " The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8.42-49", *HThR* 78.1-2 (1985), pp1-25.

Eckert, G and P.E. Formozis. *Geister- und Dämonenglaube im Pontus*. Volkskundliche Miszellen aus Mazedonien, Heft 3. Thessaloniki: 1943.

Eitrem *Notes* — Eitrem, S. "Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament", *SOsl* Fasc. Supplet. XX, 1966.

Emmerson, R.K. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Mediaeval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature*. Seattle: 1981.

EJ — *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. 16 vols. Jerusalem: 1972.

Engemann, J. "Zur Verbreitung magischer Übelabwehr in der nichtchristlichen und christlichen Spätantike", *JbAChr* 18 (1975), pp22-48.

Fabricius, J.A. *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* I. Hamburg: 1722.

Ferguson, E. *Demonology of the Early Christian World*. New York and Toronto: 1984.

Ficker *Phundag.* — Ficker, G. *Die Phundagiagiten; Ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*. Leipzig: 1908.

Field, M.G. *Angels and Ministers of Grace*. London: 1971

Fitzgerald *Synesius* — Fitzgerald, A., (trans.) *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene*. London: 1930.

Galatariotou, C. "Holy Women and W
Byzantine Conceptions of Gender", *Byza*
Greek Studies 9 (1984–1985), pp55–94.

Garnett, L.M.J. *The Women of Turkey*
The Christian Women. London: 1890.

Gaster, M. "Two Thousand Years of a C
Child-Stealing Witch", *Folklore* XI (1900)

Gaylord, H.E. "How Satanael Lost hi
(1982), pp303–309.

Geanakoplos, D.J. *Emperor Michael P*
West, 1258–1282. Cambridge, Mass.: 195

Geanakoplos, D.J. *Byzantine East and*
Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and
ford: 1966.

Geller, M.J. "Jesus Theurgic Powers: P
mud and Incantation Bowls", *JJS* 28 (19

Giannelli, C. *Codices Vaticani Graeci 14*
1940.

Giannelli, C. *Codices Vaticani Graeci 16*
1961.

Gill, J. *The Council of Florence*. Cambr

Gokey *Terminology* — Gokey, F.X. *The Terminology for the De*
in the Apostolic Fathers. Catholic Univ
Patristic Studies XCIII. Washington, DC

Goldziher, I. "Eisen als Schutz gegen D
(1907), pp41–46.

Gone *Kallistos* — Gone, D.B. *Τὸ Συγγραφικὸν Ἔργο*
ικοῦ Πατριαρχοῦ Καλλίστου Α΄.
διδακτορία ὑποβληθεῖσα εἰς τὴν Θεο
τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν. Athens:

Goodenough *Symb.* — Goodenough, E.R. *Jewish Symbols in th*
riod. 13 vols. Bollingen Series XXXVII.
1963 and 1968.

Goosens *Femmes* — Goosens, R. "Les femmes de la mer"
Σ.Π. Κυριακίδην. *Ἑλληνικά, Παρ*
231. Thessaloniki: 1953.

Gottwald, J. "Deux amulettes", *EO* 12

Grégoire, H. "Thraces et Thessaliens,
et de magie". *Hommages à Joseph Bidez*
pp375–386. *Collection Latomus* II. Bruss

Gress-Wright, D. "Bogomilism in Con
(1977), pp163–185.

Grosdidier de Matons, J. "Philolo
gramme de l'année 1973–1974: I. Démon
ination, astrologie à Byzance", *Annua*

tique des Hautes Études, IVe section: sciences historiques et philologiques, 107 (1974-1975), pp485-491.

G. de Matons *Psellos* Grosdidier de Matons, J. "Psellos et le monde de l'irrationnel", *TM* 6 (1976), pp325-349.

Grumel *Regestes* Grumel, V., Laurent, V., and Darrouzès, J. *Les regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*. 6 vols. Istanbul-Paris: 1932-1979.

Grumel, V. *La chronologie. Traité d'études byzantines* I. ed., P. Lemerle. Paris: 1926.

Guilland, R. *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras*. Paris: 1926.

Guilland, R. *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*. 2 vols. Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 35. Berlin: 1967.

Guillaumont, A. and C. "Démon: III. Dans la plus ancienne littérature monastique", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire* 3 (1957), cc189-212.

Gundel, H.-G. *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri. MünchBeitr* 53. Munich: 1968.

Gundel *Dekane* Gundel, K.W.O. *Dekane und Dekansternbilder; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sternbilder der Kulturvölker*. Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 19. Glückstadt-Hamburg: 1936.

Haag, H. *Teufelsglaube*. Tubingen: 1974.

Halkin, F. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*. Subsidia Hagiographica 8a. 3rd ed. Brussels: 1957.

van der Hart, R. *The Theology of Angels and Devils*. Theology Today No.36. Cork: 1972.

Hatch, E., and Redpath, H.A. *A Concordance to the Septuagint*. Oxford: 1897; reprint ed., Graz: 1975.

Hausherr, I. "L'origine de la théorie orientale des huits péches capitaux", *OC* XXX (1935) No.86, pp164-175.

Heim, R. "Incantamenta magica Graeca Latina", *Jahrbücher für classiche Philologie*, Supp. XIX, 1892-1893. pp463-576.

Hemellos, S.D. "Ἐξορκισμοὶ τῆς Γελλοῦς ἐκ χειρογράφων ἐξ Ἀμοργοῦ", Ἐπ.Λαογρ.Ἀρχ. ΙΖ' (1964). pp40-52.

Herzfeld, M. "Meaning and Morality: a Semiotic Approach to Evil Eye Accusations in a Greek Village", *American Ethnologist* 8.3 (1981), pp560-574.

Hopfner *OZauber.* Hopfner, Th. *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, ed., C. Wessely, XXI. Leipzig: 1921; reprint ed., Amsterdam: 1974.

Hopfner *Lekano.* Hopfner, Th. "Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien", in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*. Egypt Exploration Society London 1932

Hunger, H. *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Supplementum Graecum*. Vienna: 1977.

Hunger, H. "Un roman byzantin et son atmosphère: Callimaque et Chrysorrhoé", *TM* 3 (1968), pp405–422.

Hunger, H. *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*. 2 vols. Munich: 1978.

Hunger, H., and Kresten, O. *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. 3 vols. Vienna: 1961–1976.

Huppenbauer, H.W. "Belial in den Qumrantexten", *ThZ* 15 (1959), pp81–89.

Hussey *Church* — Hussey, J.M. *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. Oxford: 1986.

Iverites, I. "Ἰωάννου Σταυρακίου λόγος εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου", *Μακεδονικά* 1 (1940), pp324–376.

Jacob *Exorcisme* — Jacob, A. "Un exorcisme inédit du Vat.gr.1572", *OCP* 37 (1971), pp244–249.

Janiewitsch *Aura* — Janiewitsch, O. "*ΑΥΡΑ*", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 13 (1910), pp627–630.

Janin, R. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, I. Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique, III. Les églises et les monastères*. Paris: 1969.

Janin, R. *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantines*. Paris: 1975.

Janssens, Y. "Le thème de la fornication des anges", in *Le origini dello Gnosticismo*, pp488–495. ed., U. Bianchi. Colloquio di Messina 1966. Leiden: 1967.

Jeffreys, E.M. "The Later Greek Verse Romances", in *Byzantine Papers*, pp116–127. ed., E.M. Jeffreys and A. Moffatt. Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference, Canberra 1978. Canberra: 1981.

Jeffreys, E.M., and M.J. *Popular Literature in Late Byzantium*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1983.

Jeffreys, M.J. "The Literary Emergence of Vernacular Greek", *Mosaic* 8 (1975), pp171–193.

Joannou, P.-P. "Les croyances démonologiques au XIe siècle à Byzance", *Actes du VIe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines* I, pp245–260. Paris: 1950.

Joannou *Démon* — Joannou, P.-P. *Démonologie populaire - démonologie critique au XIe siècle: la vie inédite de S. Auxence par M. Psellus*. Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa Wiesbaden: 1971.

Jung *Angels* — Jung, L. *Fallen Angles in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature: A Study in Comparative Folklore*. Philadelphia: 1926.

Jürss, F. "Iohannes Katrarios und der Dialog Hermippos oder über die Astrologie", *BZ* 59 (1966), pp275–284.

Kaimakis, D. *Die Kyraniden*. Frankfurt-am-Main: 1980.

Kallis *Geister* — Kallis, A. "Geister (Dämonen): C.II, Griechische Väter", *RAC* 9 (1976), cc700–715.

Kazhdan, A., and Constable, G. *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982.

Kelly *Devil* — Kelly, H.A. "The Devil in the Desert", *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 26 (1964), pp190–220.

Kelly *Satan* — Kelly, H.A. *Towards the Death of Satan; the Growth and Decline of Christian Demonology*. London, etc.: 1968.

Kelly *Serpent* — Kelly, H.A. "The Metamorphoses of the Eden Serpent During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance", *Viator* 2 (1971), pp301–327.

Kelly *Baptism* — Kelly, H.A. *The Devil at Baptism; Ritual, Theology, and Drama*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Kelly, J.N.D. *Early Christian Creeds*. 3rd ed. New York 1972.

Kelly *Doctrines* — Kelly, J.N.D. *Early Christian Doctrines*. 5th revised ed. London: 1977.

Kittel *Wörterbuch* — Kittel, G., and Friedrich, G. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. 10 vols. Stuttgart: 1933–1979.

Koukoules *Katades.* — Koukoules, Ph. "*Μεσαωνικοὶ καὶ Νεοελληνικοὶ κατάδεσμοι*", *Λαογ.* 8 (1921–1925), pp302–346, and *Λαογ.* 9 (1926–1928), pp52–108.

Koukoules *Vios* — Koukoules, Ph. *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*. Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes 11. *Α΄*.II. Athens: 1948.

Krivoshein, B. "Angels and Demons in the Eastern Orthodox Spiritual Tradition", in *The Angels of Light and the Powers of Darkness*, pp22-46. ed., E.L. Mascall. A Symposium by the Members of the Fellowship of S. Alban and S. Sergius. London: 1954.

Kruse, H. "Das Reich Satans", *Biblica* 58 (1977), pp29–61.

de Labriolle, P. "Le 'Démon de Midi' ", *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 9 (1934), pp46–54.

Lafontaine-Dosogne, J. "Un thème iconographique peu connu: Marina assomant Belzébuth", *B* 32 (1962), pp251–259.

Laiou, A.E. *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II*. Cambridge, Mass.: 1972.

Laiou-Thomadakis, A.E. *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire*. Princeton: 1977.

Lampe *Lexicon* — Lampe, G.W.H. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: 1961

Langton *Satan* — Langton, E. *Satan, a Portrait*. London: 1945.

Langton *Essentials* — Langton, E. *Essentials of Demonology*. London: 1949.

Lawson *Folklore* — Lawson, J.C. *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*. Cambridge: 1910; reprint ed. New York: 1964.

Lewis, I.M. *Ecstatic Religion: an Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971.

Lewy *Oracles* — Lewy, H. *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy, Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire*. ed., M. Tardieu. Paris: 1978.

Liddell & Scott — Liddell, H.G., Scott, R., and McKenzie, R. *A Greek English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Oxford: 1940; with a supplement, 1968.

Long, A.A. *Hellenistic Philosophy*. London: 1974.

Loos *Satan* — Loos, M. "Satan als erstgeborener Gottes (ein Beitrag zur Analyse des Bogomilischen Mythus)", *Byzantinobulgarica* III (1969), pp23–35.

Loos *Heresy* — Loos, M. *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*. Prague: 1974.

Louth *Envy* — Louth, A. " Envy as the Chief Sin in Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa", *Studia Patristica* XV (1984), pp458–460.

Luck *Arcana* — Luck, G. *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. Baltimore, Md., and London: 1985.

Luibheid, C., and Russell, N., (trans.) *John Climacus, The Ladder of Divine Ascent*. London: 1982.

Lyonnet, S. "Démon: Le démon dans l'Écriture", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire* 3 (1957), cc142–152.

McCown *TestSol* — McCown, C.C. *The Testament of Solomon*. Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Heft 9. Leipzig: 1922.

McCown, C.C. "The *Ephesia Grammata* in Popular Belief", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 54 (1923), pp128–140.

MacDermot *Cult* — MacDermot, V. *The Cult of the Seer in the Ancient Middle East: a Contribution to Current Research on Hallucinations Drawn from Coptic and Other Texts*. London: 1971.

Macquarrie, J. "Demonology and the Classic Idea of Atonement", *The Expository Times* 68 (1956–1957), pp3–6 and 60–63.

Magoulias *Lives* — Magoulias, H.J. "The Lives of the Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries AD; Sorcery, Relics and Icons". *B* 7 (1967), pp228–269.

Magdalino, P. "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century", in *The Byzantine Saint*, pp51–66. ed., S. Hackel. Birmingham: 1981.

Maier, J. "Geister (Dämonen): B.III, Östliche Mittelmeerwelt seit dem 4./3. Jh. vC.; b) Frühes u. hellenistisches Judentum", and "d) Talmudisches Judentum", *RAC* 9 (1976), cc626–640 and 668–688.

Mair, L. *Witchcraft*. London: 1969.

Mango, C. *Byzantium*. London: 1980.

Martini, E., and Bassi, D. *Catalogus codicum Graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae*. 2 vols. Milan: 1906.

Marwick, M. *Witchcraft and Sorcery*. Harmondsworth: 1970.

Masai, F. *Pléthon et la platonisme de Mistra*. Paris: 1956.

Mascall, E.L., (ed.) *The Angels of Light and the Powers of Darkness*. A symposium of the Fellowship of S. Alban and S. Sergius. London: 1954.

de Mely, F. *Les Lapidaires de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age*. 3 vols. Paris: 1898.

Mercati, I., and de Cavalieri, P.F. *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1-329*. Vatican: 1923.

Meyendorff *Palamas* — Meyendorff, J. *Introduction à l'etude de Grégoire Palamas*. Patristica Sorboniensia 3. Paris: 1959.

Meyendorff, J. *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1974.

Meyendorff *Theology* — Meyendorff, J. *Byzantine Theology*. Oxford: 1975.

Meyendorff, J. "Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries", in *The Kariye Djami* IV, pp95–106. ed., P.A. Underwood. New York: 1975.

Meyer, R., (trans.) *St. Athanasius, The Life of St. Antony*. Ancient Christian Writers 10. Westminster, Md., and London: 1950.

Michl, J. "Engel: V–IX", *RAC* 5 (1962), cc200–258".

Mioni, E. *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum: codices Graeci manuscripti*. 3 vols. Rome: 1967–1973.

Moore, L., (trans.) *John Climacus, The Ladder of Divine Ascent*. London: 1959.

Moulton, W.F., and Geden, A.S. *A Concordance to the Greek Testament*. Edinburgh: 1957.

Müller *Teufel* — Müller, C.D.G. "Von Teufel, Mittagsdämon und Amuletten", *JbAChr* 17 (1974), pp91–102.

Müller, C.D.G. "Geister (Dämonen): C.IV, Volksglaube", *RAC* 9 (1976), cc761–797.

Neville, G., (trans.) *Saint John Chrysostom, Six Books on the Priesthood*. London: 1964.

Nicol, D.M. *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus)*. Dumbarton Oaks Studies XI. Washington, DC.: 1968.

Nicol *Learning* — Nicol. D.M. "The Byzantine Church and Hellenic Learning", in *Studies in Church History* V, pp23-57. ed., G.J. Cuming. Leiden: 1969.

Nicol, D.M. *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453*. London: 1972.

Nicol, D.M. *Meteora. The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly*. 2nd ed. London: 1975.

Nicol, D.M. *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium*. Cambridge: 1979.

Nicol, D.M. *The End of the Byzantine Empire*. London: 1979.

Ninck *Wassers* — Ninck, M. *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten*. Philologus Supplementband XIV, II. Leipzig: 1921; reprint ed., Darmstadt: 1960.

Noack, B. *Satanás und Soteria. Untersuchungen zur neutestamentlichen Dämonologie*. Cophenhagen: 1948.

Oberhelman, S.M. "Prolegomena to the Byzantine Oneirokritika", *B* 50 (1980), pp487-503.

Oberhelman, S.M. "The Interpretation of Dream-Symbols in Byzantine Oneirocritic Literature", *Byzantinoslavica* XLVII (1986), pp8-24.

O'Brien, P.T. "Principalities and Powers and Their Relationship to Structures in Ephesians and Colossians", *Reformed Theological Review* XL no.1 (1981), pp1-10.

Oeconomos *Vie* — Oeconomos, L. *La vie religieuse dans l'empire Byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges*. Paris: 1918.

Oeconomos, L. "L'État intellectuel et moral des Byzantins vers le milieu du XIVe siècle, d'après une page de Joseph Bryennios", *Mélanges C. Diehl* I, pp225-233. Paris: 1930.

Oesterreich, T.K. *Possession, Demoniacal and Other*. London: 1930.

Oikonomides, D.B. "Ἐξορκισμοὶ καὶ ἰατροσόφια ἐξ Ἠπειροτικοῦ χειρογράφου", Ἐπ.Λαογρ.Ἀρχ. 8 (1953-1954), pp14-40.

Oikonomides, D.B. "Yello dans les traditions des peuples Hellénique et Rouman", Λαογ. 22 (1965), pp328-334.

Oikonomides, D.B. "Ἡ Γελλῶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ Ρουμανικὴν λαογραφίαν", Λαογ. 30 (1975-1976), pp246-278.

Omont, H. *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. 3 vols. Paris: 1886–1898.

Ostrogorsky, G. *History of the Byzantine State*. Translated by J. Hussey. 2nd ed. Oxford: 1968.

Païdouse, M. "*Τὸ αἷμα στὶς δεισιδαίμονες συνήθεις καὶ τὴν δημώδη ἰατρική*", *Λαογ*. 29 (1974), pp247–289.

Palmer, G.E.H., Sherrard, P.O.A., and Ware, K., *The Philokalia*. 3 vols. London: 1979– (in progress).

Perdrizet *Sphragis* — Perdrizet, P. "*Σφραγὶς Σολομῶνος*", *REG* XVI (1903), pp42–61.

Perdrizet *Negotium* — Perdrizet, P. *Negotium perambulans in tenebris*. Strasbourg: 1922.

Peterson, E. *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ*. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Göttingen: 1926.

Pingree *Ghāya* — Pingree, D. "Some Sources of the Ghāyat al-hakīm", *JWarb* 43 (1980), pp1–15.

Pingree, D. "Between the Ghāya and Picatrix, 1: the Spanish Version", *JWarb* 44 (1981), pp27–56.

des Places, E. *Oracles Chaldïques*. Paris: 1971.

Podskalsky, W. *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Byz Arch* 15. Munich: 1977.

Polites, L. *A History of Modern Greek Literature*. Oxford: 1973.

Polites, N.T. "*Παλαιογραφικὴ σταχυολογία ἐκ τῶν μαγικῶν βιβλίων*", *BZ* 1 (1892), pp555–571.

Pradel *Gebete* — Pradel, F. *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters, RVV* III.3. Giesen: 1907.

Presiendanz, K. "Zwei griechische Schatzzauber aus Kodex Parisinus 2419", *BNJbb* III (1922), pp273–281.

Preisendanz, K. *Akephalos der Kopflose Gott*. Beihefte zum Alten Orient 8. Leipzig: 1926.

Preisendanz *Sal.* — Preisendanz, K. "Salomon", *RE* Suppl. VIII (1956), cc660–704.

Presiendanz, K. "Ein Wiener Papyrusfragment zum Testamentum Salomonis", in *Symbolae Raphaeli Taubenschlag Dedicatae* III, pp161–167. Warsaw-Vratislav: 1957.

Provatake *Diavolos* — Provatake, T.M. *Ὁ Διάβολος εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Τέχνην*. Thessaloniki: 1980.

RAC — *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. ed. Th. Klauser Stuttgart: 1950–.

Radermacher *Faust.* — Radermacher, L. *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage*. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 206. Band 4. Vienna: 1927.

Raybaud, L.-P. *Le gouvernement et l'administration centrale de l'empire Byzantin sous les premiers Paléologues (1258–1354)*. Paris: 1968.

RE — *A. Paulys Realencyclopädie der classichen Altertumswissenschaft*. New revised edition by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll. Stuttgart: 1893–.

Reicke *Baptism* — Reicke, B. *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism*. Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis XIII. Copenhagen: 1946.

Reitzenstein *Poim.* — Reitzenstein, R. *Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur*. Leipzig: 1904.

Rordorf, W. "Sind Dämonen gut oder böse? Beobachtungen zur Proklos-Rezeption bei Isaak Sebastokrator", *JbAChr* 10 (1983), pp239–244.

Rouse *Folklore* — Rouse, W.H.D. "Folklore from the Southern Sporades", *Folklore* X (1899), pp150–173.

Rubin, B. "Der Fürst der Dämonen", *BZ* 44 (1951), pp469–481.

Rudwin *Devil* — Rudwin, M. *The Devil in Legend and Literature*. London: 1931.

Runciman, S. *A History of the Crusades*. 3 vols. Cambridge: 1951–1954; Pelican Books, 1971.

Runciman *Manichee* — Runciman, S. *The Mediaeval Manichee*. Cambridge: 1955.

Runciman, S. *The Sicilian Vespers*. Cambridge: 1958.

Runciman, S. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*. Cambridge: 1965.

Runciman, S. *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*. Cambridge: 1970.

Russell, J. "The Evil Eye in Early Byzantine Society: Archaeological Evidence from Anemurium in Isauria". XVI Internationaler Byzantinisten Kongress, Wien 1981, Akten II/3. *JÖB* 32/3 (1982), pp539–548.

Russell *Devil* — Russell, J.B. *The Devil, Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*. Ithaca, N.Y. and London: 1977.

Russell *Satan* — Russell, J.B. *Satan, The Early Christian Tradition*. Ithaca, N.Y. and London: 1981.

Russell *Lucifer* — Russell, J.B. *Lucifer, The Devil in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y. and London: 1984.

Scarborough, J., ed. *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine*. *DOP* 38 (1984).

Schmidt, B. *Das Volksleben der neugriechen und das Hellenische Altertum*. Leipzig: 1871.

Schneweis, E. *Angels and Demons According to Lactantius*. Washington, D.C.: 1944.

Schweizer *Geister* — Schweizer, E. "Geister (Dämonen): C.I, Neues Testament", *RAC* 9 (1976), cc688–700.

Ševčenko, I. "The Decline of Byzantium seen through the Eyes of its Intellectuals", *DOP* XV (1961), pp169–186.

Ševčenko, I. *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochites et Nicéphore Choumnos*. Brussels: 1962.

Ševčenko, I. "Some Autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras", in *Mélanges Ostrogorsky* II, *ZVI* 8.2 (1964), pp435–450.

Ševčenko, I. "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of his Time", in *The Kariye Djami* IV, pp17–91. ed., P. Underwood. New York: 1975.

Ševčenko, I. "Constantinople Viewed from the Eastern Provinces in the Middle Byzantine Period", in *Eucharisterion: Essays Presented to Omeljan Pritsak. Harvard Ukrainian Studies* III/IV, part 2, pp712–747. Cambridge, Mass.: 1979–1980; reprinted in *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World*, iv. London: Variorum Reprints, 1982.

Sherrard, P.O.A. *The Greek East and the Latin West*. Oxford: 1959.

Sherwood, P., (trans.) *Maximus the Confessor. The Ascetic Life, The Four Centuries on Charity*. Ancient Christian Writers 21. Westminster, Md.: 1955.

Sophocles, E.A. *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. New York-Leipzig: 1893.

Sorlin, I. "Femmes et sorciers, note sur la permanence des rituels païens en Russie, XIe - XIXe siècle", *TM* 8 (1981), pp459–475.

Spyridake *Ex.* — Spyridake, G.K. "*Ἐξορκισμοὶ καὶ μαγικοὶ κατάδεσμοι ἐκ Κρητικῶν χειρογράφων*", *Ἐπ.Λαογρ.Ἀρχ.* 3–4 (1941–1942), pp60–76. Athens: 1951.

Stewart *Nympho.* — Stewart, C. "Nymphomania: Sexuality, Insanity and Problems in Folklore Analysis", in *The Text and its Margins: Post Structuralist Approaches to Twentieth Century Greek Literature*, pp219–252. ed., M. Alexiou and V. Lambropoulos. New York: 1985.

Svoboda *Démon.* — Svoboda, K. *La démonologie de Michel Psellus*. Brno: 1927.

Talbot, A.-M.M. *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium*. Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources 8. Brookline, Mass.: 1983.

Tambiah, S.J. "The Magical Power of Words", *Man* 3(n.s.) (1968), pp175–208.

Terzaghi, N. "Sul commento di Niceforo Gregora", *SIFC* 12 (1904), pp182–211.

Theodorou, A. *Ἡ περὶ Ἀντιχρίστου ἰδέα*. Athens: 1970.

Thompson, d'A.W. *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*. London: 1947.

Thompson, M.W. *Textes grecs inédits relatifs aux plantes*. Paris: 1955.

Thorndike *History* — Thorndike, L. *History of Magic and Experimental Science*. 8 volumes. New York: 1923–1958.

Trapp *PLP* — Trapp, E., (ed.) *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*. Vienna: 1976– (in progress).

Turdeanu *Anges* — Turdeanu, E. "Le mythe des anges déchus", *RSBS* II (1982), pp73–117.

Turner, C.J.G. "Pages from the Late Byzantine Philosophy of History", *BZ* LVII (1964), pp346–373.

Verpeaux, J. *Nicéphore Choumnos, homme détat et humaniste byzantin (c.1250/1255–1327)*. Paris: 1959.

Vikan *Art* — Vikan, G. "Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium", in *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine*, ed. J. Scarborough. *DOP* 38 (1984), pp65–86.

ter Vrugt-Lentz, J. "Geister (Dämonen): B.II, Vorhellenistisches Griechenland", *RAC* 9 (1976), cc598–615.

Vryonis, S. *The Decline of Mediaeval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: 1971.

Waegeman, M. "The Gecko, the Hoopoe ... and Lice", *L'Antiquité Classique* LIII (1984), pp218–225.

Waegeman, M. *Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides*. 1986.

Walcott, R. *Envy and the Greeks, a Study of Human Behaviour*. Warminster: 1978.

Waszink, J.M. "Pompa Diaboli", *VChr* 1 (1947), pp13–41.

Weiss, G. *Johannes Kantakuzenos - Aristokrat, Staatsmaan, Kaiser und Mönch - in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14 Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: 1969.

Wellnhofer, M. "Die Thrakischen Euchiten und ihr Satanskult im Dialoge des Psellos *Τιμόθεος ἢ περὶ δαιμόνων*", *BZ* XXX (1929–30), pp477–484.

Wenzel *Sins* — Wenzel, S. "The Seven Deadly Sins: some Problems of Research", *Speculum* XLIII (1968), pp1–22.

Wickham, L.R. "The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men: Genesis VI.2 in Early Christian Exegesis", *Oudtestamentische Studien* 19 (1974), pp135–147.

Wilson, N.G. *Scholars of Byzantium*. London: 1983

Winkler *Salomo* — Winkler, H.A. *Salomo und die Karina. Eine orientalische Legende von der Bezwingung einer Kindbettdämonin durch einen heiligen Helden*. Veröffentlichungen des orientalischen

Seminars der Universität Tübingen. Abhandlung zur orientalischen Philologie und zur allgemeinen Religionsgeschichte. Heft 4. Stuttgart: 1931.

Zeegers-Vander Vorst, N. "Satan, Ève et le serpent chez Théophile d'Antioche", *VChr* 35 (1981), pp152-169.

Zintzen, C. "Geister (Dämonen): B.III, Östliche Mittelmeerwelt seit dem 4./3. Jh. vC.; c) Hellenistiche u. kaiserzeitliche Philosophie", *RAC* 9 (1976), cc640–668.

PART I

THE BELIEFS

OF THE

STANDARD ORTHODOX TRADITION

1. Introduction to Part I

The first part of this book is concerned with what I have called the standard orthodox tradition of late Byzantine demonology. What is meant by this is the relatively well-ordered, internally coherent and refined set of ideas about the Devil and the demons which was legitimized and hallowed by the seal of Orthodox Christian doctrine. This tradition constitutes by far the largest proportion of material concerning such beliefs that appears in the literary sources from which I am working, although, as will be suggested in Part II, this dominance would seem to be something of a distortion of the more general state of current belief due to the nature of these sources.

In order to establish a detailed picture of this standard orthodox tradition as it was known in the Palaeologan period, evidence has been derived from two groups of source material: the literature inherited from the past and the literature actually being produced at the time.

Studies of Byzantine religion, as indeed of other aspects of Byzantine culture, often suffer from an unfortunate tendency to generalize; by taking too lightly the fact that more than one thousand years separates the beginning of that period of history which may be called Byzantine from its end, such studies may fail to discern and explore changes and alterations which occurred in the beliefs, the ideas and even the practices of Byzantine people from one period of their history to another. It is true that the deep respect which the Byzantines, and in particular the Orthodox church, had for tradition meant that change in the area of religious belief was very slow to take place and innovation was regarded as a very great evil, but it is clearly a mistake to assume that change never took place at all. On a number of very important doctrinal issues the beliefs of the church in the fourth century differed, or were at least far less carefully defined, than those of the church in the fourteenth. If this is true of major points of dogma it is certainly true of the more uncertain areas on the margins of orthodox belief such as the demonology which forms the subject matter of this study. In

order to avoid such misleading generalisations and the inaccuracies to which they give rise. I have thus adopted quite specific criteria in an attempt to ensure that the literature which I have examined that was written prior to the late Byzantine period was in fact that with which people at the time would have been familiar. In this way I have attempted to avoid mistakenly introducing into the discussion beliefs from the past which had been altered, neglected or even deliberately discarded, beliefs which belonged to that past and not to the thought world of the Palaeologans.

I have thus established a corpus of works which could be said to have been that readily available to most men who could read and who might themselves write during the period, in order to have some idea of the inherited material which provided the images and patterns that were adopted by the later tradition or reflected in it, while at the same time excluding that which was no longer commonly considered or which had been rejected. In establishing such a corpus there was, then, the need to include as many works as possible that were apparently easy to refer to at the time and to exclude those which were less widely read, but at the same time it was necessary to keep both the size of the corpus itself and the evidence for its contents within manageable proportions. Thus catalogues of Greek manuscripts in the libraries of the Meteora, Milan, Oxford, Paris, the Vatican, Venice, and Vienna have been consulted,[1] and a list compiled of those works which both survive in these libraries and were

---

[1] The catalogues are as follows:
N.A. Bees, *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετέωρων* I, *Μόνη Μεταμορφώσεως*, ed., L. Vranoussis (Athens: 1967).
E. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, 2 vols. (Milan: 1906).
H.O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues I: Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford: 1969, reprinted with corrections from the first edition of 1853).
H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 3 parts (Paris: 1886-1898).
R. Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs II: le fonds Coislin* (Paris: 1945).
C. Astruc and M-L. Concasty, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs III: le supplément grec* (Paris: 1960).
I. Mercati and P.F. de Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1-329* (Vatican: 1923).
R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci 330-603* and *604-866* (Vatican: 1937 and 1940).

also copied at least four times in the Palaeologan period. The corpus of works of the inherited standard orthodox tradition that results from adhering to these criteria for inclusion is, of course, incomplete in absolute terms and is inevitably limited by the somewhat mechanical process employed in its selection. However, these defects are, I believe, more than compensated for by the greater accuracy of the picture that is derived from them of the inherited demonology actually available and utilised in this period. In terms of size they provide a sample which is quite adequate for the purposes of the present study, consisting of some two hundred and fifteen works (ranging in length from one or two to many hundreds of pages) from the pens of forty-five authors who lived between early Christian and middle Byzantine times.[2]

The second group of source material used for the establishment of the standard orthodox tradition of late Byzantine demonology, the literature of the late Byzantine period itself, again had to be limited by consideration of what it was practical to consult in regard to substance, quantity and availability. However, except in the case of a handful of works of questionable date, the problems of what should be included and what omitted that were encountered in selecting the works of the inherited tradition did not arise here. An attempt has thus been made to cover as extensive a sample as possible of the surviving and published writings of authors who were alive between 1260 and 1453. Here more than five hundred and thirty works by some one hundred and ten authors have been examined, ranging in size once more from a few paragraphs to many hundreds of pages.[3]

C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1485-1683* and *1684-1744* (Vatican: 1940 and 1961).

P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1745-1962*, 2 parts (Vatican: 1970-1973).

E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum: Codices Graeci Manuscripti*, 3 vols. (Rome: 1967-1973).

H. Hunger, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Supplementum Graecum* (Vienna: 1957).

H. Hunger and O. Kresten, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 3 vols. (Vienna: 1961-1976).

[2] For these works see Bibliography 4.1.

[3] For these works see Bibilography 4.2.

The evidence culled from this considerable mass of source material has, then, been used to create a picture of standard orthodox demonology as it existed in the period in question. This picture has been divided up into three quasi-chronological areas. The first, which may be said to lie "outside" history, concerns the origin of the Devil and the demons as angels, their fall from this state and the abilities and characteristics consequently attributed to them because of the combination of angelic and fallen aspects in their nature. The second, that of "mythical" history, deals basically with the role of the demons in the fall of man and its consequences, with the coming of Christ and their subsequent defeat, with the early centuries of the Christian era and with the expected end of history. The third area examines the methods and purposes of demonic activity in the "real" history of everyday, contemporary man; here are discussed their physical and mental manipulation of victims through such means as metamorphosis, possession or arousal of passions, and other more general modes of attack; for example, temptation, threat, and, most common of all, deception. Here too God's overriding control of the demonic powers is considered and the means available to Christians for countering and defeating the demons' assaults.

2. The Origin and Nature of the Demons

2.1 The Angelic Origin and the Fall of the Devil and the Demons

The standard orthodox tradition of late Byzantine demonology was a complex, detailed and closely interwoven system of belief, but at its heart lay two fundamental concepts upon which every other development and ramification can be seen to have depended. The first of these concepts was that the Devil [4] and the demons were, by nature, angels; the second, that

---

[4] In the standard orthodox tradition of the late Byzantine period the names 'Devil' and 'Satan', together with such other titles as 'Beelzeboul', 'Lucifer', and 'Beliar', all drawn from the Septuagint and New Testament, are used without distinction to refer to the same being. This assimilation is assumed in Part I of this study where such names are used interchangeably, although for the sake of consistency I have generally only employed 'Satan' and 'the Devil'. As will be pointed out below, Part II pp233-234, the same is *not* true in the alternative traditions which know no such central demonic character and which thus employ these names, or variants of them, together with others usually drawn from similar backgrounds, to refer to quite separate and distinct beings.

On the origin and development of the concept of Σατανᾶς see especially Langton *Satan* pp9–65; Langton *Essentials* pp52–59, 68–71, 128–129, 136–139, and 164–171; Kittel *Wörterbuch* 7.151–165 and 10.1261–2 for more recent bibliography; Haag *Teufel.*, pp192–205; Kelly *Devil* pp198–199 and 202–213: also Jung *Angels* pp23–44; and Barton *Names* p165. On the translation of Satan by ἀντικείμενος and the use of that term see below n113. On the version Σαταναήλ, see Part II pp171–173 and nn525 and 532.

On Διάβολος see Liddell & Scott, διάβολος II, p390; Lampe *Lexicon* pp344–345; Kittel *Wörterbuch* 2.69–80 and 10.1038–1039. On Βεελζεβούλ see Langton *Satan* pp27–28; Langton *Essentials* pp165–167; Kittel *Wörterbuch* 1.605–606 and 10.1014–1015. On Ἑωσφόρος see below. On Βελίαρ see Langton *Satan* pp16–17; Langton *Essentials* pp125–128, 132–135 and 188-189; Kittel *Wörterbuch* 1.606 and 10.1015; Kelly *Devil* pp211-212; and T.H. Gaster, "Belial", *EJ* 4 (1971), cc427–428; cf. Barton *Names* pp161 and 164. On Σατανᾶς, Διάβολος and Βελίαρ in the Apostolic Fathers see Gokey *Terminology* under these headings. In general here see also Russell *Devil* Ch. 5 and 6, pp174–259; Bamberger *Angels, passim*.

In general Langton *Essentials* should be consulted for the development of both Old and New Testament traditions concerning the demonic powers; only specific points are noted below. The same applies also to Russell *Satan* for the early Christian tradition, and to Böcher *Dämonen.*, Böcher *Christus*, Haag *Teufel.*, Kallis *Geister*, Joannou *Démon.*, Kelly *Satan*, Provatake, *Diavolos* Ch.1, and Schweitzer *Geister*, in their own particular

they fell from that divinely given rank and glory to become the perversion of angelic nature that was understood to constitute a demonic being.

There is no direct identification of demons and angels in the Septuagint, although evil angels (ἀγγέλων πονηρῶν) are mentioned in Psalm 77:49,[5] but this identification was made in later Jewish traditions,[6] and in the New Testament there are several passages which assume it: eternal fire is thus said to be prepared for the Devil and his angels at Matthew 25:41 and there is also the dragon and his angels of Revelation 12:7, 9.[7] In the standard late Byzantine tradition, however, this idea was accepted as a fundamental principle and it is expressed in numerous passages. On many occasions these passages may involve no more than a simple repetition or reworking of the biblical references,[8] and on other occasions the assumption of this identification is revealed by setting in parallel attributes and activities of angels and demons.[9] In the majority of cases however, the angelic origin of the demons is referred to directly, generally in relation to their fall which, of course, implies it.[10]

---

areas of specialisation.

[5] The Devil also came among the angels to demand Job, Job 1:6.

[6] Satan was thus, for example, identified with Sammael, the highest of the throne angels, and it is angels that figure in all of the fall stories here, see Langton *Essentials* pp55-56, 107-112, 114-118: also Kelly *Serpent* p302.

[7] The dragon is the Devil and Satan. In II Corinthians 12:7 Paul describes the thorn in his flesh as an ἀγγέλος Σατανᾶ and at *ibid.*, 11:4 he warns that Satan may change himself into into an angel of light.

[8] Thus Psalm 77 is quoted when it is said that the demons are used by God for retribution: †**JChr***Job* 3 c572; **Athan***Ep* 69.121-122, sinners will not escape the message by evil angels. God is said to use the Devil and his πονηροῖς ἀγγέλοις against Job and other men, †**Anast***Erot* 31 c568. See further on God's use of demons in punishing men pp138-139 below, and for references to Matt. 25:41 see p74 and n249.

[9] So, for example, **Anast***Hod* 2 c53; *ibid.*, 12 cc197-200; **Bas***Psalm* 1 c221; **Eph***Proseche* 1 p232; **Isaac***Ask* 25 p264; *ibid.*, 27 p322; **JDam***Her* c745; **JDam***Phil* cc669-672; **Theoph***Luke* c861: also **Anon***Bios Niph* 14 p22; **Gmon***Laz* 132 p547e; **Melet***Alpha* ιθ' p100; **Schol** *Nest* 9 pp88-89.

[10] Among the clearest of very many passages are †**Anast***Erot* 154 c817 (from Basil); †**Ath***AntArch* 7 c604; **Bas***AitKak* c345; †**Dion** *Onom* 4.23 c725; **Isaak***Ask* 8 p40; †**JChr***Job* 3 c573; **JKarp**75 c1852 **JKlim**25 c1001: also **AkropG***Herm* 15 p79; **GSin***Keph* c1288a; **Kant***Apol* III.7 c516; **Melet***Alpha* ψε' p327; **Palam***Keph* 44 c1152c; **Palam***Antirrhet*

The fall of the angels again has no detailed biblical foundation, but certain passages do allude to it and others were understood as referring to it although this was not their original intention; these passages are of particular importance because of the influence which their language had upon the later tradition.

In the Septuagint Isaiah 14 : 12–20 is perhaps the most significant, speaking of the fall of *Ἑωσφόρος* from heaven; he had thought to ascend above the stars and set his throne above the clouds, making himself like unto God, and was cast down to Hades for this presumption.[11] Somewhat similar, although less explicit, is Ezekiel 28 : 2–19, which pronounces curse and doom on the prince (*ἄρχων*) of Tyre who is said to have set himself up as a god but, having sinned, has been cast out of paradise and from God's mountain. Another passage is Psalm 81 : 7, where the gods are told that they will die and fall like one of the rulers (*εἷς τῶν ἀρχόντων*). In the New Testament, Jesus says that he has seen Satan fall like lightning from heaven (Luke 10 : 18),[12] and in Revelation 12 : 7–9 war is described between Michael and the Devil and his angels who did not keep their own position but left their proper dwelling place and who have been kept by God in eternal chains in the nether gloom until judgement day. II Peter 2 : 4 says similarly that God did not spare the angels when they sinned but cast them into Tartarus and committed them to pits of nether gloom to be kept until the judgement; and I Timothy 3 : 6 warns against conceit (*τῦφος*) lest by this a man should fall into the condemnation of the Devil.

Since it is such a fundamental element in the system, it is no surprise that the fall of Satan and the angels was a very frequent theme in the later tradition, being referred to and utilised by authors in a wide variety of contexts. Many of these references were obviously made in passing and simply acknowledged the fact that the demons were believed to have fallen from

6.9.21 p398. Cf. here Russell *Satan* pp77–78, 80–81; Provatake *Diavolos* pp47–52.

[11] In its context in Isaiah this passage is used in connection with the king of Babylon to whom the mythological allusion was applied. On the origin of its connection to the Devil see Russell *Satan* pp130-132 and n59 there; he attributes it to Origen. Cf. Turdeanu, *Anges* p75.

[12] Cf. John 12 : 31, 'Now shall the prince of this world be cast out'.

heaven,[13] but many others involved a more elaborate treatment of the fall. The Devil was seen as having been one of the leading angels, if not the foremost of all, who, through pride, arrogance or conceit, (the most common words used were the nouns ὑπερηφανία,[14] ἔπαρσις,[15] τῦφος,[16] and the verb τραχηλιάω,[17] although other loosely related concepts might be employed)[18] desired and attempted to pass beyond his ordained station and in consequence fell, taking with him those angels who were his subordinates and who chose to follow him. The author of the homily Εἰς τὴν Ἀνάληψιν (δ΄), attributed to John Chrysostom, says, for example, that the archevil Devil, the inventor of sin, fell from heaven through the arrogance of conceit (διὰ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς ἐπάρσεως) and through the vanity of pride (τῆς ὑπερηφανίας τὸν τῦφον).[19] A more elaborate treatment of these themes is provided by George Scholarios: [20]

---

[13] Examples among many such references may be found in **Ath***Ant* 22 c876; **Bas***AitKak* c349; †**Dion***Onom* 18 c716; **EuZig***Psalt* 9.78 c144; *ibid.*, 53.9 c573 and 67.2 c660, cf. 71.3 c724 the unusual term στασιάστες; **JKarp** 25 c1842; **Theoph***Mark* 10.17–22 c600: also **ChoumN***Theo* p210; **Chrysokeph** c192a; **Gregoras***Ant* 1.2,2 26 p267; **GCyp***Marina* p232; **Melet***Alpha* β΄ p40; **MelitenT***Dial* c912d; **Palam***Hom* 52 p121.

[14] See e.g. **EuZig***Psalt* 88.11 c905; **Hesychios** 1.63 cc1500–1501; **JChr***John* 9 c72; **JKlim**23 c968: also **Chrysokeph** c224d (τετραμερῆ ὑπερηφάνειαν); **Kyd***Apol* II p407; **Melet***Alpha* ις΄ p95; **Palam***Keph* 41 c1149 and 44 c1152; **Kok***SynodB* c693a; **Schol***Tel* p65; **Schol***Parask* p139 where he says that ὑπερηφανία was the first evil to grow up in their nature for it could sin in no other way than by pride which is the first sickness of the intellectual nature.

[15] **EuZig***Psalt* 28.5 c333; **GNaz***Or36* 5 cc269–272; **GNaz***Or38* 9 cc320–321; **Isaac***Ask* 5 p25: **Agal***Apol* pp150–151; **AkropG***Apost* 12 p93; **GCyp***Laz* 18 p595a; **Kant***Apol* IV.10 c561b; *ibid.*, II.2 c441b-c.

[16] Following I Timothy, †**Anast***Erot* 57 c624 (from Theodoret); **JDam** *Orth* 2.30 p105: **Palam***Hom* 2 p9; **Palam***Hom* 62 p228; **Palam** *Hesych* 1.1.1 (Mey) p29.

[17] **GNaz***Or6* cc737–740: **Kaloth***Ath* 28 p489 ll.1176–1178; **Kant** *Apol* II.2 c441b-c and II.26 c493a.

[18] Some follow Isaiah, e.g., **Athan***Ep* 81 p211; **Chrysokeph** c224d; **Harm***Tom* c871d; **Kant***Apol* II.2 cc440d–441a; **Kok** *Antirhet* 6 c881b. Others use such words as ἀπογνώσις, **JChr***Theod* p188.55: **Bry** *Log* 2 pp95–96. Βλασφημία, **JKlim** 23 c976: **Melet***Alpha* μ΄ p159. Φθόνος, **Agal***Apol* pp150–151; **Kant***Apol* IV.10 c561b. Πλεονεξία, **ChoumN** *Symb* p157. Ἀσεβεία, **Kant***Apol* II.2 c441a. Ἀπείθεια, **Palam** *Hom* 16 p85. Ῥαθυμία, **Amir***JPal* p123.

[19] †**JChr***Anal* c799.

[20] **Schol***Evang* p6 ll.24–36. On pride as opposed to envy becoming

> Then ... the highest of the angels desires to be like God from pride (ἐξ ὑπερηφανίας) and he desires this not in equality of nature (for that was quite out of the question), but in a certain likeness of power, since he thought his own power was sufficient to take the true happiness and the ultimate perfection which has to be received as a reward for endurance, and since he hoped to arrive at that rank by his natural abilities which cannot be approached unless it is given by God. Going shamefully mad through pride, then, he falls more shamefully from that glory and with him fall many more subservient [angels], becoming perverse not by compulsion but by some mental aberration, and an army of wickedness is established, a monstrous and God-hating rank.

The stress placed upon the entirely voluntary nature of the fall here is another important feature, exonerating God from any part whatsoever in the creation of evil.[21] As George Amirutzes, writing to the emperor John VIII, says,[22]

> But that one [the Devil], whom I have mentioned, was not entangled with a body, nor did he have someone making a suggestion to him, but rather from himself alone and from his own derangement (παραφροσύνη), as one might say, and from a surfeit of the good things, became presumptuous (ἐφρόνησε) about his own nature and, having departed from God, he fell a monstrous fall, becoming the creator of evil by the flight from good ...

Elsewhere Theodore Agallianos describes the Devil as having become evil itself and having destroyed himself like iron dipped in acid, consuming himself through himself.[23]

The standard late Byzantine tradition accepted this explanation of the origin of the demons[24] and of their fall, but there was another tradition concerning the latter of which it was aware. This alternative placed man at the centre of the picture and in one version saw the Devil as having fallen through

accepted by the early Christian tradition after Origen, see Russell *Satan* pp79, 130, 187.

[21] See below p135.

[22] **Amir***JPal* p124 ll.212–216.

[23] **Agal***Apol* pp150–151; he also attributes his fall here to μοχθήριον προαιρέσεως. See also **Bas***AitKak* 8 cc345–348; **JDam***Orth* 2.4 p49; *ibid.*, 2.27 p99 and 3.20 pp102–103; †**JDam***Barl* 7 p80; *ibid.*, 19 p278; †**JChr***Job* 3 c573; **MSynk***Lib* p91; and **Schol***Evang* p11; **Schol***Orth* p138.

[24] For origins of the demons in alternative traditions see below pp167–168.

his envy of Adam and his temptation of Eve; it was accepted by many of the early fathers and may possibly have influenced one or two passages in the tradition here.[25] Another version held that the angels were commanded by God to worship the newly formed Adam but that some refused to do so and as a result were cast from heaven. This version was probably present in the Jewish tradition at the time of early Christianity,[26] but perhaps most significantly, was incorporated in the Qu'ran; it was thus a part of the teaching of Islam, Christianity's main religious rival in this period, and was in consequence refuted by Palaeologan authors,[27] although it had also been dealt with by

---

[25] On its use in the early fathers see Russell *Satan* pp67, 74, 81, 105, and 114; see also Cohn *Demons* pp65–66. Occasions of possible influence here are in **Bas***Phthonou* c377, where it is said that with the one weapon of envy the Devil, who fell through envy, wounds and slays: and †**Bas***Lakiz* 1 c1452 — The Devil was not created a devil but transformed himself into the nature of a demon, estranged from God, and turned away to the part of revolt when he saw the little animal, man, honoured more than the whole creation. It is to be noted, however, that even here the envy in the first reference could be interpreted as being felt of God, not man, and that the second passage is followed some sentences later by the statement that the Devil hated God first and was haughty against him and thus struck at man when he saw God's image in him, like men throwing stones at a portrait of the emperor or a panther leaping at a paper man. Cf. here the two references under *φθόνος* in n18 above. On both versions of the envy origin see Turdeanu *Anges* pp74–75 and 87–94. On the Devil's fall from envy of God see *ibid.*, pp94–100.

[26] It is found most clearly in the *Books of Adam and Eve*, although it may only have been introduced there as late as the fourth century; see Kelly *Devil* pp202–203. There Satan tells Eve that it was on Adam's account that he was expelled from his heavenly glory for, when God formed Adam, he commanded the angels to worship him; Michael obliged but Satan refused since Adam was a younger and inferior being, and so he was cast from heaven to earth with his angels who had joined him in his disobedience. See further Jung *Angels* pp45–68; Langton *Essentials* pp117–118.

[27] So, **Kant***Apol* II.2 c441c-d, where it is dismissed as irrational because of the idea of a higher nature being made to worship a lower, and as being without scriptural basis; and *ibid.*, II.19 c628, where the correct Sura of the Qu'ran is quoted and it is said to be peculiar 'to this impiety' (i.e. Islam); cf. also **Kyd***Mahom* cc1077–1080 where it is argued that such a belief would be tantamount to God having commanded idolatry. For the original Qu'ranic passages see e.g. Sura 38 (Sad), Dawood p289; Sura 7 (Al-A'raf), p246; Sura 15 (Al-Hijr), p243; and Sura 17 (The Night Journey), p238. It is also in Suras 2, 18 and 20; see here Russell *Lucifer*, pp55-56 who presents a concise picture of mediaeval Islamic belief in the Devil in his Chapter 3, pp52–61. On this story in the Slavonic version of III Baruch, see H.E. Gaylord, "How Satanael Lost his '-el' ", *JJS* 33 (1982), pp303–309.

writers at a considerably earlier date. This is the case in Question 10 of the work Πρὸς Ἀντίοχον Ἄρχοντα attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria, where the author says that the notion that Satan was banished for not having worshipped man comes "from foolish men", and in Question 124 of the Ἐρωτήσεις of Pseudo-Anastasios, which holds that it is a myth of Hellenes and Arabs.[28]

2.2 Angelic and Fallen Aspects of the Demonic Nature

Related to the two fundamental elements of belief outlined above about the demons were the majority of ideas commonly held concerning their nature. Certain of the angelic powers and characteristics remained, although now turned to the ends of evil, while the rest of the demonic nature was seen largely as being a consequence of the demons' fallen state, a perversion of angelic virtue, running directly counter to the desires and activities of their former fellows who had remained with God. So, says Gregory of Nazianzus,[29]

> as many [of the heavenly powers] as are near to God and the divine things manifestly cling to the good of peace, and on the contrary hate and are displeased with the rebellion; but on the opposite side are as many as are belligerent in character and who see the good in the new and who glory in their own shame.

Like angels, then, the demons were thought of as being immortal[30] and, more importantly, as being incorporeal, immaterial and intellectual. They were thus identified with spirits (πνεύματα), the terms already being used interchangeably in the Bible,[31] and in both Septuagint and New Testament many of

---

[28] †**Ath***AntArch* 10 c604c; †**Anast***Erot* 124 c776.

[29] **GNaz***Or6* c740.

[30] **Anast***Hod* 12 cc197-200; *ibid.*, 14 c245; **EuZig***Psalt* 54.16 c580 (both ἀθάνατος); **JChr***Olymp* 8.6c p182 (ἀφθαρσία). **Palam***Keph* 41 c1149c, maintains that the Evil One does not have wickedness but life as his essence and therefore remains immortal (ἀθάνατος) according to that essence, even though he has become a dead spirit (νεκρὸν πνεῦμα), not essentially, but by loss of the true life.

[31] In Luke 4:33-36 a man having a πνεῦμα δαιμονίου is mentioned, and both terms are used in the same story in e.g. Mark 7:25-30 or Luke 9:38-42.

their actions also assume their incorporeality. In the later standard tradition the epithets ἀσώματος, ἄσαρκος,[32] and ἄϋλος[33] were commonly used of the demons, and again this aspect of their nature was a necessary assumption behind many of the activities with which they were believed to be involved, in particular possession, metamorphosis, inspiration of dreams and visions, and manipulation of the passions.[34] Elsewhere, in explanations of how they could fool men into believing they could divine, it was argued that this was because they were subtle (λεπτός) and bodiless spirits, or because they possessed more subtle bodies than humans.[35]

Another common epithet here was νοητός, used particularly in forming a variety of metaphors about the demons; the Devil was thus said to gnash his teeth noetically at the righteous[36] and the demons to lose noetic blood when "slain" by the Lord;[37] they were noetic hunters, snakes or wolves[38] and their leader was the noetic beast, tyrant or dragon,[39] the noetic Pharoah, Goliath, Amalek, or even Julian.[40]

Inherited from their angelic origin was also the idea

---

[32] Ἀσώματος in e.g. **Isaac***Ask* 25 p264; **Bas***Hex*3 c73: **GCyp** *Marina* p237; **Palam***Antirrhet* 5.78 p347; cf. Gokey *Terminology* pp71–72. Ἄσαρκος **Gabriel** *Hom* p172; **Kok***Entol* 13 c741.

[33] Ἄυλος: **JDam***Phil* cc669–672; **EuZig***Psalt* 17.18 c233: **Melet** *Alpha* ϱ΄ p344, ϱς΄ p365.

[34] See below pp82–118.

[35] †**Anast***Erot* 20 c521b; *ibid.*, 125 c776a (πνεῦμα λεπτὸν καὶ ἀσώματον; πνεύματα λεπτά); **Ath***Ant* 31 c889 (Εἰ λεπτοτέροις χρώμενοι σώμασι). For ideas of demons being more or less material and as having bodies of some sort see below pp199–201.

[36] **EuZig***Psalt* 36.12 c417.

[37] *Ibid.*, 67.24 c676a.

[38] Hunters: *ibid.*, 90.3 c937; **Mark***Nik* 10 c1048. Snakes: **Bry***Log* 2 p310; cf. numerous passages in Palamas' writings, e.g. **Palam***Hom* 6 p31: also **Akrop***Dem* p175.9 for the noetic scorpion who always has his sting raised against us. Wolves: **JChr***John* 59 c326; **JChr***Baia* c707; **Schol***Mirac* p385.

[39] Beast: **AkropK***Eudok* 8 pp208–209; **AkropK***Myth* 3 p448; **Dig Ak** GroIII.166 p54; **GCyp***Laz* p595a, cf. p598a. Tyrant: **AkropK***Dem* 16 p175. Dragon: **Kal***Kyr* c257d.

[40] Pharoah: **EuZig***Psalt* 67.32 c681: **Kal***Stavr* c264b; **Melet***Alpha* ϱ΄ p341. Goliath: **Chrysokeph** c232b. Amalek: **Palam***Peter* 24 c1016d. Julian: **Nekt***Theod* 23 c1840.

that the demons were invisible for most of the time (usually ἀόρατος or ἀφανής). Such adjectives were used most often when talking of their struggle with Christians and thus "athletes" of God were said to spend their lives wrestling with the invisible enemies (ἀόρατοι ἐχθροί) and men were encouraged to fight with the unseen persecutors (τοὺς ἀφανεῖς διωκτάς).[41] In a number of stories too there were reports of the Devil or demons disappearing into thin air; the demonic animals besieging Saint Antony, for instance, became invisible (ἄφαντοι) in the presence of a divine ray of light,[42] and the demons tormenting Maximos Kavsokalyvetes were dissolved like smoke.[43]

Another related concept that had appeared in much earlier traditions was that of the demons inhabiting the air about the earth.[44] It was supported by two passages from Ephesians in the New Testament where the prince of the power of the air (τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος) is mentioned (2:2), apparently with reference to the Devil, and where the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places (τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις) were included in the list of diabolical powers at 6:12.[45] This belief survived in the later tradition which referred to the prince or princes of the air[46] and made the air the place of the Devil's rule

---

41 Ἀόρατος: **Bas***Psalm* 7 cc232–233: **Akrop**K*Eudok* 10 p211; **Chion***Ep* 5 p193: **Kal***Stavr* c272b: **Neil***Anth* p69; cf. Gokey *Terminology* pp73 and 88–89. Ἀφανής: **GNaz***Or11* 4 c837: **GCyp***Marina* p228, cf. *ibid.*, p231 (ἀθέατος); **Joseph** p212.

42 **Ath***Ant* 10 c860. Similar expressions are used in the following; †**Ath***AntArch* 14 c605: **Niphon***Max* 3 p45 (both ἄφαντος): **Gmon***Laz* 42 p522e; *ibid.*, 155 p555a; **Palam***Peter* 23 c1016 (all ἀφανής).

43 **Theoph**P*Max* 19 p91; cf. **Ath***Ant* 40 c901b and 42 c905c: **GCyp***George* c321d; **Gmon***Laz* 208 p572c; **Hesychios** 1.20 c1485d; †**JDam** *Barl* 37 p570.

44 Thus in II Enoch 29:4 Satanael, having been cast from heaven, is said to be "flying in the air continuously above the bottomless": see Langton *Essentials* pp142–143.

45 Cf. in the Old Testament Job 1:7 where the Devil tells God he has been going about in "τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν", and see Langton *Essentials* pp186–188; Gokey *Terminology* pp52–53.

46 E.g. †**JDam***Barl* 31 p474, (οἱ τοῦ ἀέρος ἄρχοντες): **Kall** **Mon***Ep* p19.3; **Kant***Mahom* c673b (ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ ἀέρος διάβολος).

on occasions;[47] demons were to be found everywhere in it,[48] flying and dwelling there[49] and occasionally appearing out of it to frighten men.[50]

In a rather more specialised development these aerial demons could also be thought of as acting as "tax-" or "customs-officers" to the souls of the dead, preventing those who showed signs of evil from passing. This idea was a common one in religious traditions current at the time of early Christianity particularly among the Gnostic sects, between which there was much rivalry about "passwords" to facilitate the dangerous passage of souls through the air, and it continued to find a place in orthodox belief.[51] Saint Antony is thus once said to have felt himself "seized in mind"[52] and

---

[47] **Bas***AitKak* 9 c352a-b; repeated almost verbatim in **Schol***Keph* p303 using Ephesians 2:2 for support.

[48] **Ath***Ant* 21 c876 and 28 c885.

[49] **Pall***Laus* 2 p7; **Theoph***Mark* c529. Cf. Russell *Satan* p74.

[50] **Evag***Log* 99 c1189; for references to the demons in the air in general see e.g. **Theoph***Matt* 13.4–6 c277: **Palam***Hom* 47 p64; and **Bry***Log* 2 p310. **Schol***Evang* p7 says that the demons received the gloomy air at their fall so that, as by the ministering of the good angels, so might the affairs of men be managed by the wicked ones and thus some good come of the fall. See in particular here Daniélou *Démons*; cf. also Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp24 and 57–61; *Idem, Christus* pp27–28. For modern Sarakatsan belief in this area see Campbell *Honour* p332. References to enaerial demons here come close to alternative traditions which make such demons one group in far more complicated systems of division, not only in relation to their place of dwelling but also to their nature; context and the type of reference allow a distinction to be drawn. The same is also true of the closely related concept of *perigeial* demons; here references to the Devil having such rule appear below on pp19–20, while references to such demons as a type are placed in Part II pp202ff.

[51] For the background to the underlying idea of the "soul-journey" see e.g. D.W. Bousset, "Die Himmelsreise der Seele", *Arw* 4 (1901), pp136–169 and 229–273; Bloomfield *Cardinal, passim*; Bloomfield *Deadly* pp1–77; MacDermot *Cult* pp121, 154, 159–160 and 163. **JDam***Her* says that Karpokrates taught that "unless everything was transcended and the will of all the angels and demons accomplished, it was not possible to transcend the highest heaven or pass by τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας": cf. here **Katrones***Herm* XVI p26 who says that "holy men have told us well to change the names of the departed so that it may be possible to escape and pass by those 'taxing' in the aerial places".

[52] **Ath***Ant* 65 cc933c–936a. In a second vision Antony sees a towering, unsightly and fearful figure which reaches to the clouds and stops the souls answerable to him as they try to fly past, *ibid.*, 66 c957. Cf. **Gmon***Laz* 132 p547e-f where white robed and gloomy faced figures are

> as though guided into the air by certain beings; other bitter and terrible ones were then standing in the air wishing to hinder him so that he might not pass by. When his guides resisted them they asked for a reason why he should not be liable to give account to them.

After the vision Antony

> was amazed, seeing against how many is the contest, and what labours someone has to pass through the air. However he remembered this is what the Apostle said, "According to the prince of the power of the air"; for it is in this that the enemy has his authority, fighting and trying to hinder those passing through.

Elsewhere, men were told,[53]

> We must have at that time many prayers, many good deeds, much patronage from the angels, much guidance in the ascent of the air. For if when we travel to a strange country and town we need a guide, how much more is it necessary for us to have helpers and guides in order to pass safely by the principalities (ἀρχάς) and powers (ἐξουσίας) and unseen world rulers (ἀφανεῖς κοσμοκράτορας) of this air, whom the Holy Scripture calls pursuers (διωκτάς) and toll-gatherers (τελώνας) and tax leviers (φορολόγους)?

For, as Meletios Homologetes wrote,[54]

> ... the time of death is full of consternation since all the tax collectors (φορολόγοι) bring forward deeds and words, plans of thoughts, desires, and all that we have

---

seen in a vision, contesting the soul of a man who has fallen over a cliff. On the visions of Antony see especially Daniélou *Démons* pp140–143, and on the demonology of this work in general see Russell *Satan* pp168–177.

[53] †**JChr***Hypo* c727. The scriptural reference is presumably to Eph. 6:12 but the latter terms are not found there.

[54] **Melet***Alpha* ρπ′ p582, cf. *ibid.*, ιθ′ p100 and ρπα′ p583. For other references see e.g. **Hesychios** 1.4 c1481, where they are apparently equated with the Tartarean rulers; *ibid.*, 2.59 c1532; and **Diad***Keph* 100 p162; **EuZig***Psalt* 7.2 c116; †**JDam***Barl* 39 p584; **JKlim** c625 (letter from John Raithuensis); *ibid.*, 5 c733: **ChoumM***Epitel* p84 ll.289–292; *CorpHerm Λόγος* Δ′ 8.52 8–11; **Germ***Bogomils* p122; **Gmon***Laz* 136 p548e; **Kok***Hyps* c721d; **Theolep***Inst* p124.

In contrast **Bas***AitKak* 10 c352 suggests that since Satan has fallen from his principality in the air after Christ there is now no struggle or contest awaiting Christians ἐν τοῖς ἄνω. Elsewhere, however, this freedom from demonic interference is delayed until the Last Judgement: so **Bry***Log* 2 pp368 and 369; **Schol***DevtPar* p335. Cf. here Russell *Satan* p77; C. de Boor, "Zur Vision des Taxaotes", *BZ* 5 (1896), pp306–310; Delatte *Contrib.* p228; Bruel *Superstition* p29; Mango *Byzantium* pp164–165, quotes a complex example involving twenty-one toll-houses from the tenth century *Vita S. Basilii Iunioris*.

> done when instructed by them, in obedience to our enemies. Alas for our lack of perception! After the release the powers and authorities and all the principalities of Satan pick everyone out and examine minutely the things that are in the soul and the body. They meet with us to cut and to chop, to forcibly drag us down because of the previous disposition we had towards them, because of the affection and condition through the passions, and because of our familiarity with them, by which they alienated us from God our Maker and Master.

Another element of the standard tradition that derived to a large extent from the angelic origin of the demons was the loose hierarchy in which they were believed to be organised.[55] Basically this followed that of the rank of angels which had fallen with the Devil at its head. Biblical language played an important part both in the titles used for him and for this division of the demons; thus in Psalm 81 : 7 there is the reminder of the fall of one of the princes (*εἷς τῶν ἀρχόντων*) and the mention of the archon of Tyre in Ezekiel 28, which was interpreted as being about the Devil. In the synoptic narratives Jesus is accused of performing exorcisms by the power of the *ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων* who is identified with Beelzebul,[56] and in John there are a number of references to the *ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*.[57] Most important however, are the passages in Ephesians where the *ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος* is mentioned (2 : 2) and where there are also *αἱ ἀρχαί, αἱ ἐξουσίαι, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τούτου*. In the later tradition many authors were simply content to repeat these formulae individually or in various combinations when expressing their ideas of the demonic hierarchy. Gregory of Nazianzus, for example, speaks of a mixture of principalities and powers, invisible tyrants

---

[55] Much more developed and detailed hierarchies were known in the alternative traditions as will be seen in Part II below; cf. MacDermot *Cult* p92.

[56] So Matthew 12 : 24; Mark 3 : 22; Luke 11 : 15. On the names of demons in extra-canonical apocalyptic literature to A.D. 100, see Barton *Names* pp162–167.

[57] John 12 : 31; 14 : 30; 16 : 11; cf. I John 5 : 19 where the whole world is said to be in the power of the Evil One; and II Corinthians 4 : 4 which mentions *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*. On the rule of Satan in the New Testament see H. Kruse, "Das Reich Satans", *Biblica* 58 (1977), pp29–61, and cf. here Langton *Essentials* p172.

and persecutors, world rulers of the darkness of this age and spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places and about the heavens.[58] The most usual title was, then, ἄρχων, but this was sometimes replaced by similar ones such as ταξιάρχος, ἐξαρχῆς, ἀρχηγός, πρῶτος or ἄκρος.[59]

The title κοσμοκράτωρ and others which implied that the Devil ruled the world were the subject of particular attention. John Damaskenos thus explained the idea of the κοσμοκράτωρ by saying that the Devil was the commander (πρωτοστάτης) of the rank of angelic powers surrounding the earth (τῆς περιγείου τάξεως), the guardianship of which God had committed to him.[60] This idea was echoed by such writers as Basil and Scholarios who mention not only that the air is the place of the Devil's rule but also that he is called 'world-ruler' since his rule is perigeial.[61] Nikephoros Gregoras in his *History* takes the notion even further: he claims that the Devil has been established as the ruler of the area about the *kosmos* by God and that as *kosmokrator*, not only can he reckon all things that are evil in the world as his own, but even a portion of the good as well since his title would otherwise be unjust. He thus takes a "tithe" of the good as his rightful due; bishops, rulers, monks and the like fall into his power, just as he won Judas from among the disciples.[62] The general view seems, however, to have stopped somewhat short of Gregoras' position. Theophylakt of Bulgaria thus says that the title *kosmokrator* does not

---

[58] **GNaz***Or11* 4 c837. For general examples of such use see, among many; **EuZig***Psalt* 9.15 c164; **GNaz***Or1* p76 4.8; **JChr***Olymp* 15.1a p356; **Theoph***Matt* 12.38 c273: **Chrysokeph** cc192a and 225c; **Kaloth***Ath* 9 p463 ll.333-335; **Melet***Alpha β′* p40; **Palam***Hom* 23 p134: cf. Russell *Satan* pp34-35; also Gokey *Terminology* under *archon*.

[59] Ταξιάρχος: **Anast***Hod* 4 c93. Ἐξαρχῆς: **Kab***Draft* p198 l.64. Ἀρχηγός: †**JDam***Barl* 18 p272, and frequently elsewhere of such things as darkness or evil. Πρῶτος: **Ath***Ant* 28 c685: **Schol***Tel* p65. Ἄκρος: **Schol***Parask* 3 p138.35. Note also the common epithet ἀρχέκακος, see n81 below. On the origin and development of the standard orthodox hierarchy see B. Rubin, "Der Fürst der Dämonen", *BZ* 44 (1951) pp469-481.

[60] **JDam***Orth* 2.4 p48.

[61] **Bas***AitKak* 9 c352a-b: **Schol***Keph* p303.

[62] **Gregoras***Hist* VI 1.3 p160. It is interesting to compare here Augustine's idea that the human race was the Devil's fruit tree from which he could take his pick; see Russell *Satan* p197.

mean the Devil rules all creation but only people who think of the things of this world and who betray themselves to him, for otherwise he would overturn and trouble all things.[63] Gregory Palamas mentions similarly that he does not really rule heaven, earth, and the creatures of God in between, but only our abuse and misuse of things in the world, and that it is from this that he derives his title.[64] The Patriarch Athanasios I committed himself even less, apparently denying that Satan ever actually obtained rule over the world, having hoped for this but having failed in his fall.[65]

George Scholarios refers to a disagreement over whether the Devil was the leader of the angels about the earth or of all the angels[66] but the tradition was generally united in seeing the demons who fell with him as comprising or being drawn from one rank, the usual word for this being *τάγμα*.[67] By comparison with alternative traditions there was very little attempt made here to divide this group up, although some use was made of the notion of the seven wicked spirits or demons mentioned in the New Testament[68] and of the *μεσημβρινὸν δαιμόνιον* of Psalm 90:5-6, and occasionally the demons were individualised or categorised in terms of their actions.[69] What other

---

[63] **Theoph***John* 14.30 c192. Cf. **Germ***Bogomils* pp118–119; and Russell *Satan* p78 for Athenagoras' view on the subject.

[64] **Palam***Hom* 33 p188.

[65] **Athan***Ep* 81 p211. On the Devil as *kosmokrator* see further Kelly *Devil* pp210–211.

[66] **Schol***Parask* 3 p139; he cites **JDam***Orth* 2.4 p48 for the former view, Gregory the Great, *Hom.* XXXIV, 7 (Migne, *PL* 76 cc1246–1259), for the second. Cf, also p234 below.

[67] So e.g. **Anast***Hod* 4 c93; **EuZig***Psalt* 81.7 c865; **JDam***Orth* 24 p48: **Kant***Apol* II c441a,c; **Kant***Mahom* III c685b; cf. Delatte*Ex* p126. Other possibilities are *τάξις*: **Schol***Evang* 6 p6. *στῖφος*: **JRhak***Stich* p41; **Melet***Alpha* *ρα΄* p345. *πληθύς*: *ibid.*, *να΄* p207; cf. †**JDam***Barl* 7 p82 who speaks of *πλῆθυς πολὺ τοῦ ὑπ΄ αὐτὸν τάγματος*.

[68] Matthew 12:45 and Luke 11:26 refer to the demon returning to a formerly possessed man with seven worse spirits, while Mark 16:9 and Luke 8:2 refer to Mary Magdalene having had seven demons: see Langton *Essentials* p150; cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp62–63. These were later related to the idea of the seven sins or passions which may be spoken of as individual demons at times, see below pp97–98. Otherwise see here **Schol***Aphes* p320; **Gregoras***Ant* 1.1.10, 13 p221; **Kok***Synk* p74.

[69] See especially here demons of particular passions, e.g. below

developments there were, were usually either brought about by the addition of obvious details such as describing the demons as the Devil's servants or workers,[70] or by use of the common military metaphor.[71]

In a rather different way, the demons' angelic nature was seen as limiting their ability, for they were not believed capable of doing any more than it was possible for an angel to do. John Damaskenos summarises the situation as follows: being of the same nature as the angels the Devil and the demons "have no power or strength against anyone unless they are allowed it economically by God ... and neither angels nor demons know the future, although they make predictions"; nor are they creators of any kind of essence, "for since they are created things they are not creators" and hence, even when they have been allowed to attack "they do not have the strength to overpower anyone, for we have it in our power to receive or not to receive the attack".[72]

One other way in which this limitation was apparent was in the belief that the fallen angels, unlike men, were quite incapable of returning to the glory they had lost. Damaskenos held that through his incorruption the Devil, having fallen by free choice, was fixed in evil with no chance of repentance or change,[73] and Scholarios maintained that the angels had chosen irremediably; even were they to want to change there would

---

pp104, 107. The demon of midday is mentioned by **Chion***Ep* 10.13–17; and **GCyp***Evth* p406: further on this see Caillois *Démons* II, pp156–161 and below p104 and n347, cf. n574.

[70] So **Bas***Psalm* 61.3 c473 *πονηροὶ ὑπηρέται*; †**Amph***Bas* p189, *ὀφείλοντες* who are the rulers of the power of darkness and where the spirits of wickedness are pictured as sitting round the Devil on his high throne, cf. Radermacher *Faust.* p126; **Nekt***Theod* 5 c1825 *κάκιστοι θεραπευταί*; †**Anast***Erot* 32 c527 *ὑπουργοί*; **Isaac***Ask* 27 p119 *ἐργαταί*; **Theoph***Luke* 10.17–20 c840 *δοῦλοι*; **Schol***Evang* 6 p6.34.

[71] See below pp129–131. The commonest reference here is to the demonic "phalanx" although *στρατιά* also features quite frequently and military titles may be given to the leader or leaders. Examples of the division of demons in general may be found in e.g. **Origen***Phil* 17.1 p91; *ibid.*, 20.20 p145; **Ath***Ant* 21–22 c876; **Pall***Laus* 17 p47; †**Anast***Erot* 32 c572; **EuZig***Psalt* 117.10 c1125.

[72] **JDam***Orth* **JDam***Orth* 2.4 pp48–49, 19–20, 24–26, 30–32. For discussion of their ability to know the future see below pp127–129, 208–209 and 293–297. On the control of the demons by God see pp135–139.

[73] **JDam***Orth* 2.30 p105, 52–54 and cf. 2.4 p50.

be no divine forgiveness since in their case (as opposed to that of men) there was no outside temptation and no body to impede their choice. The way back to the good was completely shut to them.[74] This belief was also argued in opposition to Islamic teaching that held a group of *jinns* or demons had overheard the Qu'ran being read and had been saved as a result.[75] John Kantakouzenos thus quotes "the fire prepared for the Devil and his angels" as meaning that all will be punished and none can be saved, certainly not just a few as the Qu'ran maintains. Salvation, he says, must come from repentance and one's own power, but the Devil, instead of showing this and the humility from which it springs, is pleased with his sin and helps others to share it.[76]

Although the demons retained these aspects of angelic nature, they were regarded, in their fallen state, as having exchanged all the goodness and virtue of their former life in heaven with God for its opposite. Evil replaced good, darkness light, uncleanness purity, bitterness joy, hatred and enmity love, deceitfulness simplicity, lying truth, and pride humility, while envy, for all that had been lost and of those who sought and were able to obtain what now lay beyond their grasp, became the guiding principle of all the demons' actions.

That they were *evil* is a fact so obvious and so fundamental to the whole Christian concept of the demons' existence that it hardly needs stating, but it is worth looking briefly at the treatment of this evil in the writings of Pseudo-Dionysios

---

[74] **Schol***Parask* 3-4 p139; cf. **Schol***Evang* 12 p11 where it is said that the remaining angels could not be tempted instead of men as they had become immutable in good after choosing not to apostatise. See also here **Amir***JPal* p123; **Bry***Log* 2 pp95-96; **Choum**N *Thesp* c1508c; **Palam***Peter* 21 c1016a; **Palam***EpBarl* A′ 52 p256: for a slightly different explanation see **AkropG***Herm* 15 p79; cf. **AkropG***Apost* 12 p93. Cf. Russell *Satan* pp76-77 (Tatian) and Joannou *Démon*. p42.

[75] Sura 46 (Al-Ahqaf), Dawood pp129-130; and Sura 72 (The Jinn), p265. Origen had, of course, suggested that even the Devil could turn and be saved in the end, a belief mentioned, with its condemnation, by **Anast***Hod* 5 c101b; see further Russell *Satan* pp144-148, *idem Lucifer* p40 on this idea of *apokatastasis*.

[76] **Kant***Mahom* IV.2 cc685b-688a; cf. *ibid.*, III c652a; also **Kyd** *Mahom* c1093 which says that since the story is so obviously untrue no argument is necessary to refute it.

where there is a detailed exposition of its nature, and also at how it is expressed in some of the titles and epithets applied to them.

Pseudo-Dionysios[77] states that the demons were not naturally evil, for were they such

> they would neither be from the good nor have any place among existent things, nor have fallen from the good things, being by their nature always evil.

Nor, he argues, could they be essentially evil, one line he takes being that if this were the case they could not continue to exist, for as evil is the contrary of good and good is by its nature productive, evil must be destructive and so, if they were essentially evil, they would have destroyed themselves. Thus,

> they are called evil not in so far as they exist, (for they are from good and had a good existence given them), but in so far as they do not exist, having been unable to keep their original state as the Scriptures say (Jude 6). For in what, tell me, do we say that the demons have done evil, except in ceasing from the permanent state and activity of the divine virtues? ... They are not completely devoid of good, since they exist and live and think and have in themselves some movement of desire; but they are called evil because they fail in their natural activity ... The demonic class is not evil in what it is by nature but in what it is not.

Turning to evil in the titles, the demons were most commonly called πονηρός, a term used in both Septuagint and New Testament,[78] where ὁ Πονηρὸς becomes a synonym for

---

[77] †**Dion***Onom* 4.23, on which see further W. Rordorf, "Sind Dämonen gut oder böse?", *JbAChr* 10 (1983) pp239-244 and Russell *Lucifer* pp35-36 who also discusses the treatment of Diabolical and demonic evil in the writings of Maximos, Klimakos and John Damaskenos. Compare to Pseudo-Dionysios e.g. **Bas***AitKak* 8 c348; **JDam***Orth* II.4 p49. Among writers of the Palaeologan period itself Gregory Palamas is perhaps closest to Pseudo-Dionysios on this subject; see e.g. **Palam***Hesych* 1.1.17 p380, which says that the demonic mind in that it is mind is good, but in as much as it deals evilly with itself is wicked; *ibid.*, 1.1.19 p383 which states that the demonic mind, being created by God, has the natural capacity of thought; this action is not from God although the capacity for it is, thus this thinking is derangement; likewise the demons do also possess desire and knowledge which is not totally evil in that they desire to live, exist and think; cf. also **Palam***Keph* 41 c1149b-c; and **Akrop**G*Herm* 15 p79.

[78] In the *LXX* πνεῦμα πονηρὸν appears at e.g. 1 Kings 16:14 16; *ibid.*, 19:19; Judges 9:23; and Hosea 4:12; 5:4; 12:1: ἄγγελοι πονηροί

the Devil,[79] as it remains throughout the later tradition.[80] Also frequently used for the Devil were the adjectives ἀρχέκακος[81] and μισόκαλος[82] and similarly there were such developments as "the inventor of evil" (ὁ τῆς κακίας ἐφευρετής), "the worker of evils" (ὁ τῶν κακῶν ἐργάτης), or "the wise one in doing evil" (ὁ σοφὸς τοῦ κακοποιῆσαι),[83] while the demons were called φαῦλοι on a number of occasions.[84]

Another way in which the demons' evil was commonly depicted was as darkness, an image which lent itself well to their fall from the angelic illumination, and indeed to their actions in general. The metaphor of light and darkness is, of course, one that is widely used in religious language the world over, and this

---

at Psalm 77:49: and πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον at Tobit 3:8; 3:17. In the New Testament Luke 8:2 mentions women freed from πνευμάτων πονηρῶν and Ephesians 6:12 τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας.

[79] So Matthew 5:37; 6:13; 13:19, 38: Ephesians 6:16: II Thessalonians 3:3: I John 2:13, 14; 3:12; 5:18, 19.

[80] It is used interchangeably with 'Devil' and all the other titles, while πονηρὸς δαίμων is a standard combination. In e.g. **JChr***Olymp* 14.1c p352 the Devil himself is described as ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων. Cf. here Gokey *Terminology* under πονηρός.

[81] †**Anast***Erot* 32 c572; **Bas***Phthonou* 3 c376; **Germ***Enc* c316; **JDam***Orth* 3.1 p106; **Theoph***Mark* 15.28 32 c669: also **Akrop**K*Evdok* 10 p211.38; **Gabriel***Hom* 7.5 p172.114; **Kal***Stavr* c264b; **Kaloth***Prag* p239; **Kok***SynodA* c719.

[82] **Ath***Ant* 5 c845; *ibid.*, 9 c856, 11 c860; *JChr*Job 1 c566; **Doroth** *Did* 11.2 c1640; **JKlim** 4.31 c696; **Anast***Hod* 4 c97; **JDam***Orth* 2.30 p106: also **Anon***BiosRom* 20 p140.11; **Argyros***Ged* p90; **Bry***Log* 3 p10; **MetT***John* 9 p684. On the use of this term see particularly G.J.M. Bartelink, "*Μισόκαλος* épithéte du diable", *VChr* 12 (1958) pp37–44. Compare too παμπονηρός, **AnthAth** p45; **Glabas***Nomik* p349; **Gmon***Laz* 55 p526e.

[83] In order, **Eph***PatTel* 2.1 p228; cf. **Melet***Alpha* ρ΄ p343, ὁ τῶν κακῶν ἐφευρετής: †**JChr***Job* 3.3 c573; cf. **Palam***Peter* 21 c1013, ὁ ἐργάτης ἢ προστάτης κακοῦ and **MetT***John* 15 p687b, ὁ κακομήχανος, κακέργατης: **Theoph***Luke* 23.35 c1101. See also e.g. ὁ δημιουργὸς τῆς κακίας **GCyp***Marina* p231; and **GNaz***Or38* 9 c321, the demons are δημιουργοὶ τῆς κακίας: **Palam***Peter* 18 c1012c, ὁ τῆς κακίας ἀσκητής; **Palam***Hom* 16 p90, πλήρωμα καὶ ἀρχηγὸς κακίας.

[84] Spirits are said to be ἔλαττον φαῦλοι, φαυλότεροι by **Ath***Ant* 22 c876, who also describes the characteristics of visions from τῶν φαύλων, 36 c896; **JKarp** 68 c1851 has the Devil and the passions as τὰ φαῦλα καὶ τοὺς τῶν φαύλων ὑποβολεῖς; while **Eph***Proseche* 9, 11 pp249 and 253, uses the language of Titus 2:8 about the Devil; there men are told to be virtuous "so that an opponent may be put to shame, having nothing evil (μηδὲν φαῦλον) to say of us".

was the case in both Judaism and in the other traditions which surrounded early Christianity. It is thus not surprising to find that it was adopted by the emergent religion. Such language is common in both Septuagint and New Testament, but passages of particular influence on the details of various elements of belief about the demons in the orthodox tradition were the fall of Lucifer at Isaiah 14 : 12-20, John 1 : 5 and 3 : 19-20 where Christ, the Word of God, is said to shine in the darkness (ἡ σκοτία) which has not overcome it even though men loved the dark (τὸ σκότος) rather than the light because their deeds were evil and everyone who does evil hates the light; and Ephesians 6 : 12 once more, with its mention of the world-rulers of this darkness (τοῦ σκότους τούτου). The passages which mention the outer darkness (ἐξώτερον σκότος) of hell in Matthew should also be recalled (8 : 12; 22 : 13; 25 : 30).

In the later tradition the metaphor of darkness was used in several ways: in many places the Biblical language was repeated either in direct quotation or in only slightly modified form, but the idea was also applied in more detail to the fall of the demons, to their appearance, and to their nature. In his homily "That God is not the Cause of Evils", Basil of Caesarea thus says,[85]

> A small movement of the eye puts us either in the sun or in the shade of our body; thus if [the Devil] had looked up then, he would have immediately been enlightened, but, having turned away to the shadow (σκιά), his darkening (σκότωσις) was inevitable.

Meletios Homologetes describes the angels who were "formerly most shining" as "blackened (ἠμαυρωμένους), darkened (σκοτεινούς) and filled with gloom (ζόφου πεπλησμένους)",[86] while Gregory of Cyprus calls the Devil "he who rejoices at darkness and is heir of darkness seeing that he is dark (σκότος) through the fall".[87]

---

[85] **Bas***AitKak* 8 c348a.

[86] **Melet***Alpha* ψε΄ p327.

[87] **GCyp***Laz* 18 p595a. Cf. also e.g. **GNaz***Or38* 9 cc320-321; **JDam***Orth* 2.4 p49; **Theoph***Luke* 10.17-20 c340; **Athan***Ep* 81 p210 ll.159-160; **Bry***Log* 2 p250; **Choum**N*Symb* p157; **Kant***Apol* III.7 c516; **Kok***SynodB* c693a; **Palam***Keph* 46 c1153. See also Russell *Satan* pp38-40 for the early history of this concept and cf. Langton *Satan* p45 and Böcher

This darkening also affected descriptions of the demons' appearance and they were depicted as being a dusky crowd (ϛοφέρα πληθῦς), army (σκοτειναὶ παρατάξεις) or phalanx (ϛοφέρα φάλαγξ).[88] They often appeared too in the form of black animals or men,[89] choosing them because, as Gregory of Cyprus says of the Devil,[90]

> The complexion which he adopted was not unsuited to him since the pretention must be a form of the truth; being dark then, or rather having become dark through evil, and rejoicing in darkness because he is the creator of evil, he would work with things that were most appropriate to himself even if he did not imagine a dark appearance.

The Devil too, could be described as the *archon* of darkness, the Father of darkness, or as darkness itself.[91]

The demons were thought to be both dark and darkening by nature so that such things as demonic gloom (ἀχλύς), the darkness of the Devil and the demons' ability to overshadow men, were referred to. This latter concept was used particularly to describe the demonic error of pagan religion,[92] although it could be applied to their effect on men's faculties of perception and souls in more specific ways.[93] Connotations of spiri-

---

Dämonen., pp73–78.

[88] †**JDam***Barl* 39 p584; **Diad***Keph* 100; **GSin***Keph* 84 c1265a: cf. also **ChoumN***Dys* p383; **Gregoras***Hist* XXII 4.10 pp1073–1074; *ibid.*, XXIV 1.10 p1136: cf. Böcher Dämonen., pp98–103.

[89] See below pp82, 85–86.

[90] **GCyp***Marina* pp230–231, cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp92–95. †**JDam***Barl* 37 p568 says that the Devil is black and thus he appears, while **Anon***Poul* p126 l.558 and p128 l.587 describes the crow as being διάβολε εἰς τὸ χρῶμα.

[91] For ἄρχων of darkness see **And***Evang* cc881–884; **And***Koim* B′ c1073; **Theoph***John* 14.30 c192: **Melet***Alpha* ρνη′ p515; **Palam***Hom* 23 p134. For other terms see †**Amph***Bas* p196, cf. Radermacher *Faust.* pp126–127; **Ath***Ant* 6 c852; **GNaz***Or40* 16 c377; †**JDam***Barl* 30 p458: and **Palam***Hom* 22 p129. Note that in Bogomil mythology the Devil also became black and unseemly but only after causing Eve's fall.

[92] **Diad***Keph* 75; **Bas***Let* 48 c765; **Eph***Mak* vii p283: also **Anon** *EncJPal* p293 ll.12–13; **ChoumN***Thesp* c1509a; **Gregoras***Hist* XX 2.5 p968; **GSin***Keph* 115 c1280d; **Kant***Apol* II.5 c449b; *ibid.*, III.6 c513b, IV.7 cc553–556; **Palam***Hom* 30 p170.

[93] So **JKlim** 26 c1013, "When [the demons] take possession of the soul and extinguish the light of the mind, then there is no longer in us poor wretches either sobriety, self-knowledge, discernment or shame, but

tual darkness were transferred to the night too, and this was used in descriptions of demons who could be said to have faces like night,[94] while the Devil could be described as night itself.[95] Their attacks were often thought to occur with particular vehemence at night, either in reality,[96] or metaphorically as in the expressive picture of the Devil attacking men "in order that in the moonless night he may shoot down the common body of the Church, hiding himself in the gloom of rebellion'.[97] Finally, darkness was frequently employed in orthodox pictures of hell.[98]

The commonest description of demons who possess men in the New Testament is πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα,[99] and the idea that they were unclean, having lost their angelic purity by their fall was hence one of the most frequent descriptions in the tradition available to the late Byzantines, although it does not perhaps occur quite so commonly in works written in the Palaeologan period. The position is well described by Hesychios of Sinai in his Λόγος περὶ Νήψεως καὶ Ἀρετῆς,[100]

> Scripture says that the Devil is unclean since he rejected the good currency of humility from the beginning and loved pride. He is therefore also called an

indifference, lack of perception, want of discernment and blindness". See also †**Anast***Erot* 8 c400; †**Ath***Beirut* c804; **Diad***Keph* 28 p99; *ibid.*, 81 p139; **Eph***Arete* 9.1 pp225-226; **EuZig***Psalt* 79 c841; **GNaz***Carm55* l.17 c1399; **Hesychios** 2.75 c1536; **JKlim** 15 c901; **JMaur***Pat* p110; **Mark***Nik* 8 c1041.

[94] **Bas***Psalm* 33 c372; cf. **Bry***Log* 2 p392, *ibid.*, 2 p381; **Gmon***Laz* 132 p547e-f.

[95] **GNaz***Carm55* l.14 c1399.

[96] So e.g. **Ath***Ant* 5 c848; *ibid.*, 8 c856, 52 c917; **GNaz***Carm83* ll.7-8 c1428; **Anon***Tetrapod* l.330 p75; **Gmon***Laz* 48 p524c-d; *ibid.*, 50 p525c-d, 58 p528; **Joseph** p212. Cf. Mango *Byzantium* p160, and Campbell *Honour* p333. For use of the demons at night in sorcery see below p259 and n867.

[97] **GNaz***Or6* c740; cf. **AkropK***JDam* 60 p760d; **Evgen***JKan* p179, 28-30.

[98] See below pp73-76.

[99] So e.g. Matthew 10:1; 12:43; Mark 1:23, 26; 3:11; Luke 4:36; 6:18; Acts 5:16; 8:7. Cf. Luke 4:33 πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου.

[100] **Hesychios** 1.63 cc1500-1501a. Cf. also **Origen***Phil* 20.19 p144 who says that the demons, having fallen from heaven, wallow in the grosser bodily existence and in the unclean things on earth. **EuZig***Psalt* 79, conc., c841, describes the Devil as he who takes pleasure in uncleanness. Cf. Gokey *Terminology* pp152 and 170; Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp117ff. Cf. also the need for purity in the sorcery rituals described below pp287-291 and 298-302.

> unclean spirit by all the Scriptures, for what corporeal uncleanness (ἀκαθαρσία σωματική) can be done such as the incorporeal, fleshless, unresting and bloodless uncleanness that Satan has done from the beginning until now so as to be called unclean by them? It is clear that he has been called unclean because of pride and instead of being a pure and shining angel, he has shown himself to be unholy and unclean ...

The idea was also frequently expressed in the title ὁ Μιαρὸς (the polluted or abominable one) for the Devil, which has no real Biblical precedent,[101] and one common way of describing the action of the demons in turning men aside from their heavenly goal was in terms of defilement and of making unclean and impure.[102]

Bitterness and hatred were further characteristics of the demons in their fallen state, having replaced their angelic joy and love and being directed against both God and men. Πικρία appears in a number of authors where it is used to describe the demons' nature and also their activity; there are thus, for example, the horrible and downcast angels looking and breathing fire because of the bitterness of their choice (διὰ τὴν πικρίαν τῆς προαιρέσεως) who wait for sinners at judgement,[103] and the Devil may be described as the bitter persecutor or tyrant of our souls.[104] Their hatred was expressed in many ways, but most fre-

---

[101] Μιαρὸς appears at e.g. **Eph***OrthBi* 21 p59; **JChr***Hier* vi.13 p358.40; †**JChr***Job* 3 c571 has ὁ παμμίαρος; cf. **JKlim** 23 c976; while †**JDam***Barl* 33 p514 speaks of μιαροὶ δαίμονες; and **Theoph***Mark* 1.23-28 cc504-505 uses μιαρὸς of a single demon.

[102] For their defilement and pollution of men (μολύνω, βορβορεύω, κοινόω) see **Eph***Proseche* 3.1 p232; *ibid.*, 8 pp243-244, 9 p247; **Eph***Symb* 58.1 p273; **Eph***Tapein* 96.1 p331; **Eph***TelMon* 2 p417; **Ath***Ant* 5 c848; **Ath***Amoun* cc1169-1172; **Bas***Psalm* 7.3 c236; **Bas***EpDiod* c625; **Diad** *Keph* 99 pp160-161; **JKarp** 16 c1841; *ibid.*, 51 c1848; **JKlim** 15 c901; *ibid.*, 26 c1036, 27 c1109; **EuZig***Psalt* 3.7 cc89-92; *ibid.*, 37.6 c432.

[103] **Bas***Psalm* 33.8 c372. Cf. **Bry***Log* 2 p383, who speaks of the bitter examiner of the soul after death; and **Gmon***Laz* 132 p548a, bitter and wicked demons in the air.

[104] **EuZig***Psalt* 19.5 cc1048-1049; cf. *ibid.*, 24.18 c1192; and **Kaloth** *Ath* 9 p463 ll.334-335. For other references see e.g. †**JChr***Job* 3.3 c573; **Diad***Keph* 18 and 83 p143: also **AkropK***Konst* p8; **ChoumN***Test* p345; **ChoumN***Thesp* c1504a; **Chrysokeph** c192a; and **Kall***Apotom* p125. Cf. here Gokey *Terminology* pp122 and 135.

quently by the adjectives μισόκαλος,[105] μισάνθρωπος,[106] and μισόθεος,[107] and it is generally associated with their fall and their envy of man. Whether it extended to each other when they were not united against men seems, however, to have been a matter for debate. John Kantakuzenos[108] thus states clearly that

> The hatred of the Devil is not found in man alone, but the demons themselves desire the destruction and dissolution of each other; however through the ill will which they bear for men they seem to have unity. Just as certain enemies who bear malice against each other and seek their destruction and ruin, when they come across other enemies, leave the attack on each other and fight those, but afterwards are eager for the destruction of each other again, so also the unity and agreement of the demons is only apparent and not real.

This position is directly contradicted by Meletios Homologetes who says that men who hate and envy each other are worse than demons,[109]

> The demon does not remember evil, does not suffer from envy, does not loathe the other demons; it does not nourish envy for them, does not have enmity ...

As is clear here the demons' hatred was, of course, also paralleled by their enmity to God, man, and anything virtuous or good. This enmity was an extremely common idea, but it was perhaps expressed most obviously in such titles and descriptions given to both Devil and demons as ἐχθρός,[110] ἀντίδικος,[111]

---

[105] For references see above n82.

[106] **Bas***AitKak* 9 c349; **Eph***Proseche* 11 p253; **EuZig***Psalt* 17.18 c233; **GNaz***Or39* 7 c341: **Gmon***Laz* 133 p548b; **Palam***Hom* 41 p3.

[107] **Bas***Phthonou* 3 c376; **Eph***DeutPar* p195; **JKlim** 23 c976: **Schol** *Evang* p6.

[108] **Kant***Apol* IV.10 c561b.

[109] **Melet***Alpha* ξγ′ p250; cf. also ξδ′ p242, ξθ′ p254. See also below p111 and n371.

[110] Ἐχθρός, the usual description of the demonic powers viewed as enemies, appears throughout the tradition and is too common to cite in particular references; in the *LXX* it is used not only for men's ordinary enemies but also for the enemies of God and his people, and in a number of cases it could be interpreted as referring to demonic forces. In the New Testament it is used in Matthew 13:24ff and Luke 10:19 specifically for the Devil.

[111] Ἀντίδικος is used in general in the *LXX* and the New Testament,

πολέμιος[112] and ἀντικείμενος, the term used to translate Satan which was understood to mean opponent in Hebrew.[113]

The simplicity and truthfulness of the angelic state was replaced by lying and deceitfulness which, perhaps more than anything else, characterised the demons' activities against men.[114] These traits were, however, thought to form part of their nature as well as their operation, and here a number of Biblical passages were important. In the Septuagint Eve says to God that the snake has deceived her (ἠπάτησέ με) at Genesis 3:14, and at III Kings 22:21–23 a lying spirit (πνεῦμα ψευδές) is sent to deceive Ahab. In the New Testament the

---

sometimes with its original connotations of "opponent at law". In I Peter 5:8 it is used of the Devil and has in the background the idea of Job 1:6ff and 2:1ff and also Revelation 12:10. In the tradition see †**Ath***AntArch* 11 c604; **Eph***Proseche* 9.1 p249; **Isaac***Ask* 2 p10; **Mark***Bap* c1013: **Athan***Ep* 60 ll.13–19; **Kal***Stavr* c264b.

[112] *Πολέμιος* is used frequently in a general sense in the *LXX* especially in 3 and 4 Maccabees: in the tradition see e.g. †**Ath***Analeps* 2 c1093; **Bas***Psalm* 33.3 c357; †**JDam***Barl* 2 p24; *ibid.*, 37 p568, 39 p596: **GCyp***Laz* 28 p599d; **Kab***Draft* p198.64; **Kal***Stavr* c772b. Two other related terms should also be mentioned: ἀντίπαλος e.g. **Eph***Proseche* 6.1 p237; **Bas***Nest* A´.9 c177; **Isaac***Ask* 2 p10; *ibid.*, 51 p209; **JDam***Her* c737; **JKarp** 5 c1839; **Theoph***Luke* 22.3–6 c1061: and δυσμενής, **AkropK***JnEl* 10 p51; **AkropK***Test* p45; **GCyp***Laz* 28 p599d; **Melet***Alpha* p330. Others again may be found in connection with military metaphors, see below pp129–132.

[113] For its use in the *LXX* see e.g. Isaiah 41:11; 66:6: II Kings 8:10. At Zechariah 3:1 Satan is said to stand at Joshua's right hand to oppose or accuse him (τοῦ ἀντικεῖσθαι αὐτῷ). In the New Testament the phrase οἱ ἀντικείμενοι appears close to a reference to Satan in Luke 13:16–17. and is used in a way that could be interpreted as referring to the demonic powers in Philippians 1:28: II Thessalonians 2:4 uses ἀντικείμενος of ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας - the Antichrist, and I Timothy 5:14 uses it again in close proximity to a mention of Satan; cf. Luke 21:15 and I Corinthians 16:9. For its use in the Apostolic Fathers see Gokey *Terminology* and Russell *Satan* p34 n6. For explanations of Satan as ἀντικείμενος in the tradition here see **Bas***AitKak* cc349d–352a; **Kok***Synk* p74; and **Schol***Keph* p303. For the different (and false) etymology of Satan put forward by Justin and Irenaeus see Russell *Satan* p66 n29, and cf. †**Anast***Erot* 57 c624b-d who follows that line. For examples of general use of ἀντικείμενος see †**Anast***Erot* 31 c569; **Ath***Ant* 51 c917; **Bas***Psalm* 45.8 c429; **Bas***Phthonou* 1 c372; **EuZig***Psalt* 16.15 c217; *ibid.*, 53.9 c573, 75.4 c773; **GNas***Or26* 3 p230; **Isaac***Ask* 5 p19; **JChr***Adam* c531; †**JDam***Barl* 36 p544; *ibid.*, 39 p596; **Pall***Laus* 47 p139; **Peter***Kan* 11 p34, (cf. Balsamon's commentary p47); **Theoph***Matt* 12.22–23 c268; *ibid.*, c321: **DigAk** GroV.251 p156; **Kall***Acta* p302.2; **Chion***Ep* 16.

[114] See below on their deceiving and cheating men pp39–42 and 120–129.

Devil is called a liar and the Father of lies (ψεύστης ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ) by Jesus at John 8 : 44, he is said to have filled Anannias' heart to lie (ψεύσασθαι) at Acts 5 : 3, is named as the deceiver of the whole world (ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην) at Revelation 12 : 9 and it is said that he will be loosed after being bound for a thousand years to lead astray (πλανῆσαι) the nations at the four corners of the earth at Revelation 20 : 7, while I Timothy 4 : 1 also mentions πνεύματα πλάνα.

The later tradition followed John 8 for the most part, so that ὁ ψεύστης[115] or ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ ψεῦδος[116] were used quite often of the Devil as was "enemy of the truth";[117] similar phrases were applied to the demons in general.[118] Demonic deceitfulness was, however, covered by a much greater variety of terms of which the most common applied to the Devil were the Trickster (ὁ δόλιος),[119] the Deceiver (ὁ ἀπατεών)[120] and crooked (σκόλιος), which owes its standing here to Isaiah 27 : 1 and the snake in Paradise; it is consequently used most frequently with the name serpent or dragon.[121] Other terms occurring occasionally include πανοῦργος, πλάνος, πολυμήχανος, σκαιός,

---

[115] For the Devil as a liar see e.g. **Ath***Ant* 24 c880; cf. *ibid.*, 41 c904; **GNaz***Carm*54 l.4 c1398; **JKlim** 3 c627: **Gregoras***Ant* 1.2,2.26 p267.15; **Kant***Mahom* III c692b; **Trap***Pist* p159.1915; **Melet***Alpha* μδ΄ p180.

[116] See e.g. **Bas***KatOrg* 6 c368; **Doroth***Did* 9.1 c1716; **EuZig***Psalt* 5.7 c101: **Bess***Exarch* c533b; **Kant***Hist* 3.61, II p376.11; **Palam***Antirrhet* 7.26 p480.5–6; **Palam***Hom* 54 p185; **Schol***Lat* p251. Cf. *PD* p137 for ὁ τοῦ ψεύδους ἄρχων.

[117] See e.g. **Bek***Agall* c280; **ChoumN***Symb* p174; **Gregoras***Mich* p269; **Gregoras***Ant* 1.1,6.1 p151.1; **Kok***Anysia* p109.

[118] Demons are thus said to be teachers of lies by †**Anast***Erot* 39 c581; and to be lovers of lies by †**JDam***Barl* 31 p474. The demon of lying is mentioned in **Anon***BiosAth* 16 p256.

[119] See e.g. **Ath***Ant* 25 c881; *ibid.*, 40 c901; **Eph***Tapein* 92.1 p328; **Eph***OrthBi* 17.2 p59; **Hesychios** 2.17 c1516; *ibid.*, 2.50 c1528; **Isaac***Ask* 39 p168; *ibid.*, 53 p214; **JChr***Adam* 4 c531; **JKlim** 1 c641: **AkropK***Test* p45; **Melet***Alpha* ψς΄ p331; **MelitenK***Ek* c1185d; cf. *ibid.*, c1272d δολιόφρων; **Palam***Peter* 18 c1021a; cf. *ibid.*, c1013d πλήρωμα τοῦ δόλου. Gregory of Nazianzus also calls him δολοπλόκος *Carm*50 c1385, and δολομήχανος *Carm*55 c1399: cf. **SymThes***Did* pp79–80 δολερός.

[120] For ἀπατεών/ἀπατεώνες see e.g. †**JDam***Barl* 7 p82; *ibid.*, 22 p328, 30 p458, 39 p596; **JKlim** 4 cc708 and 725; *ibid.*, 15 c893, 23 c976: and **Bry***Log* 2 p224 (κοσμοκράτωρ ἀπατεών); **Kant***Mahom* IV c692b: **Palam***Hom* 49 p91.

[121] For references see below p45 n161.

σοφός and φενακίζων, while similar phrases are used of the demons' actions against men.

It has already been mentioned that the pride of the Devil and the demons was thought of as the main cause of their rebellion and downfall, and this remained an important characteristic of their fallen nature, replacing angelic humility. The Biblical references noted above, especially Isaiah 14 and I Timothy 3, should be borne in mind in relation to this aspect of their character, which is expressed in a great variety of ways in the later tradition. They were thus regarded as being proud, conceited, arrogant and vain, and in consequence were boastful and insulting. As well as the terms which were used of the fall and which have been given above,[122] such words as ὁ ἀλαζών,[123] ὁ ἐγκαυκώμενος,[124] ὁ ἐπηρμένος, ὁ μεγαλόφρων, ὁ ὑπεραιρόμενος[125] and ἀλαζονεία,[126] γαυρίαμα, δοξομανία,[127] μεγαλαυχία,[128] οἴησις,[129] ὄφρυς, ὑψηλοφροσύνη, and φρύαγμα[130] were employed for the demons in general. As will be seen later, this pride was not only a characteristic of the demons' nature, but it was also believed to be a weapon in their war against men, for, by introducing this into their hearts they hoped to turn them from God and to induce them to fall, just as they once did themselves.

The final point in this consideration of the aspects of the demonic character is their envy which arose from the loss of all the virtues and good things of their former angelic state, and their unwillingness to let anyone or anything else enjoy that from which they had alienated themselves by their fall. Indeed,

---

[122] See above p10.

[123] **TBals***Kan*, com. on **Peter***Kan* 11 p34; †**JChr***Job* 3 c573; **AnthAth** p45; **Kant***Mahom* IV c692a.

[124] †**JDam***Barl* 7 p82; cf. **Ath***Ant* 5 c849a κατακαυχώμενος.

[125] **Kant***Mahom* IV c692a; †**JChr***Job* 1 c564; **Peter***Kan* 11 p34.

[126] **EuZig***Psalt* 96.5 c997; *ibid.*, 17.8 c224; †**JDam***Barl* 32 p498.

[127] **Gabriel***Hom* 7.5 p172: †**Anast***Erot* 1 c336 quoting Gregory of Nyssa *Εἰς τὸ Πάτηρ ἡμῶν* 2, Migne*PG* 44 cc1145d-1148a.

[128] **Isaac***Ask* 23 p101; **Kaloth***Greg* 13 p119.345.

[129] **EuZig***Psalt* 81.7 c856; **Origen***Phil* 21.11 p163; **Bek***Tom* c885a; **Kok***SynodB* c693a.

[130] **And***Hyps* c1024: **GSin***Kath* c1345a: **Gabriel***Hom* 7.5 p172.

the idea of their envious character was so inextricably bound up with the part believed to have been played by the Devil in causing the fall of man that, although this aspect may be noted here and its importance stressed, it will be better to examine it in more detail in the following section in relation to the story of Adam and Eve.

3. Activity and Operation in History

The picture that has been drawn so far of the Devil and the demons, having concentrated on their angelic nature and the perversion of their former virtues brought about by their rebellion and exclusion from heaven, may be said to show them as they were believed to be "outside" history. In consequence this picture is, as yet, lifeless and divorced from the world of men, and hence far from complete. The first step in bringing it to life is to relate it to what may be called "mythical" history, the vast underlying sweep of events that embraces the "real" history of everyday men, providing both a story of the world that stretches back beyond the reach of memory and an explanation for the way things are in life, as well as an eventual conclusion and solution to the long succession of human activity.

Here the part the demonic beings played in the fall of man and in his subsequent life on earth deprived of paradise will be examined: so too will the crucial events of the life of Christ, when their victory was reversed and their rule overthrown; the years of the development of Christianity when the demons were fighting a defensive action; and the part it was believed they would play at the end of history when their defeat would be made absolute and man would be judged and rewarded or punished. Having thus established in this section their relationship to, and operation against man in general, it will then be possible to proceed to their activity in the "real" history of ordinary men, the conceptualisation of which depended largely on the beliefs about their character and mythical actions, for these stood as exemplars or types for the course they were thought to follow in the everyday world.

3.1 The Fall of Man and its Consequences

As has been indicated above, a consideration of the demons' role in mythical history must begin with the creation and fall of man, for it is here that such history has its starting point. At the outset, then, it may be useful to recount the story in brief as it appears in the Septuagint in Genesis 2 and 3, for almost all the developments in the later tradition were, understandably, dependent on this account.

When the creation of the world was complete and he had formed man, God placed him in a garden (παράδεισος) which he had planted in Eden, in the East (2:8,15). Here was growing every tree pleasant to the sight and good for food, but in the middle was also the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (τὸ ξύλον τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν) from which alone, with the tree of life (τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς), man was forbidden to eat, being told that on the day that he ate of it he would die (2:17, cf. 9). After the account of the creation of the woman from Adam's rib, it is said that the serpent (ὁ ὄφις), which was the most subtle (φρονιμώτατος) of all creatures, spoke to her and, hearing from her of God's command about the trees in paradise, told her that she and Adam would not really die if they ate of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. God, it said, had forbidden this, knowing that when they did eat of it their eyes would be opened and they would be like gods (ὡς θεοί), knowing good and evil (3:1–5). Thus when the woman saw that the fruit was good for food, that it was pleasing to the sight and ripe for understanding, she took and ate of it and gave it to her husband to eat also (3:6). Knowing then that they were naked, they clothed themselves with fig leaves and hid from God (3:7–8). He, however, called to Adam, asked him why he had hidden and, on hearing that it was because he was afraid because he was naked, demanded to know who had told him this and if he had eaten of the fruit of the tree (3:9–11). Adam replied that the woman had given it to him, and she in turn said that the serpent had deceived her and she had eaten (3:12–13).

Although the Devil is not mentioned in the Genesis

account, the later tradition identified him with the serpent, following Revelation 12:9 and 20:2 where the link is made explicitly,[131] and so regarded him as the cause of man's downfall, although man was not exonerated from responsibility for giving ear to him and so breaking God's commands. Nor is any hint given in the account as to why the Devil should have desired to turn man from obedience to God, beyond the statement that the serpent was the subtlest of creatures, but Wisdom 2:24 says that it was by the envy of the Devil that death (the main consequence of Adam's fall) entered the world (*φθόνῳ δὲ διάβολου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμου*) and it is this envy that was regarded by the later tradition as having been the reason behind his attack. Fallen from the glory and joy of heaven and alienated by his own pride from the position he had held near God, the Devil was unable to bear the situation in which a lesser and inferior being was elevated above its natural state to the enjoyment of that which he had lost, as well as being elected ruler of the world which he had regarded as being his to govern; so, consumed with envy (*φθόνος*) and jealousy (*βασκανία*), he moved to attack Adam and Eve in paradise, determined to deprive them of the love of God and of their heavenly gifts.

Such, in essence, is the reason given by the later tradition for the Devil's assault on man, and this is clearly expressed by Anastasios of Sinai in his *Ὁδηγός*,[132]

> When God created the visible universe, I mean the heaven and the earth and the things in it, the Devil, as one of the teachers says, thought that God would establish him as king and lord of the visible creation

---

[131] According to rabbinical teaching Sammael led his company of angels down to earth and chose the serpent as the most suitable instrument for the achievement of his purpose; see Kelly *Serpent* p302 who cites in particular the *Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great* from the ninth century. Making use of this creature he deceived the woman. The belief that Satan was connected with the fall of man also appears in I Enoch 69:6; II Enoch 31:6; Apocalypse of Abraham 23; and III Baruch 4:8; 9:7. In the *Books of Adam and Eve* Satan is said to have transformed himself into the "brightness of angels" and he also persuaded the serpent to become his vessel in order that he might speak and deceive Adam through it according to the Apocalypse of Moses; he then hung himself on the walls of paradise, appearing in form like an angel. See Langton *Essentials* pp55, 134–135; *Idem, Satan* pp20–21.

[132] Anast*Hod* 4 c93.

> since he had been a commander of the bodiless ranks. When, however, he saw Adam created and established by God to rule the things on earth, the Evil One was troubled and envied (φθονήσας) the man, and so he deceived him through Eve and the tree...

Another example appears in a homily by Gregory Palamas,[133]

> [The Devil] envied Adam in the beginning, seeing him living in the land of pure luxury, shining with godlike glory and ascending from earth to heaven, (from which he himself was justly cast out), and having envied he became furious at him with the greatest possible rage, so that he wished to encompass him with death.

Turning from the Devil's reason for action to the actions themselves, the first question that arises concerns the position of the serpent in the story. That this was identified with the Devil has already been established and the great majority of references simply mention either the Devil or the serpent as deceiving Eve without any clarification of the relationship between the two. When more detail is given it is usually maintained that the Devil did not transform himself, but rather used a real serpent, though perhaps one which at that time had hands and certainly feet, speaking through it to achieve his ends.[134] Gregory Palamas clearly takes this line,[135]

---

[133] **Palam***Hom* 52 p121. Other allusions to this belief are extremely numerous, see e.g., †**Anast***Erot* 126 c776; **Bas***AitKak* 8 c348; **GNaz***Or38* 12 c324; **GNaz***Or39* 13 c348; **JDam***Orth* 2.30 p106; †**JDam***Barl* 7 p80; **JChr***John* 54.3 c299; **JChr***Adam* 4 c531; **MSynk***Lib* p91: also **Agal***Apol* p151; **AkropK***JDam* 20 pp740f–741a; **Amir***JPal* p124; **Bess***Kleop* p157; **ChoumN***Thesp* c1501a; **GCyp***Marina* p193; **Kall***JnNest* p71; **Kyd***Konst* p62; **Neil***Anth* p61; **Kok***Helen* p24; **Schol***Evang* p11.

[134] On this idea see especially Kelly *Serpent* who traces the metamorphosis of the serpent from rabbinical teaching through to the depictions of the creature in western mediaeval and Renaissance thought and art. As he points out, the belief that the serpent had feet which it lost as a consequence of its role in the fall of man was one which was adopted early by the Christian tradition. The acceptance of this concept in early Byzantine times is witnessed by a passage from †Basil, *de Paradiso* 7 (Migne*PG* 30, 67–68) which is quoted by Kelly, as also by such illustrations as those in the twelfth century Byzantine Octateuchs where it resembles a camel; see Provatake *Diavolos* pp254–255 and Eik.222. On the adoption of this notion in the West and its eventual rejection along with even more grotesque elaborations see Kelly *Serpent* pp304ff and 319–326.

[135] **Palam***Keph* 42 cc1149d–1152a; cf. **Palam***Peter* 25 c1017c; **Palam***Hom* 16 p91.

> Thus the mediator and introducer of necrosis, being tricky in his ways and much practised in his craft, insinuates (ὑποδύεται) himself into the crooked serpent in God's paradise. Not becoming a snake (for that he cannot do except in fantasy which he did not want to use then, being fearful in case he should be discovered), but still not trusting himself with open speech, he chooses deceit. This, by which he felt more confident of escaping detection, was in order that, appearing as a friend, he might secretly introduce his hostilities, and by the strangeness of the speech (for the sensible snake was not rational nor had it appeared able to give tongue before), he might astonish and so draw [Eve] completely to himself and make this listener more malleable by his devices.

It is possible that this is also the way John Chrysostom in his homily *On the Expulsion of Adam from Paradise* saw the temptation as having taken place, although his language is not as definite as that used by Palamas;[136]

> The trickster did not go naked to Eve (as he deserved to do), but he conversed with the woman in the guise (ἐν ἐνδύματι) of the serpent to entice her and to make her listen to its persuasive words. If he had gone to her in his own form, Eve would have sprung away from him immediately and run to her husband, but the rogue, wearing (ἐνδυσάμενος) the form of the serpent, made use of such words to her as these...

Elsewhere, however, it appears that the Devil was thought, on a few occasions, to have actually transformed himself into a serpent rather than simply using one.[137]

Whether it was the serpent acting under the Devil's control or the Devil himself transformed that approached Eve,

---

[136] **JChr***Adam* 4 c531c. See also here **JDam***Orth* 2.10 p68; †**JDam** *Barl* 7 p82: **MelitenT***Dial* c949c; **AkropK***JDam* 20 c741a. This was also the line adopted by Bogomil mythology where Satanael was said to have entered the serpent and in this form had intercourse with Eve, see below p173. Compare a Russian manuscript of the Slavonic version of III Baruch, where Satanael invites the snake to eat him and, having been thus consumed, tempts Eve in paradise; H. Gaylord, "How Satanael Lost his '-el' ", *JJS* 33 (1982) pp304–305 and 307. For a parallel to the idea that had Satan appeared in his own form to Eve he would have terrified her which appears in the ancient Syriac biblical history, "The Cave of Treasures", falsely attributed to Ephraem Syrus, see Kelly *Serpent* pp309–310.

[137] So **Anon***BiosNiph* 8 p18; **GCyp***Laz* 18 p595b; **GCyp***Marina* p228. Cf. here Russell *Satan* p68 and Provatake *Diavolos* pp133–138 and 169–170. On this question in western traditions see Kelly *Serpent* pp303–304 and 319ff.

the later tradition was in no doubt that he deceived her and, through her, Adam. The usual word for this was ἀπατάω, found in Genesis and in the brief mention of Eve's temptation at II Corinthians 11:3, but a wide variety of other verbs are used to describe this action, ranging from the more prosaic "leading astray" to such metaphors as "stealing", "wrestling", "tripping", or "enchanting".[138] His action here was regarded as the foremost example of his deceitful nature, mentioned above, which appeared so frequently in his actions and in those of the demons in the ordinary world.[139]

One element of this deceit is seen by a number of authors to lie in the Devil's calumny of God. The source of this idea is the speech to Eve in which the serpent implies that God had forbidden the tree because he was envious of the power she and Adam would enjoy were they to taste of its fruit.[140] From this root springs another important aspect of the demonic character that has not yet been mentioned, the one indeed from which the Devil is said to derive his name. The homily *Εἰς τὸ δίκαιον καὶ μακάριον Ἰώβ, Γ΄*, attributed to John Chrysostom,[141] thus states that,

---

[138] The uses of ἀπατάω are too numerous to cite. Others, with single examples of their use, are: πλανάω **JKant***Apol* II.4 c448: ἀποπλανάω **SymThes***Symb* p83: δελεάζω **JDam***Orth* 3.1 p106: θηρεύω †**Ath** *Analeps* c1092: κατασοφίζω **Bry***Triad H΄* p150: συναρπάζω **AkropK***Test* p45: κλέπτω **Palam***Peter* 44 c1152: ὑποκλέπτω **AkropK***Theod* p69: ὑφαιρέω **Chrysokeph** c192a: ὑποσκελίζω **ChoumN***Symb* p158: καταπαλαίω **Bry***Log* 2 p174: θέλγω **Palam***Ekpor* p85: ἐγγοητεύω **GNyss** *Anth* 20 c200.

[139] For examples see **Bas***AitKak* 8 c348; **Isaac***Ask* 72 p282; †**JChr** *Anal* c799; **JDam***Orth* 2.10 p68: also **AkropK***Konst* p29; **AkropK***Test* p45; **Palam***Peter* 44 c1152; **Palam***Ekpor* p85; **Palam***Hom* 16 p82; **Sym Thes***Sym* p83; **Schol***Evang* p11. **EuZig***Psalt* 33.14 c388 says explicitly that the Devil first "vomited forth the poison of trickery (δόλος) when he deceived Eve"; cf. **GNaz***Carm83* 1.30 c1428. Zigabenos also says here that he compounded the offence by getting Adam to say that Eve was to blame, and Eve to blame the serpent, "knowing the confession of sin placates the master but denial angers him more"; cf. **Doroth***Did* 1.8 c1628.

[140] So †**Ath***Analeps* 2 c1093c; **Theoph***John* 8.44 c29: also **Bry***Log* 2 p53; **Palam***Antirrhet* 5.55 p327. These use the normal verb διαβάλλω, compare **Palam***Dek* c1100 where συκοφαντέω is used, and see the following note.

[141] †**JChr***Job* 3.2 c573a; cf. **EuZig***Psalt* 71.4 c725; and **Theoph** *Matt* 4 c180.

> He was not a Devil from the beginning, having been created an angel, but he was called a Devil because he calumniated (διαβάλλων) both God to men and man to God so as to bring Master into collision with servant and servant with Master ... for this was the work of the Devil from the beginning. He calumniated God to Adam saying, 'God knows that on the day you eat of the tree you will be as gods'. Being jealous of you, he says, God forbade you the food.

Apart from calumny, the later tradition adopted two main alternative ways of interpreting the precise nature of the deceit, and saw it as either pride or pleasure, the latter usually being more closely defined as gluttony.

The first of these two ideas originated in the Devil's statement to Eve that she and Adam would become "like gods" if they ate of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and was connected also to his own fall through pride. John Chrysostom in his *Ninth Homily on the Gospel of John*, uses a misquotation of Sirach 10:13, saying that pride (ὑπερηφανία) is the beginning of sin,[142] and continues,[143]

> It was thus that the first-formed [man] fell from that blessed way of life, it was thus also that the Devil who deceived him was brought down from that height of dignity; as a result the polluted one, knowing that the nature of this sin was sufficient even to cast down from those heavens, took this course when he tried to bring down Adam from such honour. Having puffed him up (φυσήσας) with the promise of equality with God (τῆς ἰσοθείας), he thus destroyed him and cast him down into the pits of hell.

John Damaskenos puts this view with equal clarity,[144]

> For the envious demon who hates the good, having brought himself down through conceit, could not bear [man] to obtain the things above; as a result the liar entices the wretch by hope of divinity and, leading him up to the same height of conceit (ἔπαρσις), brings him down to the same pit of the fall.

---

[142] Sirach reads, "Ὅτι ἀρχὴ ὑπερηφανίας ἁμαρτία".

[143] JChr*John* 9 c72; cf *ibid.*, 7 c63.

[144] JDam*Orth* 2.30 p106. See also JChr*Adam* 4 cc531–532: Amir *JPal* p124; Schol*Xylon* 3 p341; Schol*Jud* p280; TheophNik*Ep* 1.1 c292b. Many others imply this by mentioning the deceit of the likeness of God without referring explicitly to pride, conceit and the like; so e.g. Hesychios 2.17 cc1516d–1517a; Bry*Log* 2 pp57 and 163; Palam*Antirrhet* 2.15.66 p132: Trap*Pist* p160.

It should perhaps be mentioned at this point that John Kantakouzenos lays all the blame on the Devil's deceit here and specifically denies that man fell through pride and vainglory like him, even though he wanted to be like God. This apparent contradiction may be explained by seeing the Devil's pride as self-induced, Adam's as prompted from outside.[145]

The second idea, that the temptation and deceit of the Devil lay in pleasure, came from the description of the fruit itself as "good for food and a delight to the eyes" (Genesis 3:6), and from later ascetic preoccupations. Diadochos of Photike gives a detailed account of the fall from this point of view,[146]

> Eve is the first to teach us that sight and taste and the other senses dissipate the memory of the heart when we make use of them beyond measure. As long as she did not look at the forbidden tree with pleasure (ἡδεώς) she kept the commandment of God carefully ... but when she saw the tree with pleasure she was filled with much desire (ἐπιθυμία) of it, and she tasted of its fruit with active pleasure (μετὰ ἐνεργοῦς ἡδονῆς). At once she felt herself drawn to the bodily embrace, giving herself over to passion as she was naked. She gave all her desire to the enjoyment of the present, involving Adam in her own mistake through the pleasant appearance (τὸ ἡδυφανές) of the fruit.

The fall is connected especially with gluttony by Theophylakt of Bulgaria when commenting on the temptation of Jesus by the Devil,[147]

> The enemy first attacks him with gluttony (γαστριμαργία), which he also [used] against Adam, for he

---

[145] **Kant***Apol* II c444d, cf c448 and III c516: cf. also the excuse for Adam offered by Palamas below, n147.

[146] **Diad***Keph* 56 p117.1–14; cf. *ibid.*, 62 pp122–123.

[147] **Theoph***Luke* 4.1–12 cc745–748. See also here e.g. **Bas***AitKak* 7 c344; **GNaz***Or36* 5 cc269–272; **Isaac***Ask* 85 pp334–335; **JKlim** 14 c869; **JDam***Koim* B´.3 c728a; †**JDam***Barl* 2 p24; **EuZig***Psalt* 36.5 cc269–272; **Amir***JPal* p124; cf. *ibid.*, pp129–130 ll.419–424; **Bry***Log* 2 p222; **Bry***Keph* 13 p60; **ChoumN***Test* p345; **Gmon***Laz* 63 p529c; **Neil***Anth* p60.40; **Palam***Hom* 13 p68; **Schol***Jud* p280; **TheophNik***Ep* 1.1 c292b. **GNyss***Anth* 19 and 20 cc196–200, goes into much speculative detail about the exact nature of the trees and the composition of the fruit which he says was a mixture of good and evil properties; cf. **Schol***Xylon*. **Palam***Hom* 31 p174 excuses Adam on the grounds of his inexperience for "it is not the same to want to taste a poisonous plant before experience and still to want to eat it after learning through experiment that it is poisonous" He argues that later men are thus worse than Adam in many ways.

> could not trip up Adam by avarice as he could not have had a greater share of anything, being alone; nor by anger, for he had nothing with which to be angry, nor by envy. Therefore he tripped him up by his belly (ἀπὸ τῆς κοιλίας).

In the Byzantine tradition Eve was always held to have been the first to fall prey to the Devil's subtlety. Most authors say simply that Eve listened to the Devil and so brought about the fall, and thus she was blamed by some for not having put up sufficient resistance.[148] Elsewhere, however, she was exonerated from complete responsibility; "If you look for the worse [between Adam and Eve]", says Gregory of Nazianzus, "the woman sinned and so did Adam; the serpent deceived both of them and one is not to be found weaker, the other stronger".[149] The author of a homily attributed to Basil of Caesarea argues that it was because of her God-given nature that the Devil first approached the woman, knowing that she was his best opportunity,[150]

> For while man was single the Devil did not have a hold, but then the woman was created as well, a tender animal, her natural tenderness having been deliberately made by the creator in order that by her philanthropy she might nourish infants ... Coming, therefore, to the one who was tender and easily yielding, the Devil made her contentment with virtue into contentment with evil.

Such was the part the Devil was believed to have played in the fall of man and, at this point before moving on to consider the consequences of the fall, it may be useful to look at two particular elements which emerge from it. The first of these is the envious character of the demons, the second the use of the title of "serpent" or "dragon" for the Devil.

The Devil's envy or jealousy was, then, believed to have its origin in his attitude to the creation and the elevation of man in comparison to his own demise, and to appear in its most exemplary form at the fall of Adam. It was, however, also believed

---

148 So e.g. **Diad***Keph* 62, who says that if Eve had made use of temperate anger, given to all by God, against the snake, she would not have yielded. In most cases blame is simply assumed. For the free choice of man here see Russell *Satan* pp82–83.

149 **GNaz***Or37* 7 c289c.

150 †**Bas***Lakis* c1453b-c. Cf. **Schol***Evang* 12 p11. Satan approached Eve as she was the weaker (ἀσθενέστερα).

to have continued unabated after this and indeed, with the reversal that took place through Christ, its intensity was seen as being increased against those who could now return to the land which Adam had lost. This envy thus came to be regarded as one of the most important elements in the demonic character, and the idea was used to describe both the Devil - who was quite often called "the father of envy",[151] "the envier",[152] "the jealous one"[153] by later authors - and the demons in general.[154]

As envy was the reason behind the assault on Adam, so it was seen to lie behind all demonic attacks on men. Theodore Agallianos gives a short history of the subject in his *Λόγος ἀπολογητικός*,[155]

> [The fall of man] was a success of diabolical envy (*φθόνου διαβολικοῦ*), this was also the cause of Cain's murder of his brother ... this taught Jezebel the unjust murder of Naboth ... But why is it necessary to list the successes of diabolical envy in the Old and New [Testaments]? I do not have the time to narrate it. It even wanted to overthrow the salvation of all men, making Judas the betrayer of the Saviour ... This envious Devil (*ὁ διάβολος φθόνος*) worked in former times, as I have said, but he has also [worked] similarly up to the present time, preparing many such things and tripping many up by them ... and he will work, as he has not yet, in the last apostate ...

John Karpathios too, exhorts Christians.[156]

---

151 *ὁ τοῦ φθόνου πατὴρ*: **Anon***EncJnPal* p293; **Palam***Peter* 21 c1013; **Schol***Morph* p152.

152 *ὁ φθόνος*: **Gregoras***Dem* 10 p93; **Louk***Evgen* 11 p11; **Palam** *Hom* 49 p91; cf **Palam***Ep* p342 and **Palam***Antirrhet* 2.15.67 p132.25 *ὁ ἀρχέκακος φθόνος*: cf. also **Ath***Ant* 5 c845; *ibid.*, 66 c937b.

153 *ὁ βάσκανος*: **Anon***Apoll* p249.14; **Kaloth***Greg* 5 p113.128; **Louk***Evgen* 4 p4; **Melitent***Dial* c949c; cf. **EuZig***Psalt* 90.13 c944a; **AkropK***Theod* 14 p75.

154 Usually *φθονερός*, e.g. **Evag***Log* 68 c1181; **GNaz***Or24* 10 p58; **Hesychios** 1.30 c1489b; **JKlim** 26 c1065c. Cf. Gokey *Terminology* pp91 and 95-96.

155 **Agal***Apol* p151 ll.2154-2162, 2175-2182.

156 **JKarp** 16 c1841. See further †**Anast***Erot* 8 cc389-392; **Bas** *Phthonou* 3 c376; **Doroth***Did* 5.5 c1681; **EuZig***Psalt* 24.19 cc312-313; **GNaz***Or43* 33 c540; **JKlim** 5 c776; also **AkropK***Konst* pp8 and 29; **Bek***Apol* B´ c1012c; **Bess***Synod* p9.91-92; **GCyp***Laz* 28 p599d; **KantT** *Theoph* 11 p196; **Melet***Alpha* *ρξη´* p546; **Kall***Acta* p317; **MetT***John* 15 p687b; **SymThes***Did* 4 pp79-80.

> Let us be firmer in the faith of the Lord and let us establish more forcefully the hope of the promised eternal goods from which the enemies strive to separate us and alienate us through envy, for unless these good things were very great, the demons would not burn with such envy.

So common, indeed, was the idea that, by late Byzantine times, to say that someone or something had been hindered, attacked, or upset by an envious or jealous demon seems generally to have become little more than a literary device.[157]

The second of these major attributes of the Devil, the concept of him as a serpent or dragon, while gaining its main impetus here, drew also on a number of other Biblical passages. In the Septuagint the most important were Isaiah 27:1, "In that day the Lord will apply his holy sword to the fleeing dragon serpent, to the crooked dragon serpent" (*ἐπὶ τὸν ὄφιν φεύγοντα, ἐπὶ τὸν δράκοντα ὄφιν σκολιόν*); Job 26:13 where God is said to have killed the apostate dragon (*δράκοντα ἀποστάτην*); Job 40:10 – 41:25 where the fearsome beast described in such detail was identified by the later tradition with the dragon mentioned in 40:20; and Psalm 73:13-14 where God is said to have crushed the heads of the dragons and the dragon on the waters (*σὺ συνέτριψας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν δρακόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. Σὺ συνέτριψας τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ δρακόντος...*).[158] In the New Testament there are two notable passages, Luke 10:19 in which Jesus, following the statement that he has seen Satan fall like lightning, says to his disciples that he has given them authority to tread on serpents and scorpions and on all the power of the enemy, and Revelation 12:7-9, once again, where the great dragon (*ὁ δράκων ὁ*

---

[157] See e.g. **Anon***Achilles* 1563; **Anon***TheodPal* p184; **Argyrop** p317; **Athan***Ep* 75 p188; **Bess***Ep* 11 p436; *DigAk* Gro.IV.389 p96; **Gazes** *Ep* 6 p578; **Gregoras***Hist* XIV 10.10 p736; **Hyrtak***Mich* pp260 and 267; **Kant***Hist* 1.26, 44, 51 and 56, 1 pp129, 217, 257, 287; **Kyd***Thess* 5 c654; *ibid.*, 8 c648; **Raoul***Ep* 1 p138. Cf. however, **Anon.**, *Διήγησις Βελισαρίου* **Wagner***Carm* pp248-276, where a demonic connection is absent although the concept of *φθόνος* and its power plays a vital part in the narrative.

[158] Job 40:20 reads, *Ἄξεις δὲ δράκοντα ἐν ἀγκίστρῳ, περιθήσεις δὲ φορβαίαν περὶ ῥίνα αὐτοῦ*: see also Ezekiel 29:3ff; 32:2ff; and Amos 9:3. Cf. here **Langton** *Essentials* pp37-38; **Provatake** *Diavolos* pp170–172.

μέγας) the ancient serpent (ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος), identified with the Devil and Satan, is thrown down with his angels.[159]

In the tradition of the Palaeologan period δράκων or ὄφις was one of the commonest titles given to the Devil;[160] often an adjective denoting his cunning was added to this such as σκολιός,[161] δόλιος,[162] or πολύμορφος,[163] while other adjectives similarly referred to common demonic characteristics.[164] The idea of Psalm 73 in particular and the other Biblical passages which speak of God defeating and destroying dragons were used on several occasions with reference to the cross or the waters of baptism;[165] the snake raised on a pole of Numbers 21:9 and

---

[159] Most of Revelation 12 is concerned with the dragon, which is also described as being red with seven heads and ten horns, and its pursuit of the woman who is the mother of those who keep the commandments of God and witness to Jesus. In 20:2 this dragon is seized by an angel and bound before being cast into the bottomless pit for a thousand years. John 3:14, referring to Numbers 21:9, "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the son of man be lifted up", should also be noted in this context. Cf. Langton *Essentials* pp208–212; *Idem, Satan* pp39–41; Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp25–26 and 92–95; *Idem, Christus* pp40–41; Provatake *Diavolos* pp189–212.

[160] This simple identification appears at e.g., **Ath***Ant* 6 c849; **Eph** *OrthBi* 22 II p59; **Eph***TelMon* II p415; **Eph***Charit* III pp42–43; **GNaz** *Carm60* l.13 c1403; **Hesychios** 2.24 c1520; †**JDam***Kekoi* c248; **JKlim** 4 c681; **JKarp** 88 c1855; **Theoph***Luke* 4.13 cc749–750: **AkropG***Apost* 4 p85.10; **Bess***AlexK* p129; **Lib***Theot* p393.43; **NikMon***Neps* c946a; **Kok** *Helen* p22. On the background see e.g. Gokey *Terminology* under *drakon* and *ophis*, and on the unusual derivation of this title from ἀποδεδρακέναι in Theophilos of Antioch, see N. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Satan, Ève et le serpent chez Théophile d'Antioche", *VChr* 35 (1981), p152.

[161] **Bas***Psalm* 32.1 cc324–325; **JChr***Adam* 4 c531; **EuZig***Psalt* 32.1 c368; **GNaz***Carm83* l.5 c1429a: also **ChoumN***Test* p341; **GCyp***Laz* 28 p599d; **MelitenK***Ekpor* c1188a.

[162] †**JDam***Barl* 30 p458; *ibid.*, 32 p504, and cf. above p31 and n119.

[163] **Anast***Hod* 4 c96; **Diad***Keph* 72; **TheophNik***Ep* 1 c293a, also ποικίλος. Cf. **JChr***Hier* 3.13 p216.70, πολυμήχανος; **GNaz***Or8* 14 c805, πλάνος; **And***Evang* cc881–884, τὸν δράκοντα φενακίσας τὸν νοῦν.

[164] So e.g. ἀρχέκακος **Germ***Enc* c316; **Gabriel***Hom* 7.5 p172; **Palam***Keph* 41 c1149b; **Palam***Hom* 49 p94; **Kok***Palam* p28. Πονηρὸς **Anast***Hod* 4 c96; **Kall***Apotom* p125; **Kok***SynodA* c719. Δεινὸς **Eph** *Proseche* 9 I p246; **Melet***Alpha* ψς′ p334. Ψυχοφθόρος †**Amph***Bas* Radermacher *Faustsage* pp128–129; †**JDam***Barl* 40 p602.

[165] **Diad***Keph* 78 p136; **Eph***OrthBi* 59 II p66; **EuZig***Psalt* 73.23 c761; **JKarp** 37 c1844: also **Chrysokeph** cc192c-d and 232b; **GSin***Keph* 70 c1257c; **MelitenT***Dial* c912. Cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp141–143 and 174–176.

John 3:14, was interpreted in relation to the Devil as well as Christ; and the metaphor of the wounded serpent was applied, with some elaboration, to the Devil's position after Christ.[166] Snake similes could also be employed to describe possession by demons or their attack on the soul, and it may be noted too that they appeared to men in the form of snakes relatively frequently.[167]

The Devil, then, was seen by the Byzantine tradition as having caused man's fall but, despite the fact that he was believed to have been tricked with the greatest subtlety, the latter was still held responsible for having listened to the serpent's deceitful words and having taken the fateful actions of disobedience. As a result it was man who had suffered the immediate consequences and who had had to bear the weight of God's wrath, while the Devil, his malevolence unchecked and indeed swollen by his victory, had obtained a position of strength in the world, holding all in darkness and deceit as his prisoners, enslaved to sin and through sin to death, while he and his demons gloried in the honour and worship of men which they had perverted from its rightful object, God, to themselves in the guise of gods.[168]

Such, in outline, were the consequences of the fall for man, but moving on to a more detailed examination of these, it may again be useful at the outset to recount the actual words of Genesis. Here, after the discovery of man's disobedience, God first condemned the serpent to crawl forever on his belly and to be in enmity with men (3:14-15), then Eve to pain in childbearing and to be ruled by her husband (3:16), while Adam was sentenced to eat only by great toil and, most importantly of all, to return to the ground, upon which he worked and from

---

166 For the pole see e.g. **JChr***John* 27.2 c159; **Theoph***John* 3.14 c1209; **Bry***Log* 2 p309.10; **Kal***Stavr* c257c-d; **Kant***Apol* III cc525-528. For the wounded serpent see **Eph***TelMon* II pp416-417; **JMaur***Pat* p110; **Kok***Hierarch* c780a-b; and see below p66 and n229.

167 So e.g. **Diad***Keph* 81 p139; **GNas***Carm50* l.60 c1389; **JKlim** 15 c900; also **ChoumM***Hyp* p69.285ff; **GSin***Keph* 122 c1285c; *ibid.*, 125 c1289a-b; **Kok***Helen* p24. For appearances as snakes and dragons see below p86 n291.

168 For this dominance seen as punishment from God see below p136 n446.

which he was taken, at the end of his life (3:17-19). Thus cursed, God drove Adam and Eve forth into exile from paradise, clothed in skins he had prepared for them, and the way back was guarded by the Cherubim with a flaming sword lest, having tasted of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, they might taste of the tree of life as well, which was also still growing in the garden (3:21-24; cf. 2:9).

In the later tradition the fall was seen as the source of all physical hardship and care; the life of rest in paradise was replaced by hard labour, the pleasant garden by prickles and thorns, the friendship and cooperation of the animals by their hostility, and instead of the carefree existence, the Devil, in the words of Symeon of Thessalonica, brought "cataclysms, fires, floods, famines, plagues, and every anger and tribulation".[169] Not only, however, did man now live in a world that had become "old and rotten",[170] but his body too was corrupted and he had to contend with the passions for, according to Gregory of Sinai, when God formed the body, he had put in it neither temper (*θύμον*) nor irrational desire (*ἐπιθυμίαν ἄλογον*), but it received these later through the disobedience. The body had been created incorrupt (*ἄφθαρτον*) and the soul free from passion (*ἀπάθης*) but both were corrupted and mixed together now, the soul being affected by the passions or demons and the body becoming in constitution like the irrational beasts through the rule of corruption; "The powers of both [body and soul] became one, one irrational and mindless beast in temper and desire'.[171]

The main consequence of the fall and corruption was, however, believed to have been the liability to death. Man,

---

[169] **SymThes***Sym* I p83; for thorns see **AkropG***Apost* 3 pp84-85; for animals see **GCyp***Laz* 18 p594f. In general see here also e.g. †**Bas***Lakiz* 8 c1456a; **GNaz***Or19* 14 cc1060c-1061a: **Bry***Log* 2 p382; **Palam***Hom* 6 p33; *ibid.*, 33 p184; **Kok***Helen* p24.

[170] **Hyrtak***Pros* p251.

[171] **GSin***Keph* 82 c1246b-c; see also **Diad***Keph* 56 p117; **JDam** *Orth* 2.30 p106; *ibid.*, 3.20; **Theoph***Luke* 13.10-17 cc916-917: also **Amir** *JPal* p124; **Bry***Log* 2 p163; **ChoumN***Thesp* c1508d; **Kok***Helen* p24. On the passions see below pp95-118. For corruption by demons in general see e.g. **Bas***Let* 50 c769 and 59 c788; **Bas***AitKak* 5 c340; **Diad***Keph* 62 p122; *ibid.*, 78 pp135-136; **Eph***Symb* 18 I p262; **Eph***TelMon* II p416; †**JChr***Asot* c518: **AkropG***Apost* 8 p88; **Gabriel***Hom* 1 p142.28.

raised above his nature by God and placed safe in paradise had been protected from the grasp of mortality but, once cast forth into the world, he became subject to it. The Devil by whose trickery this had happened, was hence seen as possessing the power of death which was the just punishment for man's sin, and was identified with it, his first victim beng Abel, Adam's son, at the hands of his brother Cain (Genesis 4:8). A number of biblical passages confirmed these views for the later tradition: as has already been mentioned Wisdom 2:24 says that through the Devil's envy death entered the world, while in addition Hebrews 2:14 speaks of "he who has the power of death, that is, the Devil" (cf. Matthew 10:28); and Romans 5:12 makes the connection with sin, "Therefore as sin came into the world through one man, and death through sin, so death spread to all men because all men sinned".[172] At John 8:44 Jesus says to the Jews "you are of your father the Devil, and your will is to do your father's desires. He was a murderer from the beginning" (ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) and at I John 3:12, readers are told they should "not be like Cain who was of the evil one (ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ) and murdered his brother".

The Devil was, then, quite frequently called "he who has the power of death"[173] and a murderer by later authors, the commonest words being ἀνθρωποκτόνος[174] and παλαμναῖος.[175] Connecting this death to man's fall,[176] they sometimes undertook quite elaborate exegesis of its nature and effects.

---

[172] Cf. also Romans 6:23: I Corinthians 15:21-22: I James 15. On the Old Testament background to Satan as angel of death see Kelly, *Devil* pp206-207; Langton *Essentials* p56, (cf. pp136-137); *Idem, Satan* pp12 and 19-20.

[173] †**Anast***Erot* 112 c764-765; †**JChr***Baia2* c718; **Eph***Symb* 92 I p280; **EuZig***Psalt* 15 c193; **Schol***Morph* pp155-156.

[174] e.g. **JChr***John* 54 c299; **Theoph***John* 8.44 c29: also **AkropK** *JDam* 10 p736; **AnthAth** p45; **Gregoras***Ant* 1.2,2.26 l.15; **KallJn***Nest* p81; **Kant***Mahom* l.13 c613; **Makar***Ia* 11 p464; **Palam***Hom* 41 p3; **TheophNik***Ep* 3 c325; **Trap***Pist* p159.1915.

[175] †**JDam***Kekoi* 2 c248; **Argyros***Ged* pp275-276; **Chrysokeph** c192a; **Louk***Evgen* 11 p11. Other adjectives such as ἀνδροφόνος or βροτοκτόνος may also be used and the demons are sometimes called φόνιοι. For the equation of the Devil and death in early Christianity see Russell *Satan* p47 and pp121-122; Gokey *Terminology* under θάνατος; cf. Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp156-158; *Idem, Christus* pp74-76.

[176] See e.g. †**Ath***Analeps* 1 c1092; **JChr***Mart* c707; **JDam***Orth* 3.1

Basil thus says,[177]

> In this way [man] sinned, through his own wretchedness by free choice, and he died through sin, 'For death is the wages of sin'. In as much as he moved away from life, so did he draw near to death, for God is life and death the loss of life. Adam thus brought death on himself through his departure from God ...

Gregory Palamas goes further,[178]

> What is the death of the soul? It is the abandonment of God ... We ourselves then, alas, are the proper fathers of death, voluntarily abandoning he who brought us to life ... just like those at high noon who close their eyes and voluntarily cut themselves off from the light ... Having set aside the life giving counsel, then, and abandoning God by this setting aside, and voluntarily apostatising from life, we received the death bearing counsel of Satan, setting him in ourselves through this. Being a dead spirit, since he himself had formerly abandoned God, he became an introducer of necrosis to us, (I mean the necrosis of the soul), and [the soul] that separates itself from God, as Paul says, is dead while alive. Rather, its life is worse than death, for being idle in every good it is moved towards every evil and, being a plotter against itself, continually drives itself to the worse by its own envious evil.

The commonest metaphor used was one of imprisonment or slavery to the Tyrant who is the Devil or death.[179] Proklos of Constantinople in his *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν παναγίαν Θεοτόκου Μαρίαν*, provides a good example of this kind of imagery,[180]

---

p106; **Diad***Keph* 41 p109: and also **AkropG***Apost* 14 p79; **AkropK***Test* p45; **Bess***Kleop* p157; **Bry***Triad* H´ I p150; **ChoumN***Symb* p158; **Chrysokeph** c217d.

[177] **Bas***AitKak* 7 c345a.

[178] **Palam***Hom* 31 p173. Later, p176, he also links bodily illness into the argument; cf. also **Palam***Keph* 46 c1153b-c; **Palam***Ekpor* p85; and **Palam***Hom* 16 p84.

[179] For the Devil as Tyrant and the demons tyrannising men see among very many, †**Ath***AntArch* 98 c657; **EuZig***Psalt* 11.6 c173; *ibid.*, 79 c841; **GNaz***Or14* 25 cc889-892; **GNaz***Or45* 15 c644; **Isaac***Ask* 42 p174; **JChr***TheodLog* 2.20 p88; *ibid.*, 14.11 p160; †**JChr***Job* 1 c566; **Max***Theol* 1.15 cc1088-1089; *ibid.*, 1.76 c1112; **AkropK***Evdok* 10 p212.15; **Bry***Log* 3 p24; **Chrysokeph** c225c; **Kant***Hist* 2.39 I p548; **Plan***Taph* c1001c-d.

[180] **Proklos***Enc* 5 c685; for the attribution of this work to Makarios, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1376-1379 see Beck *Theologie* pp775-776. Cf. especially here **Bry***Log* 2 p182; *ibid.*, pp170-171.

> Through Adam we all signed our signatures to sin; the Devil held us slaves, and he carried around our deeds of sale, using for paper our bodies filled with much passion. The evil forger of the passions had set himself up, imposing the debt on us and demanding back the punishment ...

while a passage from Joseph Bryennios' *Λόγος β' εἰς τὴν σωτήριον Σταύρωσιν* may serve to illustrate the more straightforward metaphor:[181] man having been wrestled down by the Devil

> surrendered his rule to his conqueror and became a captive slave; all his children also, in as much as they were children of a slave and were liable to sin, were tied to the Tyrant who sent them to death and to Hades.

This identification of the Devil and death also meant that hell, or Hades, was regarded to some extent as being the proper home of the demons.[182] Although in the New Testament Jude 6 and II Peter 2:4 refer to rebellious angels being kept in nether gloom and eternal chains until judgement day, and although several later authors speak of the cross and Christ's victory as having condemned them to Hades or Tartarus, their punishment, along with the men they had managed to claim as their own, was not usually thought to begin until after the final judgement. Their precise relation to hell in historical and contemporary time was thus generally left rather unclear since demonic activity showed that they were obviously not confined there.[183]

---

[181] **Bry***Log* 2 p174. A biblical precedent is found at Romans 6:17, 20. For other examples of slavery and imprisonment metaphors, the usual words for which are *αἰχμαλωτίζω*, *αἰχμάλωτος*, *αἰχμαλωσία*, or *δουλόω*, *δοῦλος*, *δουλεία*, and occasionally *ἀνδραποδίζω*, see among many, **Bas** *Hex* 6.1 c117; **Bas***Psalm* 48.3 cc437-440; **Doroth***Did* 13 p172; **Eph***Makar* 7 I p183; *ibid.*, 32 p286; **EuZig***Psalt* 9.4 c141; *ibid.*, 13.7 c188, 65. Int. c648; **MSynk***Lib* p91; **Theoph***Luke* 4.16-21 c749: also **AkropK***Barb* 11 p416; **ChoumN***Thesp* c1508c-d; **Kal***Kyr* c253a-b; **Kall***JnNest* pp70-71; **Kant***Apol* II.8 c401d; **Liv***Theot* p393.34-38. Note here too the relatively common metaphor of the demons binding men. For the metaphor of a sheep being handed over to death to tend see **Bas***Psalm* 48.9 c453.

[182] See for clear examples **ChoumN***Thesp* c1509a; **ChoumN***Symb* p157. Cf. also **JChr***John* 16.4 c106; **JDam***Koim* 11: **Bry***Log* 2 pp204-205; **Bry***Keph* 32 p91; **ChoumN***Dys* p383.

[183] Cf. also here the idea in the *LXX* of God having crushed the dragon, an idea which recurs in Revelation 20:2-3. In the later tradition see e.g. †**Ath***AntArch* 98 c657d; **EuZig***Psalt* 54.16 c580c; **Theoph***Luke* 1.55-56 c712: **Gabras***Log* pp98-99; **Iasites***Hymn* p109.43-44; **Neil***Anth* p62.2-

Man, thus excluded from paradise and liable to death, was regarded as having come almost, but not quite, completely under the Devil's power;[184]

> Then the evil increased progressively and 'death ruled' (Romans 5 : 14), [says Dorotheos]. Nowhere was there piety, everywhere ignorance of God, and only a few, as the Fathers say, being moved by the natural law, knew God, such as Abraham and the other patriarchs Noah and Job. In short, those who knew God were small in number and very rare. The enemy spread all his evils, 'sin ruled' (Romans 5 : 21), and idolatry, polytheism, sorcery, murders, and the other evil of the Devil started.

The Devil, indeed, was thought to have exercised his control to such an extent that men were almost, but again not quite, forced to sin. This belief is hinted at in Romans 7 : 14–15, 18,[185] and John Kantakuzenos, referring to the time before Christ, provides a clear illustration of it with a long simile of a drunken man;[186]

> [Man was] just as someone who, under the influence of drink and in deep darkness, looked askance at his own father (who took care of him in every way ...) and followed his enemy instead (who desired his murder and destruction); thus, having been bound hand and foot by him and having been put in a strong and gloomy dungeon, he did not know and could not distinguish his father and friend from his enemy and opponent because of the drink and the surfeit, and he did not wish to. Even if, later on, man came to his senses, he did not then have the strength, being in these bonds, and he began wandering and turning aside from the true and proper way, and he fell into the hands of the Devil, and what place is darker or more unpleasant

3. For men's punishment as already having begun see e.g. Luke 16 : 23, and cf. Bry*Log* 2 p392 who explains that sinners are kept in a gloomy prison in Hades by the demons until the Judgement, "being prevented from having the enjoyment of light or any relaxation; not that they are punished before time". Schol*DeutPar* p335 mentions demons and sinners going to join those already bound in Hell. Cf. here Mango *Byzantium* p165.

[184] Doroth*Did* 1.1 c1260a; cf. *ibid.*, 1.2 c1621. On the Byzantine understanding of original sin, which is quite different to that developed in the West, see Meyendorff *Theology* pp143–146.

[185] Romans 7 : 14–15, 18 reads, "I am carnal, sold under sin. I do not understand my own actions, for I do not do the thing that I want, but I do the very thing that I hate. I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do".

[186] Kant*Apol* I cc397d-400b; cf. *ibid.*, II c449.

> than that? [The Devil] got man drunk with the crowd of the pleasures and made him completely insensible. He was just like those drunk with wine, or indeed, like those affected by an irregular condition, insanity, or a demon, who, hearing do not hear, and seeing do not perceive, being misled by that which is controlling the mind. They thus imagine things that stand still are moving and things that move are stationary, and things which are of benefit to them damage them, while they [think they] should involve themselves with harmful things, and indeed they are quite unable to tell good from evil or friend from enemy. Man, then, as has been said, also suffered this for, having set God aside and having been bound by the demon, he was tyranised in the deepest darkness of ignorance.

Idolatry and polytheism were mentioned in the passage from Dorotheos of Gaza, quoted above, and it was this paganism, in all its many forms and guises, that was regarded by the later tradition as having been the Devil's foremost means of exercising control over men at that time and of keeping them from any idea of "true" religion, and in consequence from salvation. Gregory of Nazianzus in a long account of the objects of pagan worship in his *Second Theological Oration*,[187] thus concludes that the whole complex structure of heathen systems of belief

> was the trick (σόφισμα) of the Evil One who abused good to an evil purpose as in most of his evil activities. He laid hold of man's desire in its wandering search for God in order to distort to himself His rule and steal this desire. Leading it by the hand, then, like a blind man asking the way, he hurled down some in one direction, some in another, and scattered them into one pit of death and destruction.

Not only was this theft of the honour that properly belonged to God thought to satisfy the demons' pride, but it was also thought to enable them to humiliate, to mock, and to destroy the men they envied.[188]

The connection between the demons and pagan religion found support in a number of Biblical passages, most notably

---

[187] **GNaz***Or28* 15 pp130–132; cf. **GNaz***Or39* 6–7 c341; and **GNaz** *Or40* 17 c381.

[188] See here especially †**JDam***Barl* 32 pp496–498; **Schol***Genn* p230; **Neil***Anth* p61. Cf. also **Bas***Psalm* 45.1 c416–417; **EuZig***Psalt* 9.6 c144; **GCyp***Marina* p193; **Schol***Jud* p295.

Psalm 95 : 5, "All the gods of the nations are demons" (πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια), Deuteronomy 32 : 17, "They sacrificed to demons not to God, to gods they had never known, to new gods that had come in of late" (ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις, καὶ οὐ Θεῷ, θεοῖς οἷς οὐκ ἤδεισαν ...) and Psalm 105 : 36–37, "they served the idols which became a snare to them; they sacrificed their sons and daughters to demons ..." (καὶ ἔθυσαν ... τοῖς δαιμονίοις).[189] In the New Testament also, Paul warns Christians against idolatry at I Corinthians 10 : 19–21;[190]

> What do I imply then? That food offered to idols is anything? No, I imply that what pagans sacrifice they sacrifice to demons and not to God. I do not want you to be partakers with demons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons.

All pagan religion fell under the same condemnation,[191] but the commonest example used by the later tradition was, not surprisingly, that of the Greeks who, by using the word demon

---

[189] See also Isaiah 65 : 3, "a people who provoke me to my face continually, who sacrifice in the gardens and burn incense on bricks to the demons"; Isaiah 65 : 11, "But you who forsake me and forget my holy mountain and prepare a table for the demon and fill cups to fortune"; and Baruch 4 : 7, "For you provoke him who made you by sacrificing to demons and not to God"; cf. Leviticus 17 : 7 and Wisdom 12 : 4.

[190] Cf. II Corinthians 6 : 14–16 and also Galatians 4 : 8–9, "Formerly when you did not know God you were in bondage to beings that by nature are no gods; but now that you have come back to know God, or rather to be known by God, how can you turn back to the weak and beggarly elemental spirits (στοιχεῖα), whose slaves you want to be once more?" On *stoicheia* see below pp190–195. Revelation 9 : 20 and the temptation narratives should also be borne in mind. On this connection in the early Christian tradition see Russell *Satan* p70 (Justin); *ibid.*, p77 n67 (Athenagoras); for middle Byzantine times see Joannou *Démon*. p11.

[191] Histories of idolatry tracing it back to Greek religion and beyond appear in **GNaz***Or28* 13–15 pp126–132; **GNaz***Or39* 6–7 c341; and also in **JDam***Her* 3 cc680–681; †**JDam***Barl* 7 pp84–86: **Kant***Apol* II.4 c448. The Ῥωμαίοι are said to have raised up demons instead of gods by **EuZig***Psalt* 2.4 c81. Unspecfic references to pagan religion being demonic are numerous, see e.g. †**Anast***Erot* 96 c741; **EuZig***Psalt* 11 c172; *ibid.*, 23.1 c296, 105.37–38 c1056, and 134.15 c1236 which includes a comparison of idols and icons; **GNaz***Or24* 8 p54; **GNaz***Or25* 12 p184; **GNaz***Or27* p82; **Peter***Kan* 5 p19: also **AkropK***Thav* 2 p73; **Gregoras***Merk* III.3 p73; *ibid.*, VI.5 p89; **Kall***Acta* p302; **Kant***Apol* III c508; **Louk***Evgen* 12 p12; **Melet***Alpha* ια' p74; **MelitenK***Ek* 41 c1264a; **MetT***Dem* 8 p69 ll.309–311; **Palam***Ekpor* 1.34 p65; **Schol***Mirac* p371; **SymMon***Dem* 8 p99 ll.81–85; *ibid.*, 11 p100 ll.121–126; **Trap***Pist* p160. 1925f. Cf. in general here Böcher *Dämonen*., pp137–152; *Idem*, *Christus* pp61–62.

on occasion for their deities, and by the content of their myths were, to the eyes of Byzantine Christians, convicted out of their own mouths. As Gregory of Nazianzus says,[192]

> Nor do those whom the Greeks worship as gods, and (to use their own expression) demons (δαίμονες) need us as accusers, since they are condemned by their own theologians, some as subject to passion, some as seditious being full of evils and alterations, being opposed not only to one another but even to their first causes whom they call Oceani, Tethytes, Phanetes, and I know not what else! Finally a certain god who hated his own children through lust for power, swallowed down all the rest in his greed so that he might become father of all the men and gods whom he ate and then wretchedly vomited up.

The names of the Greek gods were thus taken to be those of demons,[193] and much of Greek philosophy was also thought to have been inspired by demons, both on its own admission and from the conclusions it drew, particularly in regard to the divine status of the demonic powers.[194]

---

[192] **GNaz***Or31* 16 p306. There are again many references linking Greek religion and the demons; see e.g. †**Anast***Erot* 13 c460; **Ath***Ant* 22 c876; *ibid.*, 37 c897, 78 c952; **JDam***Orth* 4.16; **GNaz***Or11* 6 c840; **Hesychios** 2.75 c1536; **Origen***Phil* 18.1 p96: also **Chrysokeph** c184c; **Gregoras***Hist* XXIII 2.9 p1106; **GCyp***George* 34 c333a; **Palam***Hesych* 1.1.17–18 pp380–381; **Palam***EpBarl* A´ 52–54 pp255–256; **Kok***Hierarch* cc777d-780a; **Schol***Orth* 12 p117. Cf. Ducellier *Diable* pp197–199, who argues that the connection of the Devil and the demons with paganism may lie behind their omnipresence in Byzantine thought.

[193] So **EuZig***Psalt* 9.6 c144, "Since the honour of God has been snatched by the demons, those serving them give them names as the Theognis of silly Hesiod shows ... Zeus, Ares, Apollo, Hermes, Artemis, Aphrodite, and such a swarm ..."; and **Origen***Phil* 17 especially p95, discussing the power of names, argues with Celsus against syncretism by saying that "if you give God such names as Zeus, Ammon, or Pappaeus, you will call up the demons, friendly neither to man nor the true God who rejoices in that name; cf. also **Chrysol***Dem* p346.

[194] The correct attitude to pagan philosophy had always posed a problem for Christians, but in the late Byzantine period this became a particular issue in the debate between Palamas and Barlaam. The latter accused Palamas of condemning all pagan philosophy as demonic but Palamas retorted that he was not condemning philosophy as such, only those philosophers who clearly received demonic inspiration. For this discussion see particularly **Palam***Hesych* 2.1.13 (Mey. pp249–251) and also *ibid.*, 1.1.14–16 pp377–380; **Palam***EpBarl* A´ 46–47 pp252–253; **Palam***Antirrhet* 7.23–26 pp478–480. See further here Meyendorff *Palamas* II.1 pp173–194; G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, *ByzArch* 15, Munich 1977; Nicol *Learning*. For the subject in general see Basil's homily published by N.G.

It should be mentioned here that the later tradition was not so naïve as to regard the actual idols themselves as demons, but saw them rather as being inhabited and surrounded by the evil powers[195] who were thought to take delight in the ill-smelling smokes that arose from the altars and to wallow in the blood of the sacrificial victims offered to them in reward for their services.[196]

The Jews were often regarded as having been no better than the pagans, even before Christ, and indeed they were held to be worse at times. Although sacrifice and various other elements in their cult could occasionally be treated with generosity by the later tradition and could be seen as having been acceptable at that period in history, the all too common Biblical references to their discontent with God's law, their consequent lapses into demonic idolatry, and the failure of attempts to recall them from this which ended in the reviling and death of the prophets and other just men, were seen as providing ample proof for their condemnation.[197]

Man then, in his fallen state, was condemned to live in a world filled with toil and pain, and to die. Not only that, he was sold as a slave through sin to the Devil who took his soul in death to hell and kept him in life in the deceit and error of idolatry, constantly compounding his original fault. The picture painted by the Byzantine tradition of this time after Adam and before Christ was thus a sombre one of gloom, rebellion, and perverted hope with only one or two untarnished lights shining

---

Wilson, *St. Basil on the Value of Greek Literature*, London 1975; also **JChr***John* 2 c32; **Gregoras***Jn* p40 ll.14–15; **Kaloth***AkBar* 35 p97.809ff.

[195] For demons inhabiting altars and idols see **JChr***John* c364; †**J Dam***Barl* 24 p354; *ibid.*, 35 p534; **EuZig***Psalt* 36.20 c421: also **Louk***Evgen* 27–28 pp26–27; cf. **Palam***Peter* 47 c1036; see also MacDermot *Cult* p77.

[196] For their rejoicing in sacrifices see **GNaz***Or24* 10 p58, "The reward of the pimp (i.e. the Devil) are the sacrifices and libations and intimacy through blood and fat sacrifices"; **GNaz***Or38* 6 c315; **EuZig***Psalt* 50.14 c557; **TBals***Kan* on **GNyss***Kan* 3 p307; **Bry***Log* 2 pp176–177. This is also implied by several references, following Psalm 105, which mention the sacrificing of children to them; see e.g. **Kant***Apol* II.4 c448 who mentions Cretans and Phoenicians in particular. For their feeding on the blood and smoke of sacrifices see below pp213–215.

[197] On the Jews worshipping demons see e.g., **Anast***Hod* 4 cc93–96; †**Anast***Erot* 99 c753; **Theoph***Matt* 12.42–45 c276; **Theoph***Luke* 11.14–26 c864. Cf. Böcher *Christus* pp60–61.

in the darkness – the figures of the patriarchs, prophets, and the few who adhered to God's way despite the almost intolerable pressures put upon them by the demonic powers.

3.2 Christ's Victory and the Growth of Christianity

For much of the standard orthodox tradition of demonology in the Palaeologan period the birth of Jesus to Mary was the opening move in an elaborate strategy by which the Devil, man's tyrant and himself the master of deceit, was deceived and defeated. God, it was believed, had never forgotten man in his tribulations, but had waited for this moment because, in the words of Joseph Bryennios,[198]

> just as a good doctor does not put the poultice on when the pain is increasing but when all the pus has burst forth, so also he who is long suffering by nature, withdrawing, waited for every evil to be complete and, like a boil, to have come to a head and swelled up, and [only] then brought healing.

Since the Devil knew scripture, he was thought to have been aware that Isaiah had foretold the birth of the saviour to a virgin,[199] but the fact that Mary was betrothed to a man and his own inability to suspect anything other than evil was believed to have deflected his watchful eye from her. Thus the incarnation moved safely on its way;[200]

> 'In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent to a virgin betrothed to a man', not having had intercourse ... But why betrothed? So that the bandit might not learn the mystery quickly, for the Evil One knew that the king would come through a virgin, for he also had

---

[198] **Bry***Log* 2 p100

[199] Isaiah 7:14

[200] **JChr***Evang* c795; an extended version of the same bandit simile appears in the same context in **Kall***Hyps* p129, and cf. below p134 n444. **Bry***Log* 3 pp10–11, maintains that Mary, the Lady of all things, was called Mary deliberately since the name meant "lady", and she was born to parent called Joachim and Anna which meant respectively "divine healer" and "grace". See also here **JDam***Orth* 4.14; **EuZig***Psalt* 49.3 c540; **Germ***Enc* c316; and also **Palam***Hom* 16 pp83–84; **Liv***Theot* p393. For secrecy in Ignatios and the early Christian tradition see Russell *Satan* p38. **Bry***Log* 2 pp53, 61 and 239; **Kok***Hyps* c724; and **Trap***Pist* p147, all parallel Mary and Eve, cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp138–141.

> heard the words of Isaiah, 'Behold a virgin will conceive', and he probably watched closely for each of the things predicted of the virgin so that, when he learnt that the mystery was fulfilled, he might attach blame [to her].

Uncertain of his victim but alarmed by the events surrounding the birth of Jesus, the Devil was believed to have inspired Herod's slaughter of the innocents. However the earlier ruse had paid off and he missed his mark with the murderous attack so that,[201]

> he also raised the sword of infanticide against himself, for Herod, having devised many things, did not destroy Jesus whom he sought, and the misfortune of Herod was the affliction of the Devil.

The next point at which the Devil was thought to have played a part in the events of Christ's life comes in the temptation. Jesus, led by the Holy Spirit after his baptism, went deliberately out into the desert, a place of particular demonic power, and thus attracted the Devil to him, giving him in addition a "hold" by his fasting.[202] He was believed, however, to have fasted no longer than Moses or Elijah so that, as Theophylakt of Bulgaria comments, "he would not give Satan the suspicion that he was greater than they were, but that he might attack him thinking he also was a man ...".[203] In consequence the Devil was generally regarded as having still been in a state of ignorance about Jesus' real nature at this stage, being puzzled by the evidence of the voice at the baptism and John's witness, which apparently conflicted with the susceptibility to hunger of

---

[201] †**JChr***Herod* c699; cf. *ibid.*, c702. See also **EuZig***Psalt* 2.2 cc80-81.

[202] The accounts of the temptation in the New Testament appear at Matthew 4:1–11 and Luke 4:1–13; cf Mark 1:12–13. For a thorough examination of traditions involved in the temptation of Christ by the Devil see Kelly *Devil, passim*. For depictions of this epsiode in Byzantine art see Provatake *Diavolos* pp56–58. For association of demons with the desert in the standard tradition see e.g. **Ath***Ant* 13 c861c; *ibid.*, 41 c904b; †**Amph***Bas* p204; **Anon***BiosRom* 12 p31; **GCyp***Laz* 24 p597f; **Gmon***Laz* 149 p552; *ibid.*, 155 p555a; **Melet***Alpha* ϱβ' p350; **Palam***Hom* 47 p64. See also here Russell *Satan* p166; Joannou *Démon.*, p11; Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp65–67; *Idem, Christus* pp28–30.

[203] **Theoph***Luke* 4.1–13 c745; cf. **Theoph***Matt* 4.1–11 c180. See also †**Anast***Erot* 14 c245; and **Palam***Hom* 16 p91.

the person before him; several of his words and actions were thus thought to have been attempts to discover by subtlety who Jesus was.[204]

The Devil is said to have tempted Jesus in three ways in the Biblical tradition: by telling him to turn the stones to bread to satisfy his hunger, by suggesting that he should jump from the pinnacle of the temple so as to be caught by angels, and by offering to give him all the kingdoms of the world if he worshipped him.[205] These three were regarded by later commentators as being in essence the temptations of gluttony or luxury, of vainglory, and of avarice, which could thus occasionally be thought of as the three "heads of temptation" summing up all others.[206] In accordance with the overall strategy, Jesus was believed to have resisted these temptations and defeated the Devil, not by revealing his true nature, but by human virtue, and in this way to have set a perfect example of how human nature could overcome the Devil's power, one which was followed avidly by Christian ascetics.[207] At the same time, however, he was also thought to have left the Devil in a state of great uncertainty for, to his eyes, Jesus still appeared in much the same light as Job had done, a man of God filled with much strength who had wounded him, but nevertheless still a man and so liable to death. Hence the trap was laid by Christ for his opponent who, angered by his defeat, resolved to destroy this upstart once and for all, not only striking him down with his hitherto irresistible

---

[204] See **Theoph***Matt* 4.1-11 c180; cf. **GNaz***Or24* 9 p56.

[205] There is some debate as to whether the Devil really showed Jesus the kingdoms. **Origen***Phil* 1.17 p24 maintains that it is ridiculous to suppose that the Devil showed them physically. **Theoph***Matt* 4.1-11 c181 argues that he showed all the kingdoms sensibly (*αἰσθητῶς*), making these present before his eyes by fantasy (*κατὰ φαντασίαν*), but he adds in his commentary on Luke, cc748-749, that some understand this to be about the noetic kingdoms (*περὶ νοουμένων βασιλειῶν*) of intemperance, envy and all other sins so that he really offers him the rule of the passions already in his control. In Bogomil mythology the temptation by the kingdoms was taken as proof that Satanael was creator and master of the visible world.

[206] So **Theoph***Matt* 4.1-11 c181; **Theoph***Luke* 4.1-13 cc748-749. Cf. **JDam***Orth* 3.20; **GNaz***Or40* 10 c369c-d; **Kal***Kyr* c260d; **Melet***Alpha β′* p40; *ibid.*, *ϱξα′* p525; **Palam***Hom* 16 p91.

[207] So **Bas***NestA* c177c-d; †**JChr***Pnev* 6 c820; **Hesychios** 1.12 cc1484d-1485a; **Isaac***Ask* 85 pp334-335; **ChoumN***Test* pp344-345; **Schol** *Nest* 9 p88.

weapon of death, but striking him down in such a way that all Jesus' claims to virtue and godliness might be discredited in the eyes of the world.

During the years of the ministry, the Devil's concern and anger were seen as having been further increased by the frequent defeats inflicted on his forces at the hands of Jesus and his disciples as they cast out the demons from the possessed. He was thought to have had to content himself, however, firstly with bringing about the death of the foremost witness to Christ, John the Baptist, and secondly with trying to cast aspersions on Jesus himself.[208] John's murder was accomplished through the dancing of Herodias' daughter before Herod, an occasion at which the Devil or one of his demons was seen as having participated,[209] while he employed the Jews for his slander, causing them to say that Jesus was either possessed or actually working by demonic power, and making the demons proclaim him in order to try and confirm this belief.[210]

Eventually, when the time was right either for the Devil or Jesus, depending from which viewpoint the author was writing, the events of the passion were set in motion.[211] For the

---

[208] For additional demonic involvement at the transfiguration see **Anon***Diavol*, *passim*.

[209] The story is told in the New Testament at Matthew 14:5–12 and Mark 6:19–29. **And***Apotom* c1124 blames the demon of drink (*ὁ δαίμων τῆς μέθης*) for the murder but **Theoph***Mark* 6.21–29 says it was the devil who danced in the person of Herodias' daughter. Cf. **Theoph***Matt* 14.3–5 c296; **Anon***Diavol* pp52 and 54; †**JChr***Prod* c487; and **Kall***Apotom* pp124–125. On the association of Herod and demons see M. Skey, "Herod's Demon Crown", *JWarb* 40 (1977) p274.

[210] So †**Anast***Erot* 63 c660; **Ath***Ant* 26 c881. The Beelzeboul controversy appears in the Gospels at Matthew 12:24–28; cf. 9:34 and 10:25: Luke 11:15–23: Mark 3:22–27. In this last passage Jesus is also accused of being possessed, as he is in Matthew 11:18 and John 7:20, 8:48, and 10:20. For commentary in the later tradition and general demonic Jewish envy and calumny see **Bas***Phthonou* c377; **JChr***John* 51 c284; *ibid.*, 41 c236, 55 c301, 60 cc331–332; **Theoph***Matt* 9.32–33 c233; *ibid.*, 12.22 30 c265; **Theoph***Mark* 3.20–27 cc524–525; **Theoph***Luke* 11.14–26 cc860–861; **Theoph***John* 8.48 c32: also **Gregoras***Hist* VI 1.3 p161; **Kall***Hyps* p129; **Kal***Kyr* c261a: **MetG***Man* c1316b; **Palam***Hom* 16 p92; **Kok***Synk* p83; **Kok***SynodA* c717a. Cf. **Böcher** *Christus* pp60–61. The demons confession of Jesus can, at other times, be regarded as involuntary and is then used as an example or proof of their weakness.

[211] When the passion is viewed with the devil in mind he is seen

Devil the trigger was often seen as having been the resurrection of Lazarus by Jesus. This is the line taken in a homily *Εἰς τὰ Βαΐα* attributed to John Chrysostom, where the Devil, seriously worried by the turn things have taken, summons his powers and, having lamented over the loss of Lazarus, speaks of his fears for the rest of the souls in his power now that he has begun to "vomit forth" that which he has "gulped down". He goes on to declare his plans, despite warnings from the demons,[212]

> 'I must hurry to prepare the cross. He took Lazarus from me, but I will drag him down here and number him among the dead so that he may learn not to fight against a stronger'. The infernal powers (*αἱ κάτω δυνάμεις*) replied to him, 'Do you really want to keep Jesus here? See that you do not bring trouble on yourself. You have had trial of him; you wrestled with him in the desert; did you not go forward three times and fall three times? If he should come down here what will you do?' But having planned these and similar things, the Devil stirred up the Jews to greater jealousy and enraged them to kill the one who had raised Lazarus from the dead and to prepare a cross for the Lord ...

The chief figure in the Devil's plan was, of course, Judas Iscariot who is usually depicted as having been initially lured by the passion of avarice (*φιλαργυρία*) and then led on from this to treachery.[213] While Judas remained a disiciple he could only be troubled in a limited way but, once he had received the sop

---

as having thought of himself as the initiator of the final move to victory over Christ, but from the viewpoint of the Church this happened only when Christ was ready. In line with this latter view some authors maintained that it was the Devil's aim to delay the passion for as long as possible or to hide it; here the picture was of him knowing that he would be defeated by Christ, of whose true identity he was aware. **JChr***John* 85 c460 thus says that Jesus was crucified with robbers since the Devil wished to cast a veil over what was done. **Theoph***Matt* 27.38–44 c469, attributes the suggestion that Jesus should come down from the cross to the Devil's efforts to avert salvation for men; in his commentary on Mark 8.33 c576 he says that Jesus called Peter "Satan" because he sought to dissuade him from going through with the passion, and at *ibid.*, 15.28–32 c669 he also deals with the suggestion that he should come down from the cross; cf. **Theoph***Luke* 23.35 c1101.

[212] †**JChr***Baia2* c718d. Cf. here Barb *Antaura* p12; Provatake *Diavolos* pp70–72.

[213] Judas' avarice is derived from John 12:6 (cf. 13:29) where he is said to have stolen from the money-box he kept, and from the price he demanded from the Pharisees for his services. For his avarice in the later tradition see e.g. **JChr***Ioud* 3 c876; †**JChr***Baia2* cc718–720; **Hesychios** 2 16 c1516; **Theoph***John* 13.26–27 c161; **Gregoras***Dem* 10 p93; **Meli-**

from Christ at the last supper and had thus been excluded from the twelve, the Devil entered into him and did what he liked, despising his shamelessness.[214] Using Judas, then, the Devil secured the betrayal of Jesus into the hands of the Jews, whose envy and hatred he had already prepared, and so engineered the events of the passion,[215] culminating in the crucifixion by which he believed he could end the threat posed by this man, as he had done so many times before with other men of God.

While the Devil saw the cross as his weapon which would bring dishonour and death on Christ, for the Christian reader of the later tradition, the crucifixion was thought to have been the final episode in the deception of the Devil who, as has been seen, had been encouraged to think of Jesus as a man[216] and hence was persuaded to destroy him by the power of death, being ignorant of the divinity and the sinless nature that lay hidden within the flesh of his humanity. The snare with which the Devil was caught, lay in the fact that Christ, regarded as possessing a divine as well as a human nature, was without sin and so not subject to death, since death was thought to have

---

tenT*Dial* c916b: cf. **Agal***Apol* p151 ll.2161–2162, where envy rather than avarice is stressed.

[214] The idea that he was possessed in two stages also comes from John 6:71 and 13:2 followed by 13:27 where Satan is said to have entered into him after he received the sop; cf. Luke 22:3. See also Mark 14:10–11 and 43–46; Matthew 26:14–16, 25 and 47–50; Luke 22:3–6, 47–48; and John 18:2–3 for Judas' acts of betrayal. See Matthew 27:3–10 and Acts 1:16–20 for accounts of Judas' suicide or destruction. On the association of Judas and Peter with the Devil in the New Testament see Kelly *Devil* pp216–218. For his possession in the later tradition see **Ath***Ant* 42 c905; **EuZig***Psalt* 108.6 c1073; **JChr***loud* 3 c876; **JChr***John* 72 c391; **Theoph***Luke* 22.3–6 c1061; **Theoph***John* 13.26–27 c161; **Schol***Soma* p134. Cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp176–178. **Gregoras***Hist* VI 1.3 p161 describes Judas as being a "tithe" that belonged to the Devil as world-ruler. Judas' death was usually seen as having been caused by the Devil from despair and to prevent him receiving help from his repentance; it was hence used as a warning against excessive remorse. See here **Hesychios** 2.16 c1516; **JChr***TheodLog* 9.1–3 p122; **JKarp** c1854; **Theoph***Matt* 27.3 c460; cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp67–69. See also below p117–118.

[215] The Devil is said, e.g., to have given the orders for Jesus to be given vinegar on the cross. **Diad***Keph* 51.

[216] **Theoph***Matt* 26.37–39 c446, even says that one of the reasons for Jesus' plea that the "cup" of the passion might be taken from him was so that his divinity might escape the Devil's notice and he might pursue and try to kill him as a mere man, and so be crushed.

come through sin. By taking Christ, the Devil went beyond the bounds of his jurisdiction; as a consequence of his unjust action he was seen to have been justly overthrown. John Damaskenos thus explains that God[217]

> became man in order that that which was overcome might overcome. For he who was omnipotent did not in his omnipotence and authority lack the power to rescue man from the hands of the tyrant, but the tyrant would have had grounds for complaint if, after he had overcome man, God should have used force against him.

Theophylakt of Bulgaria clarifies this point,[218]

> Adam died justly for he sinned, but the Lord died unjustly for he did not sin. Until the crucifixion of the Lord death justly ruled men, but when the Lord was found sinless, what justice had the Devil over him thereafter that he might put him to death? So, since he died unjustly, he conquered the one who had killed him, and so too he freed Adam from death who was justly oppressed by it for having sinned ...

John Kalekas, following Chrysostom, also explains this by using the example of[219]

> a certain powerful tyrant who casts all those who fall into his hands into myriad evils. If, however, this man happens upon a king or a prince and destroys and kills him unjustly, the death of that one will be able to avenge the death of the others ... This also happened in the case of Christ for the Devil, daring to do the things to Christ which he did to us, received a just punishment, for he was condemned and cast down by the cross of Christ and became a prisoner.

Deceived in this way, the Devil, or death, in the words of John Damaskenos,[220]

---

[217] **JDam***Orth* 3.18 p157.

[218] **Theoph***John* 3.14 c1209.

[219] **Kal***Kyr* cc260c-261; cf. **JChr***John* 67.2 c372. For further references to Christ's unique nature and its part in the defeat of the Devil through the cross see **EuZig***Psalt* 44.6 c493; *ibid.*, 48.9–11 cc529–532; **GNaz***Or*45 22 c653; †**JChr***Analeps* 4 c802; **JDam***Orth* 3.20 p162; †**JDam***Barl* 7 p94; **Theoph***John* 14.30 c129: also **AkropG***Apost* 14 p79; **AkropK***Dem* 10 pp170-171; **Bry***Log* 2 pp174-175 and 182; **Kant***Apol* II c489a-b; **Kant***Mahom* III c672a; **Palam***Hom* 16 pp83-84 and 92; **Plan***Taph* c1005d-1008a; **Trap***Pist* p153.

[220] **JDam***Orth* 3.27 p170; cf. *ibid.*, 3.1.

> approaches and, swallowing up the body as bait, is transfixed on the hook of the divinity and, after tasting of a sinless and [illegible]ng body, perishes and brings up again all whom he swallowed down. For, just as darkness disappears on the introduction of light, so death is repulsed before the assault of life which brings life to all but death to the destroyer.

Through the snare of the cross by which he thought to kill and dishonour Jesus the Devil himself was thus believed to have been destroyed and the hold which he and his demons had over men for so long since the fall of Adam was broken with the resurrection of Christ from the dead.[221]

A number of modern commentators have maintained that the idea of the trick faded in the East after Chrysostom, in particular, had rejected it, together with the idea of Christ's death as a ransom.[222] This may indeed be true of writings in which the passion is viewed primarily from the divine or human angle and in which ideas, like that quoted in the previous paragraph, of the Devil as unjust Tyrant abusing and finally overstepping his power are thus more prominent. Elsewhere, however, and particularly when the role of the Devil and the demonic powers is the focus of attention, the notion of Christ's life and death as a trick to ensare the Devil remains the major theme. It has thus been adopted as the main line of approach in this study.[223]

The main consequence of the Devil's mistake and down-

---

[221] For the metaphor of bait, hook and trap see also **Bas***Tapein* 2 c528; **EuZig***Psalt* 21.7 c277; and **Palam***Hom* 16 pp90-92, where the image of light being slipped secretly into darkness is used.

[222] So, for example, Kelly *Doctrines* p384 and Russell *Satan* pp193-194.

[223] See e.g. the references given in notes 200-204, 216 and 220-221. See also Meyendorff *Theology* p161. "Byzantine liturgy, following Gregory of Nyssa, uses the image of the Devil swallowing a hook hidden by the body of Emmanuel: the same idea is found in the pseudo-Chrysostomic sermon read during the liturgy of the paschal night; 'Hell received a body and encountered God; it received mortal dust and met heaven face to face' ". This is †**J**Chr*Kat* for which see the following quotation and reference. Cf. here Russell *Satan* p215 for Augustine's use of a mousetrap metaphor, and in general see further Kelly *Doctrines* pp169-170, 183-188, 373-386, 395-399; and Russell *Satan* pp85-86. See too J. Macquarrie, "Demonology and the Classic Idea of Atonement", *The Expository Times* 68 (1956-1957) pp3-6 and 60-63

fall was thought to have been that the power of death was destroyed and no longer were the souls of all men, good and bad alike, held bound in Hades. Christ, it was believed, had descended into those gloomy regions and released the souls of all the good men who had been bound there during the long ages of the demons' supremacy, leading them free to heaven, the doors of which were once more flung open to receive all those who followed the true path of the virtuous Christian life. Thus the author of a homily *Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα*, attributed to John Chrysostom and read during the Easter liturgy,[224] rejoices,

> Let no one fear death for the Saviour's death freed us. He quenched the one by whom he was taken. Descending into Hades he punished Hades. He filled the one who tasted his flesh with bitterness ... Having met with you below he was filled with bitterness. He swallowed you down but he was filled with bitterness for he was deceived. He took the body and met God, he took earth and met with heaven, he took what he saw and fell where he did not see. 'Death where is your sting? Hades where is your victory?' (I Corinthians 15 : 55). Christ has risen and you have been cast down! Christ has risen and the demons have fallen! Christ has risen and the angels rejoice! Christ has risen and the dead man no longer remains in the tomb!

Having lost the main weapon by which they held men in fear and subjection, and having been thus publicly humiliated, the demons were also seen to have lost much of the rest of their power. No longer did the fires and smokes of sacrifices rise

---

[224] †**JChr***Kat* cc722–724. For other references to Christ's destruction of the power of death and his release of the dead from hell see, among very many, †**Anast***Erot* 112 cc764–765; †**Ath***Anelps* 1 c1092; **JChr***Heb* 1 c519; **JChr***John* 12 cc83–84; †**JChr***Suke* c585; **JDam***Orth* 3.29 p172; **Doroth***Did* 13 p172; **Eph***Joseph* II p22; **Proklos***Enc* 7 c688: also **Bry***Log* 2 pp170-171; *ibid.*, 3 p23; **ChoumN***Test* p232; **Chrysokeph** cc220d, 224c-225c; **EvgenJ***Kan* p179 ll.26–33; **Kall***Hyps* p132; **Kant***Apol* II.21 cc480–481; *ibid.*, III.11 cc525–528; **Kok***Hyps* c721a-b; **Plan***Taph* c1001c-d; **Trap** *Pist* p160 ll.1926-1927.

For detailed discussion of I Peter 3 : 19 which is related to alternative stories of the fall of the angels see Reicke *Baptism, passim*. For references to Christ being raised on the cross to cleanse the air see e.g. **Kant***Mahom* III c673b; **Kok***Hyps* c721d-724a; and **Bas***AitKak* 10 c352, cited above, p17 n54; see also here Daniélou *Démons* pp143–147. References in the New Testament which were interpreted as referring to the demons' loss of power in general are e.g. Matthew 4 : 16 (Isaiah 9 : 2); Mark 16 : 17; Luke 10 : 17, 19; and James 2 : 19. Cf. here Russell *Satan* pp117–122 for the descent into hell and the release from death; also Provatake *Diavolos* pp72–78.

to them from the altars round which they swarmed, for now the darkness of pagan religion was believed to have been destroyed by the light of Christianity which sprang up with Christ's victory through the cross and resurrection and was spread far and wide by his disciples;[225] now the idols fell and the temples began to be abandoned.[226] The old way was gone and the new age had dawned; man was released if he so wished from the consequences of the Devil's first deceit, and the demons were left to sulk in their dwindling realm, their jealousy and bitterness growing ever stronger as their powerlessness was brought home to them with every blow they received from the followers of Christ, for they could do no more than cower in terror and turn to flight at the sign of the cross, the sign of their defeat.[227]

The first years of Christianity were thus believed to have been years of triumph for the church, years which saw the demons falling back from all their former strongholds as the new faith spread to such places as Egypt, Greece and Asia Minor, and more and more people turned from their worship to the new God who had overthrown them. Although the demons had become powerless against true men of faith living a life of virtue, it was not thought to have been long, however, before new tactics began to be manifested by the Devil by which he and his powers could deceive and turn men who were less strong and certain in their faith from the new religion and entrap them in their own condemnation. The Devil's rule had indeed been broken and his sharpest weapon lost, but he had not given up

---

[225] For the power of the apostles see Matthew 10:1; Mark 3:15; 6:7; Luke 9:1; 10:17–20; Acts 5:15–16; 8:7; 16:18; 19:12. Also **EuZig***Psalt* 17.15 c232a-b; *ibid.*, 46.10 c517b-c, 101.23 c1005c-d: **Bry***Log* 2 p355; **MelitenT***Dial* 6 c912c-d; **Palam***Hom* 24 p137; **Plan***Peter* cc1045–1046a. Cf. MacDermot *Cult* p84.

[226] For the cross and the spread of Christianity as the end of pagan worship see e.g. **And***Hyps* c1028; **Eph***DevtPar* II p196; **EuZig***Psalt* 9.6–8 c144; *ibid.*, 11 c172, 23.1 c296, and 67.19 c672; **JChr***John* 2 cc31–32; †**JChr***Pet* cc493–494; **JDam***Her* c769; †**JDam***Barl* 7 p94; **JMaur***Pat* p110; **Origen***Phil* 15.7 p75: also **Gabras***Log* pp98–99; **Kant***Apol* 1.13 c416; **Louk***Evgen* 4 p4; **Makar***Ia* 1 p461. For New Testament references see e.g. I Corinthians 8:4–6; 10:20–21; Hebrews 10:1–13; and cf. Mark 12:33 and Romans 12:1.

[227] For the power of the cross see below pp140, 143 and 147, nn460 and 481.

the fight, and Christians had still to be on their guard. John Kantakouzenos[228] thus compares the defeated Devil to,

> a murderer or thief or someone else who has done something worthy of death and has been condemned to be beheaded by the emperor, but who may still live on for several days in prison after this sentence, so that, although still among the living, he may really be counted as dead. You must also think about the Devil in this way, for, after Christ rose he was destroyed, and when he manipulates things against us, as he certainly does, he does not do it by having any power and authority, but by pretending wicked and deceitful friendship and by counselling things that are harmful and forbidden to men ...

Another typical expression of this state of affairs is given by John Mauropous in his work *On the Three Holy Fathers*;[229]

> When, therefore, in the latter days the saving grace of God shone forth and the light of the world blazed out in the world and, shining in the darkness, dissolved the darkness which was the madness of men about the idols and demons, it was still persecuted to a certain extent by this darkness which feebly struggled in those left behind and, after the dissolution was like a mortally wounded snake which still moves a little for a short time, seeking in this way to strike in turn its destroyer, before finally failing when trampled more vigorously ...

The numerous ways in which this wounded dragon of the demonic powers worked its deceit and caused men to stumble in the early years of Christianity were generally much the same as those of later years and so will be looked at in the following section where the methods the demons used against ordinary men will be considered. Here, however, two aspects of their operation which are particularly associated with the "mythical" history of the early church, though not unknown in later times, must be discussed, for they were seen as having formed a major counter-attack by the Devil following his defeat.

---

[228] **Kant***Apol* II c481a.

[229] **JMaur***Pat* p110, cf. above p46 and n166. See John 1:5 and Matthew 4:16 for the light metaphor, and cf. **Anast***Hod* 4 c97; **Kok** *Hierarch* c780. For other descriptions of the demons' weakened but still active state after Christ see **Ath***Ant* 9 c857; *ibid.*, 28 cc884 885, 41 c904; also †**Amph***Bas* Radermacher *Faustsage* pp144-147; †**JDam***Barl* 7 p96; **EuZig***Psalt* 9.4 c141.

The first was the persecution of the Church which raged during the early centuries and was seen to have been the work of the Devil attempting to turn men away from Christianity and back to paganism. The situation is described by Gregory of Cyprus;[230]

> Indeed, not even when we became a new creation and the fallen and ruined tabernacle, that is to say our nature, was rebuilt and raised up, not even then was [the enemy of our race] quiet, despite having been conquered by Christ and stripped of his reign, and still in the same way as before he attacked the seeds of the faith. At once he roused himself and stirred up his allies and champions of evil ... Neros, Domitians, Trajans, and the rest of that superstitious gang who ruled then, and similarly he brought in at the forefront of that evil army and as leaders to the others, as if they were the more evil heads of an evil body, Diocletian and Maximian, that god-fighting pair who were in agreement for the evil of the world ...

The savagery of the Devil's attack here, as well as the panic and apostasy that it caused, is clearly described by Basil of Caesarea in his sermon on the martyr Gordios.[231]

> The faith was the charge against those suffering these things, and father betrayed son and son informed upon father, brothers raged against each other, and slaves revolted against their masters. A terrible night fell on life, all misunderstanding each other through the damage done by the Devil to their minds. Houses of prayer were torn down by unclean hands, altars were overturned; there was no offering, nor incense, nor a place of dedication that a terrible dejection did not cover like a cloud. The worshippers of the divinity were driven away, the whole company of the faith was stricken with panic and demons danced in triumph, maddening all with burnt offerings and blood.

---

230 **GCyp***Marina* pp193-194. For the early tradition here see Russell *Satan* pp37, 71-72 and 106; for the middle Byzantine period see Joannou *Démon.*, p11.

231 **Bas***Gord* 2 c496. For other examples of persecution being attributed to the Devil see **Anast***Hod* 4 c96; **GNas***Or7* 11 c768; **GNas***Or18* 32 c1025; **GNas***Or21* 32 p178; **JChr***Olymp* viii 10c p134; **Peter***Kan* 9 p26; also **Kamar***Hierarch* p67; **Liv***Phok* p285; **Louk***Evgen* 4 5 pp4 5; **Makar***Ia* 11 p464; *ibid.*, 29 p488; **Palam***Hom* 32 p180; *ibid.*, [illegible] **Kok***Theod* 2 p77b; **Kok***Anysia* p109; **Kok***SynodA* c717a-b; **Syn**[illegible] *Syn* 2 p83. The persecution most [illegible] monly referred to by the later tradition was that of Julian whose [illegible] and "deceit" were regarded as making him a particular servant of the Devil.

For a time, as appears here, it seemed that the Devil would be victorious and the new faith would be unable to resist the pressure brought to bear on it by successive emperors. He was, however, thought to have reckoned without the martyrs who turned his own weapons back on him so that, instead of the church being destroyed by their deaths, it was rather made to flourish. These men and women gave themselves up to the most terrible tortures because, it is said,[232]

> they saw some being seduced, abducted and deceived by the Devil and falling, or rather denying the faith. Being aroused by these things and with their hearts inflamed to fight and overcome the braggart and opposing Devil, they hastened to give themselves up to martyrdom, so that he might not glory or boast in his own cleverness at having conquered by evil cunning those who had deserted, and forget that it was rather he who was conquered by the athletes who were stronger than the tortures.

By the resistance of the martyrs this attack of the Devil was seen by the later tradition as having been averted and, indeed, as having become a weapon against the demonic powers, for every wound inflicted on the man of faith who held firm became a wound to the demons who had inspired it, while the church, hardened by the fire through which it had passed, moved on to greater things.[233]

The second major element in the Devil's resistance was regarded as having been the subtle poison of heresy which, though lacking the physical savagery of the persecutions, was seen in many ways as being far more dangerous to Christianity than this, for it operated from within the church itself and thus was far more difficult to detect and eradicate. John Mauropous, once again, describes the Devil's involvement in this;[234]

---

[232] Theodore Balsamon commenting on **Peter***Kan* 11 p37; cf. *ibid.*, pp34-35.

[233] For other examples of martyrs defeating the demonic powers see e.g. **Bas***Barl* cc488-489; **Bas***Joul* c237; **Bas***Gord* 6 c501; **Bas***40Mar* 3 c512; **JChr***Mart* c708; †**JChr***Job* 4.3 c579; **AkropK***JDam* 58 p881; **GCyp***George* c308a; **GCyp***Marina* p237; **Louk***Evgen* 31 p30.

[234] **JMaur***Pat* p110. For the early appearance of this idea and its consequences see Russell *Satan* pp35-37, 42-43, 86-87 and 106; also cf. here Joannou *Démon.*, p43; Cohn *Demons* p68; and Provatake *Diavolos* pp104-107.

> Then the most evil confusion of what is not to be confused and the division of what is not to be divided, the foremost heads and sources of the heresies, were fighting simultaneously with each other and with the faith. Although one error was no less an error than the other error, a second impiety had also appeared with the first, so that the destruction of one lie might turn out to be the beginning of another lie, and evil might succeed from evil, and we might forget (oh the insult!) and at once destroy God when we had scarcely found him. The most wise one in evil, the bitter enemy and assailant of our race from the beginning, indeed knows how to contrive these things cunningly and twist them about many times, so that when he despairs of the chests he makes an attempt on the backs, and being repulsed from the left hand attacks from the right, his attack being very bold and his invention very diverse ...

Neilos, Patriarch of Constantinople, takes the same line but is rather more specific;[235]

> [The Devil] was not able to bear [man's honour] at all, and although he had been committed to the murk and chains of Hades by Christ, who had conquered the world, and was enervated and stripped of his strength over us, he had not forgotten his ancient duplicity and villainy and his artifices against us. He actually became even more wicked than ever towards us, having been roused to greater madness by our blessing, in the same way as more savage beasts are roused by anger to take revenge on their assailant when they have been struck with a weapon. As a result he did not attempt to come against us with the same means of deceiving us as he had before, but instead he used a method which was not simply hard to see but was, rather, impossible to detect, in order to persuade us to apostatise from God, for he knew that the strength of he who had been seen on earth was impregnable ... So that we might come to a mistaken belief about him and cut and divide evilly and godlessly the unique undivided nature, [the Devil], as he had done before with Eve, thus softly whispered a word in the ears of certain men which was less than none in its impiety yet was simple, and he obtained those prepared for its reception, or rather those who invented it with him and joined him in emulous effort, to stir up the flame of the impiety as much as possible. In this way he assailed

---

[235] **Neil***Anth* pp62-63. For general "heresy histories" of differing length and detail written from this point of view see **Anast***Hod* 4 cc96-97; **Kaloth***Ep* II.1 p75; **Palam***Ekpor* p23, using the metaphor of a worm eating the root of a young plant; **Palam***Antirrhet* 1.13.62 p82; **Kok***Hierarch* c780b; **Kok***SynodA* cc717d-718a.

> us through the more rotten ones, as though he himself was attacking, and he brought in many errors and opinions in the things being believed and said about God, not only in the true doctrine but also equally amongst those who were themselves hostile and had fallen from the proper [way]. Some of them did not introduce a real difference between the persons, evilly contracting the Trinity ... and others, while being sound in their words about the Son, reduced the value of the Spirit ... The war against God by the impious, or rather by their father ... was not even [limited] to these things and nor did he like being disgraced and put to shame in the earlier things but now also loosened the tongues of those persuaded by him against the economy of the Saviour on our behalf, and reintroduced foolish disturbances into the church of the faithful. For certain of them thus said that the Son of God had not taken flesh but had rather appeared as a phantom and not truly a man ... And others again denied that he had truly received flesh from virgin blood ... And others again denied that the God and the man were one and the same ...

The demonic powers were connected with all sorts of particular heresies,[236] as well as heresy in general,[237] but one common description of their operation in this area was in terms of the tares, drawn from the parable in Matthew 13 : 24-28 where an enemy comes in the night and mixes bad seed with the good that has been sown. Heresiarchs inspired by the Devil were thus thought to have been admitted to the church in disguise and then, when they had gained the confidence of the authorities and learnt the teaching of Christianity, to have poured out their

---

[236] So e.g. with Arianism: **Anast***Hod* 21 c284; **Ath***Ant* 82 cc959-960; **GNaz***Or43* 33 c540; **GregPres** c261: **AkropK***Konst* p29; **Palam** *Hesych* 1.3.1. With Simon Magos: †**JChr***Pseud* c559; *ibid.*, 6 c560. With Montanism: **GNaz***Or22* 12 p244; **GNaz***Or25* 8 p174; †**JChr***Pseud* 6 c560. Massalians: **JDam***Her* c736. Nestorios, Diodoros, and Theodore: **JDam** *Orth* 3.3. Euchites: **AkropK***Thav* 2 p73. Armenians: **Kant***Apol* II c492b. Cf. on the Devil's role in iconoclasm Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Ioanicii Abbatis* 3-4, Migne*PG* 116, cc37-40.

[237] See e.g. †**Anast***Erot* 92 c725; **Anast***Hod* 14 c256; **Bas***EnArch* c472; **GNaz***Or42* 16 c476; **JChr***John* 7 cc65-66; †**JDam***Barl* 16 p134: also **Chrysokeph** c184c; **MelitenK***Ekpor* cc1185d-1188a; **Palam***Hom* 3 p14; **Plan***Peter* c1109d; **SymThes***Sym* 2 p83; **Kal***Acta* p302; **Kok***Acta* p542. Cf. Ducellier *Drame* p193; Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp144-145; *Idem Christus* pp63-65. According to **JKlim** 26 cc1065-1068, monks, particularly those who were educated were thought to be in danger at the start of their religious life from demons instructing them falsely.

poison so that the damage done might be greater.[238] The fact that pagan religion was apparently untroubled by such problems was seen as being a further proof that it was the religion of the Devil and that Christianity was the correct faith.[239]

Despite the subtlety and many variations of this attack, however, the church, through the protection of God and the correct teaching of the great fathers, was believed to have fought off the demons who had infiltrated their agents into its ranks and, although problems of this kind continued to occur from time to time,[240] was not thought to have been thrown from the true course it was following to God. The demonic powers, defeated by the death and resurrection of Christ, had failed once again in their bid to upset the newly emergent church which, storm tossed but undamaged, tested but proved, its massive edifice looming now immutable out of the mists of mythical history, reached forth into the real world and the real history of everyday men.[241] It brought with it the knowledge of the Devil's downfall, but also a warning that his artifices were endless and that his envy of those who could obtain what he had lost knew no bounds; the ordinary Christian, no less than the great exemplary figures of the past, while possessing the means for victory, had constantly to be on guard against the operation and attack of that Devil and his evil hosts.

Before turning to look at the way the demons were believed to operate in that real world, however, there remains to

---

[238] For the tares see **Bas***Hex* 5.5 c104; **Theoph***Matt* 13.24–30 c284; **Agal***Log* A′ p92; **Kaloth***AkBar* 23 p87; **KantT***Theoph* 13 pp197–198; **Mosch***Bek* p61; cf **Anon***BiosRom* 16 p137; **AkropK***JnEl* 12 p53; **Kal** *Apotom* p124. Cf. also Russell *Satan* p36.

[239] See †**Ath***AntArch* 43 c625; †**Anast***Erot* 118 cc769–772. Cf. below p127.

[240] For heresy, schism and religious dissent in the Palaeologan period being regarded as the work of the Devil see below pp121–122.

[241] Cf. **Bry***Log* 2 p427, "Whoever swim in the sea of this life and have wished to dash against this ship, have crushed themselves and have destroyed their own memory, for this has been established immutable and eternal; tyrants, emperors, crowds of soldiers, townsmen, peasants, orators, wise men, satraps, consuls, heretics, heathens, strangers, fellows, and above all, the demons, have collided furiously with it, but all have vanished like a spider's web; they have been crushed but have shown this not to have been touched".

be considered the mythical ending of history which was believed to lie at the time in the future when all that had been promised would be made absolute.

The ideas that appeared in the standard tradition concerning these final events were almost entirely dependent on those in the apocalyptic books and passages in the Bible where, among the many, Matthew 24, Mark 13, Luke 21, II Thessalonians 2, and Revelation of course, were of particular influence. The history of these eschatalogical ideas is a complex one and the beliefs themselves elaborate, but an examination of such matters lies beyond the scope of this study which is concerned here solely with the part the demonic powers were believed to be going to play and which thus describes their activity in this sphere as it is portrayed in the later tradition.

The starting point here must be with the figure of the Antichrist who, it was believed, would precede the end and would signal the start of the last days by his appearance. Using the name drawn from I John and combining it with the description of the "lawless one" (*ὁ ἄνομος*) in II Thessalonians 3, the later orthodox tradition generally held that he would not be the Devil himself made man, (as Christ had been God made man), but would rather be a man "born of fornication" who would work through the Devil's energy.[242] This man, then, would appear suddenly, surrounded in his progress by false prophets and heretics,[243] and performing signs and wonders through the

---

[242] *Ἀντίχριστος* appears in I John 2:18 (also *ἀντίχριστοι*), 22; 4:3; II John 7. *Ὁ ἄνομος* appears in I Thessalonians 3:8–9 and his coming is described in the last verse as *κατ' ἐνεργείαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ*: for the idea in the later tradition see e.g. **JDam***Orth* 3.26 p169; *ibid.*, 3.27; **Theoph***Matt* 27.18 c464; **Agal***Apol* p151 ll.2181–2184; **Harm***Tom* c871d; **Palam***Hom* 4 p20. See here in particular A. Theodorou, *Ἡ περὶ Ἀντιχρίστου ἰδέα*, Athens, 1970. In the early Christian tradition see Russell *Satan* pp87-88 and n23. For more general studies see e.g. R.K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, (Seattle: 1981); and W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, trans., A.H. Keane, (London: 1896). For a clear alternative tradition which identifies Satan and the Antichrist and which presents a detailed and somewhat different picture of the last events see **Anon***Diavol* pp52–53 and 54–55.

[243] For the connection to heretics see especially †**JChr***Pseud* cc555-556, 560, 563. Cf. also **GNaz***Or21* 21 p154; †AnastErot 20 c524. **Harm** *Tom* c871d, describes Palamas as the Antichrist because of his so-called heresy, and in the Palaeologan period the Antichrist was connected with

demons in order to delude men in a final attempt by the Devil to turn as many as possible from salvation and cause them to share in his own condemnation.[244]

Following the coming of the Antichrist it was believed that the whole order of the world would be changed and that the final judgement would begin when all would be tested according to the deeds done in their lives, the good going to God and the wicked to hell. That punishment also awaited the Devil and the demons at that time was confirmed by such passages in the New Testament as Matthew 8:29 where the demons ask Jesus if he has come to torment them before time (*πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς*),[245] and Matthew 25:41 where the eternal fire (*τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον*) prepared for them is mentioned;[246] the later tradition thus saw the Devil as being subject to the judgement.

The way in which punishment was believed to be inflicted also followed the Biblical ideas very closely, and thus hell, for the demonic powers, was pictured chiefly as a place of fire and darkness.[247] This is described, for example, by Saint

---

Mohammed and the Moslems, especially the Turks. Thus **Bry***Log* 2 pp103-104 describes Mehmed as the Antichrist before the Antichrist; cf. *ibid.*, 34 p238. Islam believed Christ would kill the Antichrist at the end of the world and then die himself; on this see **Kant***Mahom* III.7 c673d and **Trap***Pist* pp159-160 who argues that Satan was the Antichrist above all Antichrists and has already been killed by Christ's death on the cross, thus all that Christians and Moslems differ on, he maintains, is the timing. It may be noted that **Pall***Laus* 25 p80 describes a demon appearing in the guise of Christ as "the Antichrist"; cf. †**Anast***Erot* 2 c345.

[244] Deceit is connected with the Antichrist at II John 7, but the idea of the false signs and wonders and the false prophets owes most to the synoptic passages: so Matthew 24:24; Mark 13:22; and to II Thessalonians 9; cf. also Revelation 20:8. In the later tradition see †**Anast***Erot* 20 c524; †**Ath***AntArch* 125 c677; **JChr***John* 41 c236; **Theoph***Matt* 24.9, 23-25 cc409 and 412-413; **Theoph***Mark* 13.21-26 c640.

[245] Cf. Mark 1:24; Luke 8:31; John 12:31; 16:11.

[246] Cf. also Revelation 20:10 where the Devil is said to be thrown into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented day and night for ever and ever, (also vv14-15). In the *LXX* demons are associated with the fire of God's wrath in Isaiah 34:9-15 and Baruch 4:35.

[247] The idea of darkness was, as has been seen, commonly associated with the demons (above pp24-27), but it was also frequently used in the Bible to depict separation from the good and for hell. See e.g. Job 10:21, "a land of darkness and gloom; a land of eternal darkness where there is no light"; and, most importantly here perhaps, Matthew 8:12; 22:13; 25:30. In the later tradition see †**Anast***Erot* 21 c536; **Bas***Psalm* 28.6 c297;

Basil,[248]

> I think that the fire prepared as a punishment for the Devil and his angels is divided by the voice of the Lord in order that, since there are two capacities in fire, the burning and the illuminating, the fierce and punitive part of the fire may await those who deserve to burn, but its illuminating and radiant part may be set aside for the enjoyment of those who are rejoicing. Therefore the voice of the Lord divides the flame of the fire and allots it so that the fire of punishment is without light ...

It should perhaps be stressed here that Byzantine sources, even in the late period, show very few traces of the preoccupation which developed in the West with the part the demons played in punishing and tormenting sinners in Hell; this is thus one of the points of sharpest divergence between the traditions of eastern and western demonology. The Byzantines believed, of course, that sinners would be subject to punishment and that the demons would be connected to this in some way, but often their part was seen as confined simply to being present in hell and being punished at the same time as sinful men. Following Matthew 25 : 41 it was thus frequently stressed that the fire and punishment of Hades was prepared by God for the Devil and his demons in the first instance, but that men who had turned away from God by following the powers of evil had also made themselves liable to it, having become demonic in nature and having refused to repent of their sins.[249] Basil again issues a

---

Bas*Kathelo* 8 c277; **Doroth***Did* 12 p27; **Eph***DevtPar* 2 p27; **Isaac***Ask* 80 p305; **JDam***Her* c772; †**JDam***Barl* 14 p202: the inherited tradition is summed up by **Melet***Alpha gon'* pp574–575; see also here **Bry***Log* 2 pp205 and 224; **Bry***Keph* 32 p91; **GSin***Keph* 33 c1249a-b; **Liv***Theot* p393.38. *Ἅδης*, *Γεένα*, and *Τάρταρος* were generally used as synonyms for hell, though the former is most frequent.

[248] **Bas***Psalm* 28.6 c297. For other references to the fire prepared for them see e.g. **Ath***Ant* 24 c800; *ibid.*, 42 c905; **JDam***Orth* 2.4 p50; **ChoumN***Symb* p158; **Gregoras***Hist* XXIII 3 p1116; *ibid.*, XXIV I p1135 (on the controversy with Palamas as to whether this fire was created or uncreated); **Kant***Apol* II.21 c481c; **Palam***Hesych* 1.2.10 p420.

[249] For men receiving this fire along with the demons in the New Testament see Matthew 25 : 41; Mark 9 : 45,48; cf. Isaiah 66 : 24; and in the tradition see **Bas***KatOrg* cc368–369; **GNaz***Or40* 36 c412; **JChr***TheodLog* 8.45–68 pp118–119; **JChr***John* 18 c120; **JDam***Her* c722; **JDam***Orth* 3.27 p170; **Theoph***Matt* 25.41 c432; **Anon***Dialexis* p325; **ChoumN** *Symb* p174; *DigAk Gro* III.208–211 p56; **Ioakeim***Typ* 22 p64; **JRhak** *Stich*

stern warning,[250]

> Whenever you are about to rush headlong into some sin, think of that terrible and intolerable tribunal of Christ in which the Judge is seated on a high and sublime throne and all creation stands trembling before his glorious presence as we are about to be led forth, one by one, for an examination of the way we have lived. Then beside the one who has done many wicked deeds in life stand terrible and downcast angels, glancing fire from their eyes and breathing fire because of the bitterness of their choice, with faces like night because of their dejection and their hatred of men. Then there is the deep pit and the darkness from which there is no way out, and the fire without light ... then the poisonous and flesh devouring worms which eat greedily and are never satisfied, causing intolerable pains through their voracity; and lastly then, the severest punishment of all, that eternal reproach and shame.

Thus at the end of mythical history it was believed that the demonic powers would be removed at last from contact with good men and sent away to eternal punishment that they

---

pp115–116; **Kab***KataTok* c733d; **Kant***Hist* 4.15 III p100; **Melet***Alpha* μ′ p161; **Palam***Hom* 4 p23.

For men receiving punishment in general with the demons and for being with the demons as punishment in itself see I Timothy 3:6 and also †**Amph***Bas* pp190, 196; **Bas***Phthonou* 1 c372; †**Dion***Ep* 8.5 c1097; **Eph***Arete* 9 1 pp225–226; **Eph***Mak* B′.20 1 p295; **EuZig***Psalt* 8.3 c132; **Theoph***Matt* 5.25–26 c196: **Bry***Log* 2 pp381, 418, 425; **Bry***Keph* 28 p84; **Kant***Hist* 4.47 III p344.

[250] **Bas***Psalm* 33.8 c372a. For the Devil as accuser at Judgement see in the New Testament Revelation 12:10; cf. Job 1–2. In the tradition see above pp29–30 and nn111 & 113 there on ἀντικείμενος and ἀντίδικος; cf. also the named angel *Μελοῦχ* or *Ἐμελοῦχ* who will escort unrepentant sinners to the fire and darkness mentioned in **Anon***Diavol* pp51, 53 and n3 there. In the Slavic versions this angel is described as having a terrible and fiery countenance, *ibid.*, pp56 and 59. Mango *Byzantium* p152 mentions a tenth century description of heaven and hell which includes a fearful black giant who casts sinful souls into Tartarus, claiming them as his friends. For the absence of demonic accusers or *telonai* at the last Judgement see references cited in n54 p17 above; **Bry***Log* 2 p389 explains their presence in artistic representations of the Judgement as being due to the eagerness of the painters to emphasise the occasion and provide an exaggerated picture; cf. here Provatake *Diavolos* pp80–84, and *ibid.*, pp182–189 and 154–163 on depictions of dragons and snakes employed in the punishment of sinners.

For demons dragging souls down with them at this time see **Eph***Arete* 1 pp225–226: **Melet***Alpha* 6 p56; **Schol***DevtPar* p335. For descriptions of hell and various punishments of men and demons see †**Anast** *Erot* 21 c536; **Doroth***Did* 12 p127; **Eph***DevtPar* 11 p198; †**JDam***Barl* 14 p202; **Amir***JPal* p126. Cf. here MacDermot *Cult* pp168–171; C. de Boor, "Zur Vision des Taxaotes", *BZ* 5 (1896) pp306–310.

had earned for themselves by their evil. It was also believed, however, that they would lay claim at that time to all those whom they had tempted and who had failed to resist, seizing them as they appeared at the judgement and were condemned and dragging them down with them into their darkness and pain, to share forever in the terrible condemnation which they had brought on themselves by their own ancient choice.

4. Activity and Operation against Men

The previous sections have described the nature and activity of the demonic powers in mythical history as this appeared in the precedents and examples available to, and used by the standard orthodox tradition of the Palaeologan period. It now remains to look at the way in which this tradition saw the Devil and the demons as operating in the world of ordinary men, a world in which they were still thought to do all they could to turn man's free choice from the good, and thus, alienating him from God, deprive him of the second chance he had been offered by the intervention of Christ. In this section, then, are examined firstly the different methods the demonic powers were believed to employ, and the more common metaphors used to describe their operation, and secondly, the position these powers were believed to occupy in relation to God, and the means men were thought to have of countering them.

4.1 Methods of Operation a) Physical Assault, Metamorphosis, and the Use of Dreams and False Visions

One method of operation the late Byzantine standard tradition accepted was that the demonic powers could physically harm people. Of the different ways in which it saw this happening, the most basic was the idea that demons themselves could actually strike and hurt men; far more common, however, was the belief that such harm was inflicted by means of either real (but inspired or possessed) intermediaries, or by intermediaries who were merely visionary or hallucinatory. It was commonly believed too that physical harm could be caused by possession of victim rather than assailant.[251] As is generally the case, the tradition found a number of precedents in the Bible for these beliefs, one of the clearest cases being that of Job, where

[251] See below p93-95.

the destruction of his possessions, the death of his servants and children, and his own illness were attributed to the action of the Devil, both directly and by means of human intermediaries.[252]

The later tradition contains a number of examples of direct action by the demonic powers: Basil of Caesarea, for example, is said to have been pushed and spun round in a confrontation with the Devil,[253] Evagrios describes how one desert father was tossed into the air like a ball by the demons,[254] and the author of the long life of Lazaros Galesiotes tells of invisible demons dragging a crippled monk off his chair and out of his cell by his ankles in order to throw him over a cliff.[255] It is quite common to hear of the demons throwing stones at saints and holy men,[256] and on other occasions they are said to have beaten their victims unconscious and left them senseless,[257] or to have blinded and crippled them.[258] John Klimakos and Meletios Homologetes warn too that they may cause sleep, stomach pains,

---

[252] Note also, for example, in the New Testament the story of the sons of Scaeva (Acts 19), where physical harm is inflicted by a possessed man. As was mentioned above it was possible for Christ's passion to be viewed in this light as well as the death of John the Baptist and various other Jewish figures of the past.

[253] †**Amph***Bas* p196, Radermacher *Faust.*, pp144–145.

[254] **Evag***Log* 111 c1192.

[255] **Gmon***Laz* 166 p538e-f; cf. *ibid.*, 41 p522 where they make Lazaros fall from a tree, and 81 p534c where they spill his food and water to make him go hungry and thirsty and to burn his feet with it. See also **Anon***BiosAth* 6 p246 where demons are seen trying to throw the saint from his cave in a cliff.

[256] See e.g. †**Amph***Bas*, Radermacher *Faust.*, pp138–141: **Gmon** *Laz* 44 p523b, *ibid.*, 54 p526e, 58 p528, 174 p561a-c, and 236 p581e where they possibly try to roll a boulder onto some monks; **TheophP***Max* 9 pp77–78; *ibid.*, 19 p91. Cf. Joannou, *Démon.*, p17, and see below p210–211 nn645–647.

[257] **Ath***Ant* 8 c856; cf. *ibid.*, 9 c857, 40 c901; **Pall***Laus* 19 p61; *ibid.*, 38 p122, 71 p167: **Gmon***Laz* 44 p523b; *ibid.*, 174 p561a-c.

[258] **AkropK***Theod* 33 pp81f-82d; **Gmon***Laz* 174 p561a-c; *ibid.*, 218 p574f; **MetT***John* 15 p687b; cf. also **Anon***Evgen* 7 p146, where the author is given an actual pain in the neck by a demon. See Joannou *Démon.*, pp17 and 43; and also the cases cited by C. Bonner, "Demons of the Bath", *Studies Presented to F.Ll. Griffith* (London: 1932), pp204–206, which seem closely related to some of the stories in **Gmon***Laz* here. On demons and disease or illness in alternative traditions see below pp237–240.

Compare here the theory that this and similar concepts originated in the Christian tradition from the experiences of the early ascetics in the desert. MacDermot, *Cult* p79 thus argues that an ancient religion,

yawning fits, laughter and the like in order to prevent monks praying or singing psalms.[259]

Similar to the idea of them physically assaulting their victims was the belief that the demons could make noises around the person they were troubling in order to terrify or distract him from prayer or contemplation. This is common in Athanasios' *Life of Antony* when, for instance, the saint's visitors are said to have heard what sounded like riotous crowds making a noise, wailing and shrieking inside the deserted fort where Antony struggled alone with the demons who were complaining at his presence there. On other occasions they are said to have made a continuous noise to annoy him, hammering, hissing, and then wailing and crying when ignored.[260] Other authors refer to this method of attack too; Evagrios warns that a man who pays much attention to pure prayer will hear the inarticulate sounds (*ψόφους*), rattlings (*κτύπους*), voices (*φωνάς*), and other outrages of the demons,[261] and Gregory of Cyprus describes how,

such as Egypt's, provided a framework for the imagination of the community in which thoughts and feelings were bound up with physical experience so that the distinction between subjective and objective experience was blurred. Man was shielded from knowing himself as an individual and protected by ritual from seeing himself as distinct from his fellows and from nature. Thus, when separated from the group he remained at first confused between subjective and objective worlds although his imagination was no longer seen as controlled by the community. The demons were the manifestations of the uncontrolled imagination of the individual and so were associated with feelings of guilt and fear at having broken with the old religion. In communal ritual the individual was not in full conscious control of himself but was "possessed" by the communal deity; in this ritual anger and aggression were expressed but the individual was protected from the impact of these negative emotions. The ascetics, however, not only had to expose themselves to demonic attacks, but they had to direct their own aggression in such a way that they did not destroy themselves. This they tried to do by maintaining conscious control, as is seen in the ideal of constant wakefulness; if, however, the ascetic was not able to develop and maintain self-consciousness he became liable, literally, to destroy himself when possessed by the demonic aspect of his old deities. Cf. *ibid.*, pp68, 74, 76 and 89.

[259] **JKlim** 19 c937; and **Melet***Alpha* *ν΄* p205. Cf. also **JKlim** 13 c860 on the demon of *accidie* causing shivering, headache or colic, and then yawning during prayers.

[260] **Ath***Ant* 13 c864; *ibid.*, 39 cc900-901, 9 cc856-857, 26, c884, 36 cc896-897, 51 c917.

[261] **Evag***Log* 97 cc1188-1189; cf. **Melet***Alpha* *ψη΄* p336.

when Lazaros first began to live in a cave on Mount Galesion,[262]

> the demons were deafening him in it all the time with inarticulate shrieks and terrible, fierce screams, for ... they knew what sort of a destructive and hostile man had come to them, and they thus tried to frighten him.

The idea of the demons making noises finds its closest Biblical precedents in the exorcism stories of the Gospels, where they may be said to cry out on their departure or when confronted by Jesus; the later tradition thus also referred to their fleeing with cries and laments on several occasions when defeated by saints or driven from their temples, in addition to their hostile use of noise.[263] It may also be mentioned here that an evil smell is sometimes associated with the demons, perhaps due to their connection with sacrifices as well as with everything bad. Saint Antony is said, for example, to have smelt a foul stench on a ship despite the odours of salted meat and fish, and so found a stowaway possessed by a demon.[264]

The role of the demons in the persecution and martyrdom of Christians has already provided a general example of their use of real intermediaries to cause physical harm to men. In the later period many characteristics of this form of attack were

---

[262] **GCyp***Laz* 24 p597f. For other examples of hostile noise see e.g. †**Amph***Bas* pp194-195; **Diad***Keph* 37; **Pall***Laus* 16 p41; *ibid.*, 18 p50: also **Anon***BiosRom* 12 p131; **Anon***LibRhod* p232 ll.2944-2948; **Gmon***Laz* 50 p525c; *ibid.*, 154 p554d-e, 155 p555a; **Theoph**P*Max* 9 p77. Cf. here Joannou, *Démon.* pp16-17; and MacDermot *Cult* p80 who again uses such incidents in the lives of the early ascetics to suggest that such men in a trance state and without the controlling presence of the community wei directing their own aggression upon themselves: but cf. Langton *Essentia* p5.

[263] So e.g. Matthew 8:29; Mark 1:24, 26; 5:5,7; Luke 4:33; 8:2ℓ 9:39; Acts 8:7; cf. 16:18. In the later tradition see e.g. **Ath***Ant* 6 c933; †**Ath***AntArch* 14 c605; *ibid.*, 39 c621; **Eph***Pat* I p178; **EuZig***Psal* 9.7-8 c144; **Isaac***Ask* 43 p179; †**JDam***Barl* 11 pp162-164; *ibid.*, 33 p514 35 p534; **JKarp** 25 c1842; *ibid.*, 85 c1854. Cf. Mango *Byzantium* p161 Joannou *Démon.*, p14. Note that the making of unusual noises or continua shouting and swearing could be taken as symptoms of possession - see e.g the case of Katenitzina of Prousa cited in **Theok***Rel* 65 pp114-116. Fo the use of noise to *drive off* demons see Hopfner, *OZauber.*, pp104-105; cf J. Russell, "The Evil-Eye in Early Byzantine Society", *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) p543. On demonic speech in general see Hopfner pp103-104.

[264] **Ath***Ant* 63 c933. For other examples see **EuZig***Psalt* 7.3; **GNaz** *Carm60* l.3 c1403; **Pall***Laus* 23 p76; **GCyp***Marina* p229. Cf. here Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp105ff.

transferred to descriptions of their opposition to the Byzantine Empire viewed as Christ's kingdom on earth, since its human enemies, both from outside and within, were frequently believed to work under demonic influence. Although the demons were seen as having operated in this way even in the days of Konstantine,[265] writers of the Palaeologan period naturally tended to concentrate on contemporary problems; the Turkish advance was thus believed to be the work of the Devil,[266] and the various civil wars and rebellions[267] as well as the disputes involving the Patriarchate[268] were sometimes described in terms of the demons working through their human agents.

It was not only the state and its leaders that were thought to be harmed in this way, however, for the demons could also be seen to attack individuals through their fellow men; a monk, for example, might be inspired to sell his travelling companion into slavery,[269] young men might be used in a diabolical plot to rape and dishonour pious women,[270] or school children might throw stones and so cut the hands of an infant saint who was devoted to his studies, not out of spite alone, but at the Devil's behest.[271] Sometimes these assailants might be thought

---

[265] **AkropK***Konst* pp9, 15, 18–19, 22, where the Devil is seen as inspiring general envy against Konstantine, as causing illness, and as using Maximian and Licinius for his own ends. Among earlier writers who mention attack through real intermediaries are †**Anast***Erot* 63 c653d; **JDam** *Koim* 13 c740.

[266] See **Anon***EncJPal* p293; **Chrysol***Theot* 5 p350; *ibid.*, 15 p355 (Bayazeid); **Doukas***Hist* 33 p232 and 34 p238 (Mehmed); **SymThes***Dem2* 2.1 p42; *ibid.*, 10.3 p60; **SymThes***Sym* 3 p84 (particularly); *ibid.*, 4 p89 (all to do with Turkish attacks on Thessaloniki). In general cf. **Bry***Apist* p179.

[267] **Argyrop** p317 (general); **Athan***Ep* 103.4–6 (John Drimys); **Kant***Hist* 1.44 I p217; *ibid.*, 1.56 I p287, 3.24 II p150 (his various opponents); **Kyd***Thess* 5 c645; *ibid.*, 8 c648; **Palam***Hom* 1 p3 (both on the so-called "zealot" revolution in Thessaloniki).

[268] **Athan***Ep* 115.22–24; **Kaloth***Ath* 28 p489 ll.1182–1188; **Theok** *Ath* 26 pp69–70 (plots and opposition to Athanasios I); **Kaloth***Ath* 23 p482 ll.941–946 (Gregory of Cyprus). See also below on believed demonic involvement in contemporary heresy and its accusation, pp121–122.

[269] **GCyp***Laz* 6 p590c; cf. **Neil***Palam* c675c where the capture of Palamas by the Turks is seen as due to demonic inspiration.

[270] **Gmon***Laz* 56 p527c-d. The plot failed when the men fell asleep.

[271] **Kok***Germ* 3 p55. Cf. **Hyrtak***Anin* p438; **Theok***Ath* 16 p60

to be actually possessed, as with the case of a monk and a nun who attacked St. Euthymios of Madyta in a church.[272]

Instead of humans, it was believed that real animals could also be the vehicle of their operation in this way, and the demons were connected with various creatures in the Bible which supported this notion, most notably of course with the serpent in the story of the fall of man.[273] Athanasios of Alexandria, for example, describes the Devil as having surrounded Antony by nearly all the hyenas in the desert while he was praying at night,[274] and Gregory Palamas maintains that the Devil sent a real scorpion not to frighten but to wound or kill St. Demetrios in prison.[275]

Finally in this connection, it would seeem that demonic phantoms were sometimes believed to have been able to cause physical harm to men. Although this usually involved their being tricked into falling from cliffs or meeting with similar accidents[276] there are occasional stories of men being struck and seriously wounded by demonic apparitions. In the long life of Lazaros Galesiotes an unrepentant monk is knocked from a ladder by the apparition of an Ethiopian and a boy collecting water

---

where a man and a woman respectively are inspired to throw stones at saints. For other mentions of the Devil's use of human intermediaries in general see e.g. **GCyp***Marina* p237; **TheophNik***Ep* A´ c293b; and cf. **Kall***Acta* p303 for the female diviner Amarantina as inspired by the Devil to harm Christians.

[272] **GCyp***Evth* 11 pp405–406; *ibid.*, 12 pp407–408.

[273] See also Isaiah 13:21–22; 34:11–14 where the demons are connected with the strange σειρῆνες and ὀνοκένταυροι as well as hedgehogs (ἐχῖνοι); Matthew 8:31–32; Mark 5:12–13; Luke 8:32–33 where demons beg and are allowed by Christ to enter a herd of pigs; Revelation 16:13–15 where three spirits that emerge from the dragon's mouth are described as frogs; and Revelation 12:9 where the Devil is identified with the ancient serpent. Cf. also Luke 10:19 where the disciples are told by Jesus that they have authority to tread on snakes and scorpions and all the power of the enemy.

[274] **Ath***Ant* 52 cc917–920.

[275] **Palam***Hom* 49 p94; cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp439–440. **Theok** *Rel* 53 pp100–102, reports the case of a monk who swallowed a leech which stuck in his throat through the envy of Beliar; cf. in general here Joannou, *Démon.*, p18.

[276] **Gmon***Laz* 42 p522d-e; *ibid.*, 43 pp522f–523a, 132 p547e, 243 p583f. Cf. *PD* p157 l.341 and below p217. Also Joannou, *Démon.*, p18; Campbell *Honour* p237.

is beaten and nearly killed by the phantom of a man with an iron tipped staff.[277] There is the story too of Konstantine Akropolites' son-in-law who suffered a serious riding accident when his horse was tripped up by pigs, said to have been dragged beneath its hooves in the twilight by a demonic negro.[278]

The demons, as is obvious from these last stories, were believed by the standard tradition to be able to adopt and change form at will;[279] indeed, this metamorphic capacity was thought to have formed one of their major, and certainly one of their most colourful avenues of attack.

St. Paul warns of this power of the Devil and the depths of deceit into which it was capable of sinking in II Corinthians 11:14, where he claims that "Satan disguises himself as an angel of light" (*αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός*);[280] and the use of angelic form by the demonic powers to attack those they approached was among the more common types of transformation mentioned in the later tradition. Gregory Palamas in his life of St. Peter the Athonite describes the occasion of one such metamorphosis,[281]

> He who was estranged from the light and wretchedly changed to darkness, in order to inflict a similar censure on Peter, assumed the appearance of light and played an angel of light and went to the saint ... Coming, but not attempting to converse face to face since he was wary of [the saint's] critical glance, and standing outside the cave, he spoke through the door with a fair show of presumptuous words. Thus he greeted the

---

[277] **Gmon***Laz* 233 p580d; *ibid.*, 45 p523c.

[278] **AkropK***Theod* 36–39 pp83–84.

[279] In general on this ability cf. MacDermot *Cult* p76; in alternative tradition see below pp207.

[280] This probably refers to the belief expressed in the Books of Adam and Eve that the Devil approached Eve "wearing the form and brightness of an angel". In the Apocalypse of Moses he is also said to take angelic form. See Langton, *Essentials* p138 and 191; cf. *Idem Satan* pp20–21 and 34.

[281] **Palam***Peter* 31–34 cc1024a–1025c. For rather similar stories see e.g. **Pall***Laus* 25 pp79–80: **Gmon***Laz* 68 p530f. For more general mentions of this form of attack see †**Anast***Erot* 20 c524; **Doroth***Did* 9.4 c1724; **GNaz***Or24* 18.23–25 p80; **Isaac***Ask* 53 p214; **JKlim** 3 c672a-b; *ibid.*, 23 c968a; **Evag***Log* 95 c1188c; †**SymNT** p153: also **GCyp***Laz* 18 p595a; **Gmon***Laz* 47 p524a; **GSin***Keph* 123 c1288c. Cf. Joannou, *Démon.*, pp13, 43; Müller, *Teufel* p93.

> holy man, 'Bold and mighty Peter, are you wondering and asking yourself who it may be and whence he comes who gives you this greeting? ... I am an archgeneral of the glory of the Lord and I have come to you in order to show you the reward you have stored up in the heavens by the things at which you have laboured until today, and to teach you what you must do henceforward'.

At the conclusion of this story which reflects the prominence that the problem of the appearance of divine light to men was shortly to acquire in theological debate,[282] Peter, by his discernemnt and complete humility, defeats the Devil's subterfuge. Indeed the way in which a true angel of light might be distinguished from a false one forms the basis of a question answered by Gregory of Sinai:[283]

> Know that the activities of grace are clear, which the demon, even if he changes form, cannot represent; not meekness, not gentleness, not humility, not hatred of the world, not the cessation of pleasures and passions, which are the activities of grace, for his action is vanity and high-mindedness and fear and every evil. You are thus able to know if the light shining within you is from God or from Satan by its action. The lettuce is similar in appearance to the 'ox-tongue', and vinegar looks like wine, but the palate knows and tells the difference of each from their taste; thus too the soul, if it has discernment, knows from intellectual sensation the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the phantoms of Satan.

Another guise the demons were said to adopt quite frequently was that of a beautiful woman, especially where the object of their attention was a monk and a real woman was not readily available for them to use in his temptation.[284] Isaac of Syria[285] thus describes how the Devil,

---

[282] See e.g. **Palam***Hesych* 1.3.40 p197 (Mey); **Palam***Antirrhet* 7.8 (20) p476, and 7.9 (22) p477 for use of the idea of Satan as an angel of light in this context. On the origin of visions of light and whether they were thought to be holy or demonic see **Palam***Hesych* 3.3.2 p697 (Mey); **Palam***Ep* pp420–421; **Palam***Antirrhet* 1.7 (42) p69; *ibid.*, 7.12 (47) p496. Cf. the references from Gregory of Sinai in the following note and, in general here, Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp23 and 46–50.

[283] **GSin***Kath* c1345a; cf. *ibid.*, c1340; **GSin***Hesych* c1324; also **Diad***Keph* 36 p105.

[284] On their use of real women see below pp107–108.

[285] **Isaac***Ask* 54 p215. For other cases of demons appearing as women see e.g. **Ath***Ant* 5 c848; *ibid.*, 23 c877; **Hesychios** 1.43 cc1493-

> often contrived to lead real women to those who were near the world, being at a distance of a mile or two, or within a day's journey. To those whom he could not snare in this way, however, because they were too far from the world, he showed the beauty of women in fantasies, sometimes with the allurement of clothing and in seductive appearance, sometimes indecently showing them the form of a naked woman. Through these and the like he conquered some in actual deed, while others were deluded by the laxity of their thought so that, coming into the pit of despair and turning back to the world, their souls fell from the hope of heaven.

Other human shapes adopted by the demons could include Ethiopians or black men, regarded as their favourites,[286] but also monks,[287] soldiers,[288] and boys or old men.[289]

Apart from men and women, animals were again believed to be commonly portrayed by the demons. These could appear in large numbers to terrify a man as they did to St. Antony when he was alone in a tomb;[290]

1496; *ibid.*, 2.41 c1521; **Pall***Laus* 23 pp76–77 where the demon is said to have appeared to the desert father Pachon in the form of an Ethiopian girl he had known in his youth; **Max***Keph* 2.85 p136: also **Niphon***Max* 3 p45.25–30; **Gmon***Laz* 208 p572c. Cf. Joannou *Démon.*, pp13 and 42; Provatake *Diavolos* pp119–120; and in general Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp33–40 and 124–136.

[286] On their liking for black and use of it see above pp25–27. For examples see **Ath***Ant* 6 c849, (cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp85–88); **EuZig***Psalt* 71.9 c728; †**JDam***Barl* 37 p568: also **Akrop**K*Theod* 39 p84; **Choum**N *Theo* p208; **GCyp***Marina* pp230–231; **Gmon***Laz* 42 p522e; *ibid.*, 153 p553, 210 p573, 233 p580d. Cf. here Russell *Satan* p190; MacDermot *Cult* p75; Joannou *Démon.*, p13; Müller *Teufel* pp91, 94; Mango *Byzantium* pp152 and 163; Campbell *Honour* pp332–333; and for their depiction as black men in art see Provatake *Diavolos* pp52–112.

[287] So **Ath***Ant* 25 c881; *ibid.*, 40 c901: **Gmon***Laz* 132 p547d-e. For priests see **Pall***Laus* 38 pp121–122; **Gmon***Laz* 244 p584c. Cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp124–125.

[288] **Ath***Ant* 23 c877; *ibid.*, 39 c900; **Diad***Keph* 37 p106; †**JDam***Barl* 37 p568; **Pall***Laus* 16 pp41–42: **Gmon***Laz* 54 p526d; **Palam***Peter* 22 c1016b. Cf. Joannou *Démon.*, p13; Derrett *Gerasene* pp288–289; Provatake *Diavolos* pp123–124.

[289] Boys: **Ath***Ant* 6 c849; **Pall***Laus* 16 pp41–42. Old men: **Gmon** *Laz* 48 p524d; *ibid.*, 218 p574e-f, 243 p583e-f. Cf. Joannou *Démon.* p13; Ducellier *Diable* p201. For an example of their great duplicity here see the story in **Palam***Peter* 25–28 cc1017–1021 of the Devil coming in the guise of an old family servant.

[290] **Ath***Ant* 9 c857; *ibid.*, 23 c877, 39 c900; †**JDam***Barl* 37 p568. Compare here Origen *Contra Celsum* VI.33, which shows that the animals here represent the seven sins or vices.

> Just as if they were breaking down the four walls of the little chamber, the demons seemed to be bursting through them transformed into the appearance of animals and reptiles. The place was suddenly filled with the shapes of lions, bears, leopards, and bulls, of serpents, asps, scorpions, and wolves, and each moved in accordance with its proper form. The lion roared, wanting to spring, the bull seemed to gore him, the snake writhed without reaching him and the wolf was rushing straight at him ...

More often they were said to appear singly and, perhaps not surprisingly given the precedents, the commonest animal form adopted was that of a snake or dragon. This was usually of normal appearance, but sometimes authors could not resist providing more elaborate details, as Gregory of Cyprus does in his description of the serpent assailing St. Marina:[291]

> So [the Devil] showed her a serpent of astonishing size and appearance; the skin of its body was mottled and, strangely, on top of its head there was golden hair as there was in its beard, while that of its brows was silver. The eyes looked burning fires and the nostrils sent forth a flame of fire and smoke; it had white teeth but its tongue, whenever it came out, was red like blood. It hissed horribly, made unpleasant smells and disturbed the things there by the violence of its movements as it coiled about, writhing and turning quickly, now lying in a circle, now straight ...

Other animal forms mentioned as being used include lion, crow, tortoise, shark, dog, cow, and pole-cat.[292]

---

[291] **GCyp***Marina* p229, cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp225–227, and on this incident from the life of Marina in Byzantine art, particularly in frescoes from Cappadocia and Syria of the late thirteenth century, see J. Lafontaine-Desogne, "Un thème iconographique peu connu: Marina assomant Belzébuth", *B* 32 (1962), 251–259. Cf. also **Palam***Peter* 23 c1016c-d. For snakes in general see **Pall***Laus* 2 p18: **GCyp***Laz* 28 p599d-e (black); **Gmon***Laz* 59 p528; *ibid.*, 67 p530; and compare the dragon made by demonic magic in **Anon***KallChrys* ll.1263–1301. Cf. here Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp117–118. For scorpions see **AkropK***Dem* 15 pp174–175; **Gmon***Laz* 55 p526e. Cf. Joannou *Démon.*, p12; Provatake *Diavolos* pp237–240.

[292] Lion: **Evag***Log* 106 c1189. Crow: **Anon***Poul* p126 l.558; *ibid.*, p128 l.587; *PD* p161 ll.410–412; **Nik***On* p109, 164. Cf. **Anon***BiosAth* p246. Tortoise: **Pall***Laus* 2 p18. Shark: **Anon***BiosNiph* 6 p18. Dogs: **GCyp***Laz* 18 p595a-b (black); **Gmon***Laz* 27–28 pp517–518; *ibid.*, 153 p553 (both black). Cow: **Gmon***Laz* 73 p531. Pole-cat: **Gmon***Laz* 226 p577b-c. For demons being *like* animals see below p133f. Cf. here Delatte*Ex* pp118–119; Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp81–98; *Idem*, *Christus* pp36–42; Ducellier *Diable* p201; Müller *Teufel* pp93–95; and in modern Sarakatsan belief Campbell *Honour*

In addition to these forms the demons were sometimes thought to appear as monsters[293] or even as inanimate forces such as fire or a storm.[294] So varied was their repertoire, indeed, so changeable their appearance, that a number of authors drew on the classical model of Proteus to describe this capacity.

> All things, whatever he wishes, [the Devil] becomes from his deadly cunning, Proteus becoming different forms for the purpose of theft so that he may conquer any man by ambush or openly ...

says Gregory of Nazianzus,[295] and Gregory of Sinai even gives a detailed guide to the different forms adopted by demons of various passions in a sort of dream or vision key;[296]

> The demons of desire change themselves sometimes into pigs, sometimes into asses, sometimes horses mad for mares and burning in form, and sometimes (especially those of licentiousness) into Jews. The ones of anger sometimes become Gentiles, sometimes lions; the ones of fear Ishmaelites; the ones of licentiousness Idumaeans; the ones of intemperance and hard-drinking Agarenes. The ones of covetousness sometimes [turn] into wolves, sometimes panthers; those of wickedness into snakes sometimes or vipers, and sometimes also they change into foxes. The ones of shamelessness [become] dogs, those of *accidie* cats, and there are times when those of sexuality become snakes, or crows and jackdaws ...

Despite the multiplicity of their transformations, their adoption of such tactics was taken as being, in reality, a sign of their weakness. Athanasios thus has Antony argue[297] that,

---

p332. On ancient Egyptian and Hebrew belief see Langton *Essentials* pp3–4 and 7–8. By way of general comparison see here Rudwin *Devil* pp38–45.

[293] **Ath***Ant* 40 c901; *ibid.*, 53 c920: **Choum**N*Theo* p208; **Gmon***Laz* 155 p554. Cf below pp180.

[294] **Pall***Laus* 18 pp53–54; cf. **GCyp***Laz* 18 p595a; **Gmon***Laz* 67 p530d; **GSin***Keph* 72 c1260b; **Anon***LibRhod* p226 ll.2834, 2843–2844. Cf. **Delatte***Ex* p119; Joannou *Démon.*, p14; Müller *Teufel* p94.

[295] **GNaz***Carm83* ll.9–11 c1429; cf. **GCyp***Laz* 18 p595a (Egyptian Proteus); and **Palam***Peter* 31 c1021d (polymorphous Proteus, many headed Hydra).

[296] **GSin***Keph* 71 cc1257d–1260a. Cf. Bloomfield *Deadly* Appendix I pp245–249 on the association of animals and sins, particularly in mediaeval English literature.

[297] **Ath***Ant* 28 cc885–888;*ibid.*, 42; cf. **Isaac***Ask* 3 pp11–12; **GCyp** *Marina* p230; **Melet***Alpha* ψη´ p336.

> if it was within their power they would not come in a crowd, nor make fantasies, nor use the device of changing their forms, but it would be enough for one to come alone and do what he was able to do and what he wanted to. This is especially so because everyone who has the power does not attack with fantasies, nor terrify with crowds, but at once destroys as he wishes by his power. The demons, however, being powerless, play about as though on a stage, altering their forms and terrifying children by their illusions of crowds and by their appearances.

The understanding of such appearances lies, of course, in a marginal area between reality and vision or dream and it is often impossible to be sure which state the recipient was thought to have been in. It is, however, not important to try to establish a rigid distinction between these states, and indeed, it would be foreign to the tradition to do so. The power of the demons, being spirits and therefore capable of directly affecting the soul and the faculties of apprehension, was believed to extend right across these areas, so that demonic forces were seen to operate both through fantasies and suggestions in sleep as well as in waking vision and reality.[298] Since angels as well as demons were believed to be able to influence the course of dreams, it was thought to be important to have sufficient knowledge to allow the different types of dream to be distinguished from each other, just as it was necessary in the case of their apparitions. Several authors provide guide-lines for determining the origin of influence in dreams but one of the best illustrations is found in Diadochos of Photike's *Κεφάλαια Γνωστικά*,[299]

---

[298] On the classical background to the understanding of dream and vision and its relation to this aspect of demonic operation see Ninck *Wassers* pp58–70; also below pp196–199 on alternative traditions which see demons as *eidola*.

[299] **Diad***Keph* 37 p106. See also similarly **Ath***Ant* 35–37 cc893–897; †**Anast***Erot* 120 c772; **Isaac***Ask* 33 pp142–143; **JKlim** 3 cc669–672; **Gregoras***Ant* I.1.6.1 p151; cf. **Gregoras***Hist* XIV 10.5 p731; **Melet***Alpha ψη* p337. Cf. here Russell *Satan* p71 (Justin), and on discernment *ibid.*, pp175–176; also G. de Matons *Psellos* pp334–336; *idem*, "Démonologie, magie, divination, astrologie à Byzance", *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe section: Sciences historiques et philologiques* 107 (1974–75), p488; and MacDermot *Cult* pp81–82 who notes a close parallel in Iamblichus, *Περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Μυστηρίων* II.v. Note that not all dreams were attributed to God, angels and demons, for the connection between daily events or over-eating and dreams was also recognised; cf. S.M. Oberhelmann, "The

> The dreams which appear in the love of God to the soul are indications of how far a healthy soul is from error. [Such dreams] neither change themselves from one form to another nor terrify the senses nor laugh nor suddenly appear gloomy, but they approach the soul with all mildness, filling it with spiritual gladness ... The fantasies of the demons, however, are completely opposite, for they do not remain in the same shape nor do they show themselves in an undisturbed form for very long, for what they do not have from free will but only borrow for their error is not able to satisfy them for long. They also speak a great deal and threaten at length, often changing themselves into the likeness of soldiers, and then they also overwhelm the soul with shouting ...

Such discernment was thought to prevent a man being led into pride or some similar sin by the demons' tricks, and it was also thought to prevent him from imagining that he might have the grace of foreknowledge, since it was believed that the demons liked to pretend to give revelations during sleep although they were in fact incapable of doing so according to the standard tradition.[300]

4.2 Methods of Operation b) Possession

As has been seen above, people could be regarded as actually being possessed by demons if they attacked saints and other Christians, or even if they just expressed heretical views. While this was an important aspect of the belief of the standard orthodox tradition in possession, which is the next method of demonic operation to be considered, far more commonly the

Interpretation of Dream-Symbols in Byzantine Oneirocritic Literature", *Byzantinoslavica* XLVII (1986), p10.

[300] See e.g. **Isaac***Ask* 53 p214; **JKlim** 3 cc669d–672a: **Gmon***Laz* 48 p524c-d; **GSin***Keph* 131 c1296; **Melet***Alpha* ϱξ´ p365. Cf., however, **Gregoras***DeIns* used extensively in Part II below, and further on divination by dreams, demonic or otherwise, see below pp293–294 and n1027. MacDermot *Cult* pp94–95 notes that as Christianity developed, visionary experience was represented as being the reward for victory over the "Devil". The anomaly thus arose that, wheras the ascetics had striven to maintain wakefulness to demonstrate and practice their control, their lives depicted them as seeing dream-visions and hallucinatory apparitions in a manner similar to devotees of the pagan cults, except that the context was Christianised. Once again they were used for settling arguments, giving advice, telling the future and so on.

phenomenon was viewed in terms of the possessed men or women themselves, and it was to *their* behaviour that most attention was paid rather than to the effect they had on others.

In cases of possession (the usual verbs for which were δαιμονίζω, κατέχω and ἐνοικέω) it was believed that a person became the dwelling place of a demon or spirit which then affected the victim's physical or mental equilibrium.[301] As such, it could be used as an explanation for almost any type of behaviour that failed to agree with the socially accepted norms of a particular time and place. The range of effects that could be attributed to demon possession thus not only covered madness, epilepsy, and various physical conditions, but could also extend to such things as anger, drunkenness and unacceptable sexual behaviour.[302] Many of these aspects appear, of course, in the Biblical narratives where the whole concept of possession is given quite lengthy treatment and much detail is presented which was of considerable influence on the later tradition.

Perhaps the most obvious state which was attributed to demonic possession was madness of various kinds. This appears in the New Testament and particularly in the story of the Gerasene demoniac; this man is said to have lived among tombs and to have been so fierce that no one could pass by him, nor could he be bound for he broke any chains put on him and he cried out day and night, going into the wilderness and bruising himself with stones.[303] There are several other stories in the

---

[301] On the background to Biblical possession and exorcism and that exorcism itself see especially Böcher *Dämonen.*, passim; *idem Christus* passim. On the background in the Hellenistic world see MacDermot *Cult* pp67-68; also Langton *Essentials* pp151-155. On the phenomenon of possession in general see e.g. T.M. Oesterreich, *Possession Demoniacal and Other*, London 1930; and I.M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: an Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism*, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1971. On related techniques of demonic divination in this period see below pp293.

[302] For discussion of these aspects of possession see below on the passions, pp105-109 and pp113-115.

[303] The story appears in slightly different forms at Matthew 8:28-34; Mark 5:1-17; Luke 8:26-37. See here especially Derrett *Gerasene* and cf. Eitrem *Notes* pp70-72; also M.J. Geller, "Jesus' Theurgic Powers: Parallels in the Talmud and Incantation Bowls", *JJS* 28 (1977), pp141-146. For other cases of violent madness due to possession see Tobit 3:8 and Acts 19:14-16; cf. also Mark 1:23-26; Luke 4:33-37.

Bible in which possession and madness are equated, and Jesus himself is accused of being both mad and possessed.[304]

In the later tradition too, possession was often used as a synonym for madness, and an example of how seriously it was believed this kind of demonic operation could affect someone appears in the anonymous *Miracles of St. Evgenios*,[305] where a man who had sworn falsely on the saint,

> became possessed (δαιμονισθείς) and was handed over to Satan his accuser, howling for a whole week and eating his own flesh until he bit off with his teeth the tongue with which he had falsely sworn and spat it out, handing himself over to death.

Again, in Athanasios' *Βίος Ἀντωνίου*, a man was brought to the saint possessed (ἐνεργούμενος) by such a terrible demon that he did not know where he was and would even eat his own excrement; in addition, when he was commanded by Antony he sprang at him and shoved him. The saint, however, told the man's relatives not to be angry with him because it was the demon in him that had driven him mad (ἐμάνη) when it heard his orders.[306]

That demonic madness could be intermittent was also recognised,[307] and the idea of lunacy (σεληνιάζομαι) was explained as being a term used by ordinary men as a result of deliberate actions on the part of the possessing demons. These were said to leave their victims and return with the phases of the moon in order to delude people into thinking that this was the cause of the madness and so make them calumniate God's creation which was, in reality, wholly good to Christian eyes.[308]

---

[304] Jesus is accused specifically of both at John 10:20; *Δαιμόνιον ἔχει καὶ μαίνεται.* Cf. John 7:20 and 8:48-49, as well as the synoptic passages in which Jesus is said to work through the power of Beelzeboul or the Prince of Demons: see above p59 n210.

[305] **Anon***Evgen* 6 pp145–146.

[306] **Ath***Ant* 64 c953. See also **JChr***John* 12 c83; **JKlim** 23 c968; **Pall***Laus* 37 p115; †**SymNT** p152: also **Gregoras***Mich* p278; **Gmon***Lar* 47 p524a-c; *ibid.*, 219 p575a; **MetT***John* 11, 12 pp685–686; **Theok***Rel* 65 pp114–116. Cf. **Bry***Log* 2 p170 and **TheophP***Max* 15 p87.

[307] See **TBals***Kan* and **JZon***Kan* c197 (on *Apostolic Canon* 79); *idem* c1176 (on *Canon 17 of the Council of Ancyra*); **TBals***Kan* on **Tim***Kan* 3 pp332–333; *idem* on **NikGram** 4 p421.

[308] For such an explanation of lunacy, an idea which appears at

The closely related concept of epilepsy was also regarded as being a result of demonic possession and was perhaps the affliction most frequently attributed to it.[309] Gregory Palamas thus gives a vivid account of a possessed man seized with a fit when he approaches the body of St. Peter the Athonite;[310]

> Crying out, he was at once spun around and his whole body was shaken; he stretched out his hands spasmodically and moved his feet in the same way. Rolling his eyes horribly and inhumanly and gnashing his teeth against each other he emitted a peculiar noise and gave a great roar; then, breathing out heavily where it is impossible to breathe out, through the extraordinary movement of his organs and by the confusion of phlegms in the mixture of his brain, he blew out a great deal of foam from his mouth.

In one of his homilies Palamas also provides a detailed description of how possession of this kind was believed to affect the sufferer in the fourteenth century.[311]

> It is the brain that first suffers from being possessed, and more than the other parts of the body, for the demon uses the psychic spirit (ψυχικὸν πνεῦμα) in it as a vessel and from this, just as from some acropolis, oppresses the whole body. When the brain is thus affected a certain flux which is flatulent and phlegmatic is discharged into the nerves and muscles of the body,

---

Matthew 4:24 and 17:15, see **Theoph***Matt* 17.14–20 c332; **Palam** *Antirrhet* 1.8 (50) p73; cf. **Kok***Palam* p56.

[309] In the New Testament see Matthew 17:15–20; Mark 9:17–29; and Luke 9:38–42.

[310] **Palam***Peter* 41 c1032c-d. For epilepsy or apparent epilepsy due to possession elsewhere in the later tradition see e.g., †**Anast***Erot* 94 c731; **JKlim** 5 c776 (where some monks are said to receive the ἱερὰ νόσος so that their punishment in the after-life may be less); cf. *ibid.*, 23 c965: **AkropK***Evdok* 13 pp213–214; **Gmon***Laz* 73–74 pp531–532; **Niphon***Max* 5 p47; **Pach***Michael* I p32 (where Theodore II Laskaris blames his epilepsy on demonic possession caused by sorcery, see below p247). Cf. Delatte*Ex* pp134–135.

[311] **Palam***Hom* 12 p64. **Gregoras***DeIns* cc595–596, closely following Synesios, gives a rather similar account, saying that the imaginative spirit (τὸ φανταστικὸν πνεῦμα) was created by the demiurge sufficient to fill the cavities of the brain, but if it grows thick and contracts or condenses it occupies a smaller proportion of these cavities which are in consequence left empty. Since nature abhors a vacuum, it follows necessarily that an evil spirit will enter into these spaces and as a result the creature's imaginative faculty will be affected. A less orthodox variant in the *PD* is considered, with other aspects of possession, in Part II below pp216–217. For a rational explanation of epilepsy not involving possession see **Pach***Michael* I p32.

> blocking up [illegible] its of the psychic spirit. A violent motion and [illegible] ing, an involuntary movement then occurs in all the parts normally moved at will, and especially in the jaws since they are particularly near the part that was first affected. Much liquid is drawn down into the mouth too, through the capacity of the channels and the closeness to the brain, and since the victims cannot exhale all their breath due to the irregular movements of the organs, this also gets mixed up with the quantity of liquid and they start to foam.... [Afterwards the victim is left wasted] for just as mists may be caused by the heat of the sun's rays when they become stronger, and [afterwards] are made to vanish again completely by it, thus also the liquid which has been caused to appear internally by the assault of the demon, if this becomes more vehement, is expended after a little and the innate moisture of the flesh is dried up by the demon.

As was apparent in the passage from Athanasios which was mentioned above, the attitude regarded as correct towards a possessed man or woman in this tradition was usually thought to be one of pity rather than of condemnation, because of the outside influence at work, and demoniacs were often compared favourably with sinners.[312] Theodore Balsamon even mentions unscrupulous individuals pretending to be possessed because of the advantages in terms of alms and clientele for their divinatory practices that could be gained by such behaviour,[313] and the charlatan who appraoched Lazaros Galesiotes provides an example of how such a man might operate, using his supposed affliction, together with a certain amount of coercion, to obtain valuables from people in collusion with a local priest or monk.[314]

Cases of illness and injury believed to have been caused by the demons' direct or indirect attack have already been mentioned, and there was also a line of thought in the standard tra-

---

[312] For pity see also e.g. **BasMeth** 4 c452 which contains a similar comparison; for that see **MeltenTDial** 5 cc913 921; *ibid.*, 8.20 c968; and **PalamHom** 50 pp100 102. Note that for someone to dream he was possessed was regarded as being a very favourable sign, portending victo[illegible] advan[illegible] the like, *διὰ τὸν ἔλεον τὸν εἰς τοὺς δαιμ*[illegible] 6.

[313] **TBalsKan** and **JZonKan** cc716 717 (commentary on Canon 60 of [illegible] *Trullo*"); cf. P. Magdalino, "The B[illegible] th[illegible] tury", in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S[illegible] 1981, especially pp59 60

[314] **GmonLas** 12 pp512f 513b

dition which could attribute various sicknesses and diseases to demonic possession, although this was by no means an exclusive explanation of such misfortune.[315] This belief found Biblical precedents in such stories as those of the deaf and dumb demoniacs in the Gospels and the case of the crippled woman, described by Jesus as having been bound by Satan (*ἣν ἔδησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς*) for eighteen years, where illness is specifically linked to possession by demonic powers.[316] There are consequently a number of similar passages in the later tradition,[317] as well as passages which closely parallel illness and possession.[318] A good illustration of the belief appears in a poem by Gregory of

---

[315] For alternative explanations of illness see e.g. †**Anast***Erot* 94 cc732–733, who suggests that it may be caused by such things as birth, the atmosphere, an unsettled way of life, getting wet, and over-eating and drinking. **Kok***Synk* p72 also speaks of "diseases of nature" which are caused by poor quality of matter or disordering of elements. **Theok***Rel* 56 pp104–106 speaks of a man stricken with a disease which made him deaf and dumb and as though dead, caused "either as the result of a demonic attack or else because disease brought it on through the rising of evil and pestilential humours to the brain which doctors say is caused by black bile". Compare too the passage from Pachymeres cited in n311 above, and note the comments by the doctors at the trial of Demetrios Chloros, **Kok***Acta* p541, who maintain that their medicine has nothing to do with demons, as indeed, genuine medical texts from the time show, if not the particular work under discussion there. Note that Plotinus argues strongly against the idea that demons cause disease, *Εννεάδες* 2.9.14. On the blurred borderline between medicine and magic in Byzantine thought see e.g., J. Scarborough, "Symposium on Byzantine Medicine: Introduction", *DOP* 38 (1984), ppix-x; V. Nutton, "From Galen to Alexander, Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity", *DOP* 38 (1984), pp8–9; J. Duffy, "Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: Aspects of Teaching and Practice", *DOP* 38 (1984), p26; and Vikan *Art* p86 and n137. Cf. here Joannou, *Démon.*, pp27-29; Ducellier *Diable* pp199–200. Another line that could be taken was to blame disease on sin, so e.g. **Palam***Hom* 31 pp176–177. For consideration of demons and disease in the alternative traditions see below pp217–218, 237–240 and 245–247.

[316] So Matthew 9 : 32–33; 12 : 22; Mark 9 : 17; Luke 11 : 14. The story of the crippled woman is at Luke 13 : 10–17; cf. the commentary on this by **Kok***Synk* pp72–75. Parallels between healing and exorcism appear at e.g. Matthew 8 : 16; 10 : 1; Mark 1 : 32–34; 6 : 13; Luke 6 : 17–18; 7 : 21; 9 : 1; Acts 8 : 7; 19 : 12; cf. Eitrem *Notes* pp35, 38–40; and in general Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp152–156; *idem Christus* pp70–74.

[317] See e.g. **Pall***Laus* 36 pp107–108; *ibid.*, 44 pp131–132: **Anon** *BiosRom* 15 p135; **Akrop**K*Evdok* 10 pp211–212; **GCyp***Evth* 11 pp405–406; cf. also **Gmon***Laz* 37 p520; **Delatte***Ex* f4v.

[318] So e.g. **Ath***Ant* 62 c932; **EuZig***Psalt* 46.3 c513; **GNas***Or2* 24.15 p122; **JChr***John* 12 c83; †**JChr***Pnev* 6 c821; †**JDam***Barl* 35 p536: **Anon***BiosRom* 24 p145; **Palam***Ep* p434.

Nazianzus *Κατὰ τοῦ Πονηροῦ εἰς τὸν νόσον*, lamenting his illness and old age.[319] In this he attributes his affliction to the work of the Devil,

> You, crafty one, have rushed upon strong flesh and have plucked me apart from head to foot, dissolving the bonds of the streams with which God moistened the dry nature as he regulated warmth with cold in his wisdom in the creation of the world, so that he might keep the perfect equilibrium of the body and I might escape imbalance in life. You have come into me with murderous designs, wretch; you have poured out the whole poison of your murky evil. It was not enough for me to bear the groaning pains of old age and the distress of the Trinakrion crags, but also the powerful eating of sickness has split me apart, a wasting away of the limbs from year to year.

It should be mentioned here that despite the considerable elaboration of the concept no really consistent reason was provided by the standard orthodox tradition for possession; in general it attributed this simply to the envy and malice of the demonic powers, but at times it could be the victims' lax or immoral behaviour which was thought to attract the demons who then punished them in this way.[320]

4.3 Methods of Operation c) The Passions

Another major method of demonic attack, somewhat similar to possession in that it involved the intérnal manipulation of men, was believed to have been the prompting, arousal, or utilisation of the passions. The concept inherent in the word *πάθος* or *πάθη*, owes much to classical and particularly Stoic philosophy in its history,[321] but in the orthodox tradition it was

---

[319] **GNaz***Carm50* ll.115–116 cc1385–1386, and passim.

[320] For possession caused by lax behaviour or punishing it, a belief which is obviously at odds with the idea that demoniacs should be pitied, see e.g. †**Anast***Erot* 63 cc653–654; *ibid.*, 94 cc732–733; **TBals***Kan* on **Tim***Kan* 2 p332; **Eph***TelMon* II pp415–416; **Isaac***Ask* 36 p159; †**JChr** *Porn* cc531–532; **JZon***Kan* c197 (on *Apostolic Canon* 79): **Kok***Synk* p72; cf. **Palam***Hom* 31 pp176–177. Cf. here G. de Matons *Psellos*, pp338ff; *idem*, "Démonologie, magie, divination, astrologie à Byzance", *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe section: Sciences historiques et philologiques* 107 (1974–75), pp488–490.

[321] Aristotle, for example, (*Nik.Eth.* II.4 1105b), reduces the various

generally limited to the meaning of "emotion".[322] This almost always had unfavourable connotations,[323] and by the late Byzantine period it seems sometimes to have been little more than a synonym for sin. The concept was particularly important here since it was the ideal of the orthodox ascetic to master and exclude these passions in order to reach the state of ἀπάθεια necessary for the true contemplation of God,[324] for this was be-

---

phenomena occurring in the "orectic soul" to three types - πάθη, δυνάμεις and ἕξεις - and explains πάθη, which is here restricted to the meaning of emotions, as "ἐπιθυμίαν, ὀργήν, φόβον, θράσος, φθόνον, χαράν, φιλίαν, μῖσος, πόθον, ζῆλον, ἔλεον, ὅλως οἷς ἕπεται ἡδονὴ ἢ λύπη". Stoic doctrine thought of the passions as excessive impulses which were irrational and immaterial and hence to be avoided or destroyed; most prominent were ἡδονή, λύπη, ἐπιθυμία, and φόβος, but also to be noted here are the four κακίαι of ἀφροσύνη, δειλία, ἀκολασία and ἀδικία. In the New Testament the word appears on only three occasions, Romans 1:26; Colossians 3:5; and I Thessalonians 4:5, all of which have erotic connotations, but in IV Maccabees in the *LXX* it is used many times for emotions regarded as bad impulses. See here Kittel *Wörterbuch* pp926-929. For the concept in Stoic philosophy see e.g. A.C. Lloyd, "Emotion and Decision in Stoic Psychology", and J.M. Rist, "The Stoic Concept of Detachment", both in J.M. Rist, ed., *The Stoics* (University of California: 1978); also A.H. Armstrong and R.A. Markus, *Christian Faith and Philosophy* (London: 1960), pp100-101. For the passage from Aristotle see H.H. Joachim, *Aristotle, the Nicomachean Ethics* (Oxford: 1958), p82. Cf. here too **JDam***Orth* 2.22 and **Max***Keph* 2.16.

[322] Apart, that is, from its application to the events of Jesus' death.

[323] For a conception of the passions as not necessarily bad, however, see e.g. **JDam***Orth* 3.20, "We confess that [Christ] assumed all the natural and innocent passions of man ... [that is to say] those which are not within our power but which have entered into the life of man owing to our condemnation by reason of the transgression. [These passions were] such [ones] as hunger, thirst, weariness, labour, the tears, the shrinking from death, the fear, the agony with the bloody sweat, the succour at the hands of angels because of the weakness of nature, and other suchlike passions which belong to every man". Compare too some ideas concerning the passions of anger and hatred discussed below, p114-115.

[324] The idea of ἀπάθεια again owes much to previous philosophy and in particular Stoicism, where the ideal of the sage was to reach a condition of perfectly and rationally controlled emotion. It is also indebted to the philosophy of Plotinus, however, for whom it involves the rather different notion of controlling the lower self and so releasing the true rational self from distractions and illusions originating there. See further J.M. Rist, "The Stoic Concept of Detachment" (op.cit. n321); and A.H. Armstrong, "Plotinus", *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Mediaeval Philosophy* (Cambridge: 1967), p229. In the tradition here see e.g. **Diad***Keph* 98 p160; **JKarp** 67 c1851a; **JKlim** 29 c1148: **NikMon***Neps* c946; **Palam***Hom* 33 p188; and especially **Palam***Hesych* II.2.19-23, where it is stressed that impassibility does not consist in the *mortification* of the passionate part

lieved to have been the state of Adam before the fall,[325] to which it was the ideal of Christians to return, and that of Christ, which it was their aim to imitate.

The description of these passions and attempts to link them to each other in sequences of cause and effect apparently became a subject of great interest to writers of the standard tradition;[326] the handful of passions commonly dealt with by classical philosophers became expanded in some places into huge lists or hierarchies which could number seventy or more different types. Most commonly, perhaps, this development took the form of a fusion with the concept of the seven spirits of wickedness,[327] or the seven or eight deadly sins, usually listed as gluttony (γαστριμαργία), lust (πορνεία), covetousness (φιλαργυρία), anger (ὀργή), depression (λύπη), indolence or *accidie* (ἀκηδία), vainglory (κενοδοξία), and pride (ὑπερηφανία), (see Table I).[328] Other lists were strongly influenced by passages

of the soul but rather in the *redirection* (μετάθεσις) of this from evil to good. On Palamas' position in this context see further Meyendorff *Palamas* pp237-238. Cf. also Ducellier *Drame* p204; Russell *Satan* p185.

[325] See above p47 and n171.

[326] For such sequences or concatenations see especially John Klimakos who, while denying that any complete system is possible because such passions have no order or reason (τάξιν ἢ σύνθεσιν) but every disorder and confusion (ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀκαταστασίαν), **JKlim** 26 c1012d, nevertheless gives many examples of possible aetiologies for various passions, usually in terms of family relationships such as mother, son or daughter. See in particular those of θυμὸς (8 cc833d-836a), γαστριμαργία (14 c896d), ὑπερηφανία and κενοδοξία (23 c969c-d), and those given in 26 cc1021d-1024b; cf. **Ath***Ant* 6 c849b-c; **Diad***Keph* 81 p139. It may be noted here that some of the language used, especially relating to the "punishment" given them in order to extract their "confessions" is remarkably similar to that in the questioning of various spirits in the *Testament of Solomon*, see below p212 n650. For a more detailed discussion of the concept of the passions in Klimakos see D. Bogdanović, *Jean Climaque dans la literature byzantine et la literature serbe ancienne*, Belgrade 1968, Ch. III.2. For such sequences elsewhere see e.g. **Mark***Nik* cc1048d-1049a who mentions that all others grow strong on the basis of ἄγνοια, λήθη and ῥαθυμία (cf. **GSin***Keph* 135 c1297c-d); **Melet***Alpha* μδ΄ p175, whose major lists depend on ἡδονή, φιλαυτία, (ἀποτυχία) and ἡδονὴ καὶ ὀδύνη: compare also *ibid.*, ις΄ p95, and λθ΄ p156 which have two short but complete progressive sequences. Cf. Wenzel *Sins* p4.

[327] See above p20.

[328] On the history and origin of the concept of the seven or eight sins, see Bloomfield *Cardinal* passim, and *idem Deadly* particularly pp1-77. He argues that certain Egyptian Christian ascetics of the fourth century or

detailing sins and sinners in the New Testament at Matthew 15 : 19, Galatians 5 : 19-21, and I Corinthians 6 : 9-10, (see Table II).[329] The three temptations of Christ were of influence on oth-

earlier took over from heretical and pagan religions a list of seven or eight sins considered to be the chief ones; these were also linked with the concept of the "soul-journey" or "soul-drama" in passing the astrological demonic powers after death. Cf. above pp15–18 and here *CorpHerm* 13 7.203 which lists twelve irrational punishments (ἀλόγων τιμωριῶν) of matter, ἄγνοια, λύπη, ἀκρασία, ἐπιθυμία, ἀδικία, πλεονεξία, ἀπάτη, φθόνος, δόλος, ὀργή, προπέτεια, κακία and says there are also many under them. Other areas of thought may well have been of influence in addition to those singled out by Bloomfield, however; see I. Hausherr, "L'origine de la théorie orientale des huit péches capitaux", *OC* 30 no86 (1933), pp164–175. In general see also Wenzel *Sins* passim, and Russell *Satan* pp183–184 n67. As Bloomfield himself notes there is a significant list in the *Testament of Reuben* II (R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, Oxford 1913, II pp282ff), which comprises πορνεία, γαστριμαργία, μάχη, κενοδοξία, ὑπερηφανία, ψεῦδος, ἀδικία; on this passage see Bloomfield *Deadly* pp44–45; Kelly *Baptism* pp46–47; Langton *Essentials* p112; Gokey *Terminology* pp17–19; and cf. the *Testament of Solomon* below p222. Once the concept had become part of Christian thought the seven wicked spirits of Matthew and Luke must have been important here. On the number seven in this tradition and its background see Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp109–112; *idem, Christus* pp49–51.

Commentators are agreed that the list of sins first appears in the work of Evagrios of Pontus "as a single concept with an ancient and complex background" (Bloomfield). In the tradition here, then, see **Evag***Pnev* 1145–1164, (cf. *idem* Περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ λογισμῶν Migne*PG* 40 cc1271–1273); and **Evag***Log* 50 c1177: cf. Bloomfield *Deadly* pp59–60. Also **GSin***Keph* 91 c1268, who singles out gluttony, avarice and vainglory as being the προστάται τῶν παθῶν and says the rest follow them (cf. **JKlim** 27 c1109 who says five of the eight assail solitaries, three those in obedience); and **Bry***Triad* 15 1 pp290–291. It is implied again by **JKlim** 26 cc1021–1024b; cf. *ibid.*, 26 c1072d for a similar list which includes ὕπνου and πολυλογία instead of λύπη and ὑπερηφανία. **Hesychios** 2.75 c1536d mentions the eight principal thoughts of wickedness in which every thought is encompassed and from which all have their birth.

A list of *seven* is apparently known by **Theoph***Matt* 12.42–45 c276b; **Theoph***Mark* 16.9–13 c680; **Theoph***Luke* 8.2 c797, and is clearly described by **Schol***Hamart* pp282–283; and **Schol***Zet* p308 which also includes a list of the "twelve degrees" of pride. The lists of Evagrios, Gregory of Sinai, Bryennios and the two of Scholarios appear in Table I at the end of this book.

Compare here also lists in †**Anast***Erot* 1 c356a (quoting Gregory of Nyssa), of the seven characteristics of the Evil One; **Bas***AitKak* 3 c333a, of the eight passions which overtook man at the fall – the first four of these are apparently the Stoic *kakiai* see above n321; **Eph***Gloss* c288b-c, of nine attacks of the Devil; **Melet***Alpha* λθ′ of seven passions possessing men and destroying the soul; *ibid.*, ρξ′ p520, of the seven passions of the soul listed from the seventy mentioned; and **Anon***Dialexis* p325 of seven great sins which cast a man into punishment.

[329] To be compared here particularly are lists which appear in **Eph**

ers,[330] while yet another approach, which seems to have enjoyed some popularity in the fourteenth century, divided the passions in relation both to the body and to the three parts of the soul they were believed to affect, (see Table III).[331]

The precise way in which the passions were understood to function or to be used against men can be a somewhat complicated subject. In essence, however, there can be no doubt that there was a general consensus within the orthodox tradition that the demons made use of passions already within the souls of men to cause wicked thoughts which, in turn, led to sinful actions. This basic position is clearly illustrated by Maximos Homologetes,[332]

DevtPar pp195–196 of the works of Satan renounced at baptism, (to which, with its rather similar tailing off from sins and passions to magic operations, cf. the list of things which are asked to be driven from the souls of candidates for Baptism in the fifth century Antiochene *Testamentum domini nostri Jesu Christi*, quoted by Kelly *Baptism* pp140-141); in Gabriel *Hom* 1 pp142–143 of the unclean works that are the corruption bearing devices of Satan; and in **Melet***Alpha* ϱξ΄ of seven of the supposed seventy passions of the body. Meletios leaves the other 63 to the imagaination, but compare his long list of passions *ibid.*, μδ΄ p175. The list in Gabriel is clearly dependent on Ephraem's but omits the additional divinatory methods. For the lists in the New Testament passages and those cited here see Table II.

[330] See above p58 and n206. Cf. the list of the eight sins in **GSin** *Keph* 91 c1268, where the main leaders of the passions are gluttony, avarice and vainglory.

[331] The idea of the tripartite soul goes back to Plato (*Rep.* III 440e-441a), (cf. Aristotle *de Anima* III.9 432a), who distinguishes between the λογιστικὸν (reasonable or calculative), the ἐπιθυμητικὸν (desiderative or concupiscent), and the θυμοειδὲς/θυμικὸν (irascible or indignant). The concept continued to be used and adapted in the Christian tradition; see e.g. Clement of Alexandria *Παιδαγωγός*, III, 1.2 p12. In the tradition here see **Max***Keph* 1.67 p74; *ibid.*, 2.12 p94; cf. †**Anast***Erot* 8 c400c-d; and the brief commentary by Louth *Envy*, p458. In the Palaeologan period this division, in relation to the passions, appears in detail in the writings of Gregory of Sinai, especially **GSin***Keph* 77–79 cc1260d–1261b; *ibid.*, 63 c1256d, 71 c1260a; cf. 122 c1285c-d; and in a speech attributed to the saint in **Anon***BiosRom* 16 pp135–137 – for Gregory's division of the passions in this way see Table III. The distinction between passions of the body and soul, numbered at seventy each, also appears, as has been mentioned, in **Melet***Alpha* ϱξ΄ p520; cf. **Diad***Keph* 81 p139. Cf. here Wenzel *Sins* pp5-6 who deals with similar developments in Western Scholasticism and points to John Cassian as the link between early Christian ideas and the West

[332] **Max***Keph* 2.31 p106; cf. *ibid.*, 2.33 p108, 2.69 p126; †**Anast***Erot* 8 c400c-d. See also here **Bas***Let* 48 c764b; **Diad***Keph* 96 p158; *ibid.*, 89 p139; **Hesychios** 1.2 c1481b-c; *ibid.*, 2.75 c1536d; **Anon***BiosRom* 16 pp135–136; **Bry***Triad* 15 pp290–291; **Kant***Apol* IV.12 c564b; **GSin***Keph*

> From the passions embedded in our souls the demons seize the opportunity of stirring up in us impassioned thoughts. Then, warring upon the mind through them, they force it on to consent to sin. When the mind is overcome, they lead it on to a sin of thought; and when this is completed, they finally carry it prisoner to the deed. After that, those who have made the soul desolate through the thoughts withdraw, together with them, and there remains alone in the soul the idol of sin ...

The introduction of other elements into this causal sequence, however, such as sensation, memory, imagination, or natural disposition, and the recognition that in some way these, as well as thoughts, had to precede passion as well as being consequent to it, provided the basis for a variety of alterations, disruptions and reversals, with demonic influence being possible at almost any point in the sequence. Gregory of Sinai, who devotes a number of his *Chapters* to this problem, can thus maintain that the demons cause temptation, leading in turn to inclination, to wilful habit, decline, abuse, and finally the passions.[333] He also says that thoughts derive from fantasies, fantasies from passions, and passions from the demons,[334]

---

71 c1257c-1260a. For less detailed references cf. †**Anast***Erot* 32 c569b; **Doroth***Did* 9 c1713c-d; **Evag***Log* 46 c1176; *ibid.*, 50 c1177; **GNaz***Or27* p86; **JKarp** 6 c1839; *ibid.*, 16 c1841: **Kaloth***Ath* 9 p463; **Melet***Alpha* $o\beta'$ p263. In general here see Russell *Satan* pp181–182.

333 **GSin***Keph* 75 c1260c

334 *Ibid.*, 70 c1257c; cf. 62 c1256c-d, 67 c1257a, 74 c1260b-c. In the same work Gregory discusses in detail the relationship of the different types of thought to each other and the role of demonic interference in the thought process, *ibid.*, 68–69 c1257b. For general variants on this theme, several of which stress the demons' use of memory in arousing the passions, see e.g. **Diad***Keph* 81 p139; **Doroth***Did* 13 p146; **Eph***Proseche* p247; **Eph***Arete* I pp228–229; **EuZig***Psalt* 3.7 cc89–92 (cf. **Melet***Alpha* $\psi\xi'$ pp332–333): *ibid.*, 90.3 c937c-d; **Hesychios** 2.41 c1521; **Isaac***Ask* pp143–144; **JKlim** 4.21 c688c; **Mark***Dik* 140 c952c; **Max***Keph* 2.74 p128: also **Bry***Triad* 15 p290; *ibid.*, 2 p32; **GSin***Keph* 124–125 cc1288–1289; **Melet***Alpha* $\mu\beta'$ p169; *ibid.*, $\lambda\theta'$ p156; **Palam***Hom* 16 pp92–93; *ibid.*, 23 pp133–134, 50 p107; **Kok***Germ* 15 p113. It should be noted that in several of these references mention is made of the passions being moved or aroused by something other than the demons; it is generally true, however, that such things may also be seen elsewhere as being demonic or capable of being influenced by the demons.

For demons in charge of the passions see **Bas***EpDiod* 3 c625c (school of demons invented the passions); **JDam***Orth* 2.4 p49 (all passions are the work of demons); **Palam***Hom* 14 p57 (demiurges); *ibid.*, 16 p92 (the Devil is the *archegos* of passions). For individual demons equated with

> as a series and order among the disordered spirits, each being subtly dependent on the next. None then, operates by itself, for each is rather operated by the demons; and no fantasy is imagined, no passion operates without secret and concealed demonic power, for even if Satan fell and was crushed he still has enough strength from our idleness for boasting over us.

At times striking metaphors could be used to illustrate the action and manipulation of the passions. Gregory of Sinai describes those receiving grace as conceiving and becoming pregnant with the spirit but then as suffering an abortion of grace by joining themselves to the Devil and accepting the action of the passions, becoming completely sterile through the practice of sins.[335] Ephraem of Syria resorts to an agricultural metaphor;[336]

> If you are lazy brethren, you provide a cause for your ruin. If a snake should become accustomed [to being] in you its children multiply and it makes many nests. It occupies your land and this, being filled as a result with holes, cannot be sown or, when it is sown, the good seed is wasted because [your laziness] makes it fall to the snakes. Unless you quickly destroy the passion observed in you it forms a spreading ulcer there; unless you heal the tiny septic place it divides into thousands and destroys all your substance. Where you block up one nest the snake, which we say is the passion, makes another opening elsewhere; when you shut up one entrance, it opens many exits and for this reason you are not able to master the passions when they have been festering for a long time ...

Elsewhere storm and sea-monster images are used, or the passions may be likened to dogs lurking around slaughter houses and gradually becoming wild;[337] most commonly, however, they are described as the burning darts of the demons.[338]

Turning to a closer examination of some of the more common individual passions that the Devil and the demons were

---

passions such as the demon of anger or envy, see below on the various passions, and cf. Russell *Satan* p45 for this personification in the *Shepherd of Hermas*; cf. too Joannou *Démon.*, p15.

[335] **GSin***Keph* 12 c1244.

[336] **Eph***TelMon* p416. Compare the image of a caravanserai used by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 2.20.

[337] **AkropK***JDam* 61 p760d-e; **Palam***Hom* 13 p68; for the dogs, **Melet***Alpha* $\mu\alpha'$ p166.

[338] See below under metaphors, p131 n430, and for the passions as their weapons in general see n429 there.

believed to employ in their attacks on men, perhaps the most prominent in this tradition was that of pleasure. The author of the story of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, for example, describes life in the world as the fishook of the Devil which has foul pleasure (*τὴν βδελυρὰν ἡδονὴν*) as the bait, through which those whom he deceives are dragged to hell.[339] Diadochos of Photike warns that Satan still works in the soul after baptism, blackening the mind as though with smoke by the sweetness of the irrational pleasures (*τὴν ἡδύτητα τῶν ἄλογων ἡδονῶν*),[340] and Basil says that:[341]

> the soul of the sinner and of he who lives according to the flesh and is defiled by the pleasures of the body (*ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς*) is as though rolled in mud by the passions of the flesh (*ταῖς πάθεσι τῆς σαρκός*); trampling this down, the enemy strives eagerly to pollute it still more and, as it were, to bury it, treading on the fallen one and trampling him down into the ground with his feet, that is to say, the life of he who has slipped, into [the ground] of the body.

The pleasure which the demons used could be identified more closely with such things as gluttony, idleness, and drunkenness. They could thus be seen to employ gluttony (*γαστριμαργία, κοιλιομανία*), described by John Klimakos and Theophylakt of Bulgaria as one of the *ἄρχοντες* of the passions, being the first of the eight deadly sins; or luxury (*τρυφή, ἡδυπάθεια*), which is said to be the start of all sin. Both were thought to have been used by the Devil in his temptation of Adam and Eve through the fruit of the tree, and in his temptation of Christ when he suggested the latter should turn the stones to bread.[342]

---

[339] †**JDam***Barl* 25 p378.

[340] **Diad***Keph* 76 p134; cf. **TheophNik***Ep* A´ cc289d–292a.

[341] **Bas***Psalm* 7.3 c236. References to this use of pleasure are widespread, see e.g. **Ath***Ant* 23 c877; **Bas***Let* 15 c701; *ibid.*, 50 c769, 51 c772; **Bas***Bapt* 6 c437; **Eph***Gloss* II p288; **Evag***Log* 47 cc1176–1177; **GNaz***Or14* 25 c892; **GNaz***Or40* 14 c376; †**JDam***Barl* 14 p202; **Theoph***Mark* 5.1–20 cc540–541; **Theoph***Luke* 4.1–13 cc749–750; also **Anon***BiosRom* 16 p136; **ChoumN***Test* p345; **GSin***Keph* 123 c1288; *ibid.*, 126 c1289b-c; **Kal***Stavr* cc276–277a; **Kaloth***Ath* 4 p457; **Melet***Alpha* γ´ p43; *ibid.*, ϱ´ p344, ϱα´ p345, and ϱι´ p378; **Palam***Peter* 21 c1013; *ibid.*, 29 c1021b; **Palam***Hom* 51 pp114–115; **SymMon***Dem* 23 p102 ll.224–226. The *δαίμων τοῦ φιλησύνου* is mentioned in **GNaz***Or24* 10 p58; and **JKlim** 3 c664.

[342] **JKlim** 14 c868. "The *archon* of the demons is the fallen Lu-

Although these passions could be directed against men in the outside world, and in particular the rich, they were believed to affect ascetics especially; because of their meagre diet and harsh way of life, such men were obviously prone to the cravings of hunger and comfort which it was thought important to control if they were to make spiritual progress.[343] Gregory Palamas uses a memorable image for the onslaught of demonic gluttony;[344]

> The head cook of the Babylonian ruler [the Devil] attacks this wall [the double wall of fasting and self-control] and, if he does not find those inside the walls resisting bravely, he destroys them, leading up the luxurious dishes of the culinary art as if they were engines for destroying cities.

Ascetics were also considered particularly vulnerable to the closely related passions of idleness (ἀργία), slackness (βλακεία, ῥαθυμία) and ἀκηδία, which were employed by the demons to weaken their resolve and turn them from the hard and austere path to Christ. Mark the Ascetic thus warns, for example, that ῥαθυμία is one of the three "powerful giants of the Philistines", the "strong giants of the Evil One", (the others are ignorance and forgetfulness), on the foundation of which

---

cifer, but the *archon* of the passions is the throat [leading to] the belly"; **Theoph***Matt* 4 c180, "Fasting is a great weapon against the temptations, just as luxury is the beginning of all sin". Theophylakt also says here that gluttony was one of the three temptations of Jesus and thus an *archon* of the passions. Cf. **Theoph***Luke* 4.1-13 cc745-748; **GSin***Kath* cc1336d-1337, (What should I say about the belly, the queen of the passions?); **GSin***Keph* 91 c1268, (gluttony is a προστάτος of the passions). Cf. also **Gabriel***Hom* 1 p142. Gregory of Nyssa also described gluttony as the root of sin, see Louth *Envy* p459.

[343] See e.g. **JKlim** 26 c1028 "The root of all evils for those in the world is avarice, but for monks it is gluttony"; cf. *ibid.*, 14 c868. For the use in general of luxury and gluttony by the demons see **Eph***Tapein* 92 I p328 (ἡδυπάθεια); **Evag***Log* 50 c1177; **JKarp** 5 c1839 (ἡδυπάθεια is the bird-lime of the demons): **Gabriel***Hom* 7 p173; **Melet***Alpha* κη΄ p125 and μα΄ p166; **Theolep***Inst* p120. Cf. Joannou *Démon.*, p42.

John Klimakos refers to the "demon of gluttony" on several occasions; 26 c1017, c1028, c1072. Cf. **Melet***Alpha* λθ΄ p152; and note the story of the man possessed by an insatiable (ἀπληστίας) demon, **Niphon** *Max* 17 p55; cf. **Pall***Laus* 18 p47. The connection of the demons to pagan sacrifices and feasts should also be borne in mind here, as also the idea of "making the belly a god": cf. **GNas***Or38* 5-6 c316 where the luxury of "demonic Hellenic" feasts is condemned; and **Bry***Log* 2 p88.

[344] **Palam***Hom* 9 p44.

the other passions grow strong and powerful and by which "the whole army of the spirits of evil", "the phalanx of the noetic foreigners" is "underpinned and supported and made strong to achieve their intentions".[345]

Ἀκηδία or *accidie*, which John Klimakos describes as "an all embracing death for monks",[346] is also treated at some length by Meletios Homologetes.[347]

> Terrible meanness of spirit, the father of the dreadful third-hour fever, of headache and of colic in monks, the demon of *accidie* attacks all ascetics at midday and moves those whose souls are small to go away despairing. *Ἀκηδία* scatters the wealth of the virtues, especially if it has hesitation as its fellow-worker, and, if we lose heart, then we submit so that we betray all of our salvation. It is a turning about of footsteps, a worthless friendship, a hindrance to *hesychia*, a defilement from covetousness, a violation of psalmody, laziness in prayer, a slackening of asceticism, a paying of attention to outside things, a weight which turns to sleep and away from the monastic life, an untimely

---

[345] **Mark***Nik* 12–13 cc1048–1049; cf. Joannou *Démon.*, p15.

[346] **JKlim** 13 cc857–861; he also describes here how it constantly leads the monk away from his rule of life, producing sickness at the third hour, but making him leap out of bed when the table is prepared and then weighing him down with sleep again when it is time for prayer. It also fights him when he stands up, makes him lie back when he sits down, and causes him to look out of the window by producing noises and footsteps.

[347] **Melet***Alpha* *ρκβ΄* p413. The demon of *ἀκηδία* in Meletios and in the passages from JohnKlimakos cited in the previous note is associated with midday, following Psalm 90:6 and its mention of the *μεσημβρινὸν δαιμονίον* with which it was identified; cf. **EuZig***Psalt* 90.6 c940. On this demon and its association with *accidie*, see Caillois *Démons* II especially pp168–172. As is made clear there the midday demon is also closely associated with female demons in alternative traditions, see below pp182–190 and especially n574. For alternative treatments in the Fathers see R. Arbesmann, " The 'Daemonium meridianum' and Greek and Latin Patristic Exegesis", *Traditio* XIV (1958) pp17–31; cf. also Müller *Teufel* pp95–98; P. de Labriolle, "Le 'Démon de Midi' ", *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 9 (1934), pp50–53; and again Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp24–25 and 78–79; *idem*, *Christus* pp35–36.

Isaiah 61:3 mentions a *πνεῦμα ἀκηδίας* and this particular demon or spirit is also referred to by **Eph***Tap* 15 1 pp304–305; *ibid.*, 57 p315, 70 p319; **Max***Keph* 1.49 p66; **Diad***Keph* 96 p159.

For the use of slackness, idleness and *accidie* by the demons in general see **Doroth***Did* 2.1–2 cc1640–1641 (*ῥαθυμία*, *ἀκηδία*); **Eph***DevtPar* II p196 (*βλακεία*); **EuZig***Psalt* 118.20 c1141; **Isaac***Ask* 42 pp174–175 (*ἀργία*); **JChr***John* 7 cc65–66 (*ῥαθυμία*): also **Kok***Anysia* p108; **Melet** *Alpha* *κα΄* p106; *ibid.*, *κδ΄* p115, *νε΄* p217; **Palam***Hom* 2 p5. See here also Russell *Satan* p183; Mango *Byzantium* p163.

> and unseen pricking, a hatred of the cell, a counter to endurance, an opponent of labours, a muzzle on divine study, a lack of scriptural study, a communion in irrational grief, a time-teller of hunger ...

The demons were also thought to arouse the passion of pleasure through such things as drunkenness, dancing and theatrical shows. Here a precedent was found in the New Testament story of Herod's feast which led to the death of John the Baptist.[348] In the tradition, drink is attacked particularly in Basil's homily *Κατὰ Μεθύοντων* where, in a scathing diatribe on the evils of drunkenness which he describes as a self-inflicted demon (*αὐθαίρετος δαίμων*), he pictures the Devil standing in at a drinking competition to act as umpire (*ἀγωνοθέτης*) and the demon of wine (*ὁ δαίμων οἰνηρὸς*) receiving the souls of men and women dancing together and wounding them with the barbs of the passions (*ταῖς ἀκίσι τῶν παθῶν*).[349] The Satanic practices and demonic snares which were believed to lurk in dancing and the theatre are described by Andrew of Crete in his homily *On the Beheading of John the Baptist*;[350]

> What [he asks] has the Corybantic frenzy to do with the things of pleasure or the charm of musical instruments? ... What is not to be considered shameful when the body is being twisted and the limbs stretched in ways which are truly similar to and symptomatic of those who are possessed by demons? You should treat them as the hunter is treated by the young fawn, as the trapper is treated by the bird, not as the freer of the gazelle from the net nor as the releaser of the bird from the snare, for the orchestra has become a snare unto adultery for you, and the insane passion for this a precipitous pit.

John Chrysostom attacks theatres too,[351] describing them as *ἐργαστήρια τῶν δαιμόνων* and complaining of the fact that

---

[348] Matthew 14:1–12; Mark 6:21–29; cf. Luke 3:19–20 and 9:9. See here **And***Apotom* cc1109–1141 passim; and **Kall***Apotom* pp124–125.

[349] **Bas***Meth* 4 c452; *ibid.*, 6 cc456–457, 8 c460 and passim; cf. also **Bas***NestA* 11 c184; and e.g. **Eph***Arete* 5 I p219; **Diad***Keph* 49 p129: **Bry***Keph* 25 p76; **Gabriel***Hom* 7 p173; **Melet***Alpha* *κθ'* p128; and **Palam***Hom* 39 p217 who describes drink as a material demon (*δαίμων ἔνυλος*); cf. also **Anon***Porik* p28.40.

[350] **And***Apotom* c1124a.

[351] **JChr***John* 1 cc28–29. See also on this subject **AkropG***Apost* 25 p108; **Gmon***Laz* 233 p580b-c (horse-racing); **Melet***Alpha* *ρξ'* p521. **Palam***Hom* 6 p34. For the connection of this to pagan religious practice

men would rather visit them than the churches or, worse, that they rush from hearing the gospel to listen,

> to prostitutes speaking shameful things and enacting even worse ones and effeminate men striking and being struck by each other ... where all that is said and done is a satanic show.

Attacks on the theatre were often connected with the erotic displays that could be seen there and, indeed, sexual temptation of all kinds was believed to be one of the commonest forms of a second major passion in the Devil's arsenal, that of desire (ἐπιθυμία). In the Bible there are a number of passages which have a bearing on this attack through the sexual passions and sins, (most usually, πορνεία, ἀσέλγεια, ἔρως and μοιχεία), but probably most influential are Hosea 4:12 and 5:4, and II Peter 2:2–18. Hosea simply mentions a πνεῦμα πορνείας but in II Peter it is said that many will follow the licentiousness (ταῖς ἀσελγείαις) of the false teachers who will spring up in Christianity and that God knows especially how to punish those following after the flesh in the desire of defilement (ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μιασμοῦ), who have eyes full of adultery (μοιχαλίδος) and insatiable for sin, enticing unsteady souls, and who also utter loud boasts of folly, enticing with licentious desires of flesh (ἐπιθυμίαις σαρκὸς ἀσελγείαις).[352] The standard orthodox tradition regarded sexuality as a natural element in man's make-up designed for the purpose of begetting children, God having made nothing evil in itself. This sexuality was, however, thought to have been perverted by men into the passions of πορνεία and the like, and it had thus become a very powerful weapon in the hands of the demons since it had nature on its side;[353] the evil powers were thus believed to use man's sexuality against him in almost every conceivable way.

Early on in St. Antony's struggles the δαίμων τῆς

see e.g. **Bas***Psalm* 44.10 c409; †**JChr***Pseud* 10 c564; and **Symeon***Gen* p328 who connects it with non-Christian rites of St. John's day. For the early Christian tradition see Russell *Satan* pp99–100; and for general comparison see here Rudwin *Devil* pp255–259.

[352] Cf. also James 1:13.

[353] See **JKlim** 15 c884; *ibid.*, 26 c1068; and **Diad***Keph* 99 p161. †**Bas***Lakiz* 8 c1456 says that the Devil contrived πορνεία so that man might not enter into paradise again after the fall.

πορνείας assailed him but was worsted, and subsequently appeared to him in the form of a cringing black boy,[354] When questioned the demon replied,

> I am the lover of fornication. I engineer the ambushes and titillations of this against the young, and I am called the spirit of fornication. How many have I deceived who wished to practise self-control. How many who exercise self-discipline have I won over by my titillations ...

Gregory of Sinai devotes one of his three classes of demons to this area of operation, and for him these demons are moist (ὑγρώδη) and licentious (ἀκολαστά);[355]

> Some, which are like leeches in the lake of desire, or snakes and frogs, obtain pleasure for themselves by slithering in the bitter pleasure of licence; or, turning into fish, they swim in the sea of hard-drinking and, being somewhat smooth and soft by nature, they rejoice in the moisture of the irrational pleasures, and they arouse waves of thoughts continuously in the soul, the tidal waves and storms of pollutions.

As is suggested by Athanasios, it was against ascetics that this passion was believed to have particular force and to be used most often, whether by means of real objects of temptation or in fantasies and dreams. The tradition knew many stories of such attacks, mostly in the lives of saints, where these incidents were an almost obligatory element in the tribulations of holy men attempting to cut themselves off from the world. In the Palaeologan period one hears, for example, in what to the modern ear sounds a rather sad story, of Theoleptos of Philadelphia being tormented by the memory of his beautiful wife and by desire for her; later he has to endure her actual presence since, supposedly prompted by the Devil, she seeks him out and threatens to stay in his hut until she dies rather than lose him.[356]

---

[354] **Ath***Ant* 6 c849. For other mentions of the demon or spirit of πορνεία see e.g. †**Amph***Bas* p190, Radermacher *Faust.*, pp128–129; **Eph***Tapein* 77 1 p323; **Evag***Log* 90 c1188; **Isaac***Ask* 2 p9; **JKlim** 15; cf. *ibid.*, 20 c941, 26 c1017, 27 c1109; **Max***Keph* 2.19 p98; **Max***Theol* 1.72 c1109; **Pall***Laus* 23 pp75–76; *ibid.*, 38 pp121–122; and **Melet***Alpha* λθ′ p153; *ibid.*, ρβ′ p349.

[355] **GSin***Keph* 123 c1288b-c.

[356] **ChoumN***Theo* pp201 and 210–211.

Lazaros Galesiotes too, is said to have resisted the Devil's temptation conducted through the charms of a young virgin whose engagement had broken down and through a woman disguised as a monk while he was travelling to Jerusalem;[357] various disciples and monks from his monastery were similarly beset when they returned to the outside world on visits, being attacked by, for example, a prostitute or a priest's wife and, in the case of one man, being tricked into committing incest with his daughter who had been forced into prostitution by poverty during his long absence.[358]

Even when such men separated themselves rigorously from all contact with women in thought as well as deed, John Klimakos warns that they were not to think themselves safe from the demon's promptings in this direction;[359]

> It is the custom of the demon, and especially in the case of those who are striving and struggling to lead the solitary life, to use all his forces and zeal and intrigue and trickery and ingenuity against them in things that are not natural, and not to attempt to fight them with things that are natural. Whence, coming into frequent contact with the female sex, and not being assailed by desire or thought for this, such men think themselves blessed, the wretches being ignorant that where a worse ruin has been prepared there is no need of a lesser one.

Although monks were seen to bear the brunt of this means of attack, the demons' activity was certainly not thought to be confined to them. Much of what is said on the subject applied equally to men of the world who were regarded as more easily defeated, being surrounded by ready means of temptation in the form of every woman with whom they came into contact.[360]

---

[357] **Gmon***Laz* 7 p511a-c; cf. *ibid.*, 208 p572a-d.

[358] **GCyp***Laz* 33 p601e-f; **Gmon***Laz* 156 p555a-d; *ibid.*, 63 p529b-e. For an attack on a female devotee and an attempt to use her against Lazaros see *ibid.*, 56 p527a-d; cf. **Bry***Log* 3 p40.

[359] **JKlim** 15 c885. For other examples of attacks on ascetics by this means see **Isaac***Ask* 26 pp112-113; *ibid.*, 54 pp214-215; **JChr***TheodLog* 19.6-8 p198; **Pall***Laus* 71 p167; cf. **Melet***Alpha* ϱξ′ p520 and see n329 above. In general cf. MacDermot *Cult* pp74-75.

[360] For the use of sexuality against men in general by the demons see e.g. **Bas***Psalm* 7.7-8 c248; **Diad***Keph* 33 p103; *ibid.*, 49 p113; **Eph***Gloss* II p288; **EuZig***Psalt* 90.6 c940; **Hesychios** 2.41 c1524; **JDam***Orth* 3.22 p165; **JKlim** 14 c868; **JKarp** 87 c1854-1855; **Mark***Nik* 7 c1040; **Max***Keph* 2.18

Women, though not regarded as naturally evil, were thought to be weak by nature in comparison with men and so liable both to succumb to temptations themselves and to be a temptation to the men around them. Plentiful precedents were to hand supporting this opinion in such stories as those of Adam and Eve, Job and his wife, Samson and Delilah, David and Bathsheba, Solomon and his wives, Joseph and Potiphar's wife and Herod and Herodias.[361] John Chrysostom, in describing how a priest in the world has need of even greater purity than a monk because of the temptations about him, illustrates this belief in the innate liability of women to tempt men through their sexuality and the consequent use made of them by the demonic powers. It is not surprising, he says, that those who spend much money and time on cosmetics, jewellery and clothes should have this effect, but it is also the case that neglected appearance, squalid dress and a life of poverty may first draw a man to pity and then to utter ruin, his soul being hit and shot down by the Devil in this way.[362]

Sexuality was believed to be the most effective tool used by the demons to arouse desire in men, but another powerful means to the same end was seen to lie in their manipulation of the passions of avarice or covetousness, most commonly *φιλαργυρία* or *πλεονεξία*. In the New Testament Judas was seen by the later tradition, interpreting John 12:6, to have been caught initially by the Devil through avarice, and this was also believed to have been the point of offering Jesus the kingdoms at

---

p98; *ibid.*, 2.85 p136, 3.95 p190; **Theoph***Luke* 10.17-20 c840; **Anon***Apoli* p249.14-18; *DigAk* Gro V.237-256 pp156-158; **Melet***Alpha κδ΄* p115; *ibid.*, *λθ΄* pp152, 156, *ρψ΄* p611; **NikMon***Neps* c958 (quoting from Diadochos); **Palam***Hom* 3 p15; **SymThes***Dem* 5.3 p50. Cf. Joannou *Démon.*, p15. On the connection of demonic activity to nocturnal emissions see e.g. **JKlim** 15 cc889-892; **GSin***HetKeph* 6 cc1301-1304; **Melet***Alpha ρς΄* p362.

[361] For the use of women in mythical history see e.g. **Eph***Joseph* 2.30,32; †**Bas***Lakiz* 8 c1456; **Diad***Keph* 56 p117; †**JDam***Barl* 30 p460. **MelitenT***Dial* 4-5 cc921d-924. †**JChr***Prod* c487 gives a short list of these and other notable women, and names woman as the sharpest weapon of the Devil; cf. †**JDam***Barl* 30 p452 where women are called *δαίμονας αἱ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανῶσιν*, and are used in the plot against Joasaph, being said to be the most powerful means that can be found to turn him from religion. For the demons' use of women in general see particularly **Eph***Arete* 5 1 p219; **Bas***Let* 33 c737; **Mark***Nik* 10 c1045.

[362] **JChr***Hier* 6.2-3 pp308-310.

his temptation.[363] It was thought that monks and ascetics could be attacked through this aspect of the passion of desire; Antony, for instance, saw an illusory silver disc in the desert and later real gold due to demonic trickery,[364] and Meletios Homologetes warns that the most successful ascetics, when they are on the point of leaving the world behind, may be attacked by the Devil through the honours paid them by men of the world in the form of ornaments, glories and money or possessions, giving them "a portion in the non-existent things for ever through the spiders' web glory of material and earthly things".[365] These passions were, however, believed to be used most often against men of the world who were thought to be particularly susceptible to them; John Klimakos thus describes avarice as the root of all evil for these men, instead of gluttony which, as has been mentioned, held this position for monks.[366] The power of avarice was thought to prevent almsgiving[367] but, more importantly, to make men its slaves and worshippers and so guilty of idolatry, binding themselves with its self-imposed chains to the demonic powers.[368]

A third major avenue of demonic attack in arousing

---

[363] See above pp60–61 for Judas' connection with avarice, and for Jesus' temptation by this p58. I Timothy 6:9–10 in particular should also be borne in mind here.

[364] **Ath***Ant* 11–12 cc860–861.

[365] **Melet***Alpha* γ′ p44; cf. also **Isaac***Ask* 54 p215; **Gmon***Laz* 66 p530c-d.

[366] **JKlim** 26 c1028.

[367] See **Pall***Laus* 6 pp12–14; **Doroth***Did* 2.2 c1641.

[368] Avarice or covetousness is connected in the New Testament with idolatry by e.g. Matthew 6:24; Luke 16:13, "You cannot serve God and Mammon"; and, more notably, by Ephesians 5:5, "One who is covetous, that is, an idolater". See also **JChr***John* 65 c364; *ibid.*, 59 c326; **JKlim** 16 c924: **Bry***Keph* 25 p76; **Melet***Alpha* β′ p40; *ibid.*, ια′ p74, λθ′ p155. For the use of avarice by the demons in general see especially **Meliten**T*Dial* 5 cc913–917, which has a long comparison between a covetous man and the Gerasene demoniac, saying at one point that it would be better to "live with ten-thousand possessed men than with one man who was sick with the mother of all evils φιλαργυρία". Also **Bas***Hex* 8.8 c186; **Bas***Psalm* 7.7 c248; †**Bas***Lakiz* 9 c1456; **Evag***Log* 50 c1177; **Isaac***Ask* 7 p34; **Theoph***Matt* 21.13 c372; **Theoph***John* 11.51–52 c109: **Choum**N*Symb* p174; **Glabas***Nomik* p349; **Melet***Alpha* ρε′ p359; **Palam***Xen* c1061. For the demon of avarice see **JKlim** 16 c924; *ibid.*, 26 cc1029–1032, 1065, 1072: **Melet***Alpha* ρβ′ p350.

the passion of desire was seen to lie in envy or jealousy (φθόνος, βασκανία or ζῆλος). This was obviously closely connected with avarice and, as has been shown above, was one of the Devil's own passions in that it was this that was believed to lie behind his original assault on Adam and behind the working of the demonic powers against men in general.[369] It is not surprising, then, to find in the standard tradition the belief that these powers caused envy among men in order to turn them from the good. The hostility of the Jews to Jesus was thought to have been due to their envy, prompted by the Devil, and other Biblical incidents such as the murder by Cain of Abel and the abandonment of Joseph by his brothers, were also attributed to this cause.

As far as ordinary men were concerned, the danger from this evil was regarded as being very great since it was seen to undermine the fabric of local society in particular, damaging relationships between friends and family rather than between men in general, for a man could only be envious of what he knew, not of what lay beyond sight or reach. St. Basil, in a homily on the subject, thus warns that,[370]

> ... just as freedom from envy (ἀφθονία) follows the good, so jealousy (βασκανία) follows the Devil. Let us guard, therefore, brethren, against the passion of envy (τὸ πάθος τοῦ φθόνου), lest we become sharers in the works of the opponent and be condemned with him in judgement. If he who has been vain falls under the sentence of the Devil, how will the envier (ὁ φθονερὸς) escape the penalty prepared for the Devil? No more destructive passion than envy grows in the souls of men.

Meletios Homologetes even goes so far as to say that this passion makes men worse than the demons because *they* do not envy each other. He waxes lyrical in his description of its horror;[371]

---

[369] See above pp36 and 42-44.

[370] **Bas***Phthonou* 1 c372b-c, and passim. For the idea of envy as the chief sin and the suggestion that its prominence may owe something to the Platonic denial of envy to the good/God, see Louth *Envy*, pp459-460.

[371] **Melet***Alpha* ξθ΄ pp252-253; and see *ibid.*, οα΄ p260, ξς-ξθ΄ pp250-254, ψς΄ p331. On this denial that the demons envy each other see above p29, and Russell *Satan* p62. On it being both just and unjust see especially **Agal***Apol* p150 and also e.g. †**JDam***Barl* 7 p86; **Eph***Symb* 58 I p273; **Eph***Tapein* 91 I p327; **Eph***Gloss* II pp279-280; **Eph***DevtPar* II p195: and **Glabas***Nomik* p349; **Schol***Evang* p52.

> Oh envy, most evil of all, citadel of destruction! Oh soul destroying disease, death-bringing herb, wound consuming the soul which carries you about, madness hurting the heart which has you in it, mortal blow to the soul casting a sharp missile into it! Envy is an untamed beast, a robber, a murderer, a persecutor, a scorpion with ten-thousand stings, a man-eating tiger, a poisonous sea-serpent, a deadly plant, double edged iron, a spear sharper than all. What things you do and work evilly! How terribly you burn! Know then that the soul which suffers from this passion of envy carries about in it all the things which are hateful to God, for he who has received within him the darts of envy gnaws and consumes his own soul and cuts through the substance of his own flesh with them. Envy makes those who have it within them waste away, for it is a worse poison than any other for those who suffer from it, the most unjust of all the passions but yet the most just in that it melts away those who are envious ...

One particular aspect of the way envy was thought to operate that was dismissed by orthodoxy while remaining part of the popular conception, was the belief in the power of the evil eye. Once again it is Basil of Caesarea who provides a good description of this concept while denying the existence of such a power in reality, attributing it (as happened with many elements of popular superstition), to the trickery of the demons.[372]

> Those who are ill with jealousy have been considered more deadly than those who shoot arrows if ... the envious even cause harm through the eyes alone, as some imagine they do, so that healthy bodies which have bloomed until that very hour in the flower of manhood, have been melted away by those who have been jealous of them (καταβασκαινόμενα) and their substance has at once been completely destroyed as though by some stream of destruction flowing out from the envious eyes, wasting and ruining. But I reject this idea as one that has been popularised in the womens' quarters by old hags. Instead I say that the good-hating demons, whenever they find someone with intentions that are familiar to them, make use of these [intentions] in every way according to that person's plan, so that the enviers' eyes are employed in the service of his own wish.

Anger or wrath (ὀργή, θυμός), like the other passions, could be seen as something that man developed within himself

---

[372] **Bas***Phthonou* 4 c380. See also **TBals***Kan* comment on **GNyss** ***Kan*** 3 p307; **TBals***Kan* c720 (*on Canon 61 of the Council "in Trullo"*). See also below pp238 and n761.

and encouraged by lack of self-control; when the demons saw this state of affairs in a man, they were drawn to him and gained easy access to his soul, fanning the flames of the anger so as to lead him, and those he came into contact with and angered in turn, away from God. John Chrysostom thus describes[373] how men, once they have recovered their composure after having become angry,

> curse the ill-fated business which caused them to begin, and the more foolish ones lay the blame for what has been done on wicked demons and an evil hour, but these things are not from an evil hour (for there is no such thing), nor from a wicked demon, but from the wickedness of those who have fallen into this; for thus these draw the demons and bring on themselves all the calamities.

Elsewhere, however, anger was regarded as a weapon of the Devil which was used directly against men, and Theodore Hyrtakenos gives a vivid description of this in the course of a story about a stylite. This holy man was hit by a stone thrown at him and, although the physical assault was turned aside by divine intervention so that he was not hurt, the Devil still succeeded in causing him to stumble. Despite his greatness the stylite became a prey to anger (*θυμός*), the "darts" of the spiritual attack having "stuck fast in his heart" so that

> breathing like a hurricane and blowing fiercely he attacked, leaving his column ... and coming down to the ground as if he were a thunderbolt about to strike the one who had thrown the rock at him.

Fortunately for him another saint (Aninas, the subject of Hyrtakenos' biography), was aware of his fall and was able to bring him to repentance by his reproaches, during which he accused him of having chosen

> to do what a dog does when a stone is thrown at it and, because it cannot avenge itself on the person who has thrown it, barks and snaps, biting the rock with its teeth,

since this fury in both assailant and victim was roused by the

---

[373] **JChr***John* 4 c52. For examples of the demons using anger to get into a man see **GNaz***Or27* 7 p88; **Diad***Keph* 96 pp158-159; **Doroth***Did* 2.2 c1644; **JKlim** 8 c833; **Melet***Alpha oβ'* p266; **Palam***Hom* 54 p188

Devil.[374]

Anger differed slightly from some of the other passions in that it was not always seen as a bad thing, for it could be used or exhibited by God himself in the vengeance he exacted for evil,[375] and also employed by men to counter this.[376] Diadochos of Photike,[377] for example, thus points out that,

> Anger is accustomed to upset and disturb the soul more than the other passions, but it may also sometimes be of the greatest help to it. We may use it calmly against the impious or any other sinners, either to save or shame them when, making it an ally, we supplement mildness with it ... There is also no doubt that those of us, when in deep despair, who are spiritually enraged at the demon of corruption, may despise the boasts of death. In order to teach us this the Lord was twice angered and troubled in spirit with Hades, even though he could do whatever he wished by will alone ... and so it appears to me that he who has made wise use of anger through his zeal for piety, will be found altogether more estimable in the scales of retribution than he who has not been moved to anger through mental inertia.

Hatred (*μῖσος*), which was clearly related to anger, could also be thought to be used to advantage against evil,[378] although it was more normally regarded in the same way as the

---

[374] **Hyrtak***Anin* pp438–440. For their general use of anger against men see e.g. †**Anast***Erot* 9 c412; **Bas***Psalm* 7.7 c248; **Bas***KatOrg* 2 c357; *ibid.*, 3 c357, 6 cc368–369; **Eph***Tapein* I pp328–329; **Eph***DevtPar* II p195; **Evag***Log* 47 cc1176–1177; *ibid.*, 50 c1177; **JChr***John* 48 cc273–274; *ibid.*, 84 c458; **JKlim** 8 c832; *ibid.*, 26 c1017, 27 c1112; **Mark***Nik* 8 c1041; **Theoph***Matt* 17.14–20 c332; **Theoph***Mark* 9.14–29 c588: **Bry***Keph* 25 p76; **Gmon***Laz* 210 p573; **Melet***Alpha oα′* pp259–260; *ibid.*, *oβ′* p264; **Palam***Hom* 51 pp114–115.

[375] In the Old Testament God is described as wrathful in many places of which Psalm 77:49 is perhaps most noteworthy here: in the New Testament Jesus is said to have been angry (*ἐμβριμώμενος*) at John 11:33, 38. For God's use of wrath through the demons see †**Anast***Erot* 31 c568; †**JChr***Job* 3.1 c572: cf. below pp138–139.

[376] On the use of anger for good ends see **Bas***KatOrg* 5 c365; †**Dion** *Onom* 4.25 c728; **Hesychios** 1.31 cc1489–1492; **JKlim** 26 cc1068–1069; **Theoph***Matt* 17.14–20 c332; **Theoph***Mark* 12.13–17 c625; **Theoph***Luke* 4.31–37 c756: **AkropG***Apost* 25 p108; **Bess***AlexK* p129; **Gabriel***Hom* 3 p152; **Kant***Apol* IV c564b; **Melet***Alpha oβ′* p263; **Palam***Hom* 3 p15; **Schol***Lat* p243.

[377] **Diad***Keph* 62 p122–123.

[378] For the use of hatred for good ends see e.g. **Bas***KatOrg* 5 c365; **Diad***Keph* 43 p110; **JKlim** 9 c841; *ibid.*, 26 c1065.

other passions, being employed by the demonic powers against men.[379] In this aspect it was frequently connected with their arousal of calumny (διαβολή).[380]

Pride (ὑπερηφανία), which included in this tradition such passions as vanity (τῦφος), vainglory (κενοδοξία), and conceit (ἔπαρσις or οἴησις), was regarded as one of the Devil's own passions for, as has been seen, it was through this that the Devil himself and his demons were believed to have fallen from heaven. Pride, then, was the aspect of the demonic character most frequently mentioned,[381] and it is no surprise to find that it was also among the passions most commonly said to be aroused by the demons.[382] Not only one of the commonest, however, pride was also thought to be one of the most dangerous passions, as may be seen from John Klimakos' description.[383]

> Pride [he says] is the denial of God, an invention of demons, contemptuousness of men, the mother of condemnation, an offspring of praise, a sign of sterility, a place of exile from the help of God, a precursor of

---

379 For the use of hatred in general by the demons see e.g. **Diad***Keph* 71 p130; **Eph***Symb* 58 I pp273–274; **Eph***Gloss* II p288; **Max***Keph* 4.26 p204: **Gmon***Laz* 153 p554a; **Melet***Alpha* ξγ΄ p250; *ibid.*, ξη΄ p252; **Palam***Hom* 7 p36; **Theok***Ath* 28.

380 For their use of calumny to cause hatred see **Diad***Keph* 90 p151; **Eph***Tapein* 35 I p310; **Eph***TelMon* II p417; **Max***Keph* 4.87 p232: **Athan** *Ep* 114 p294 ll.46–52; *ibid.*, 115 p296 ll.13–24; **Bess***Synod* p9; **Bry***Paramyth* p141 especially ll.86–89; **Kaloth***Greg* 13 pp119–120; **Kant***Hist* 3.24 II p150; *ibid.*, 3.53 II p317; **Melet***Alpha* ξε΄ p244; *ibid.*, οη΄ p284; **Theolep***Phev* p127. Cf. above pp39–40.

381 See above p32.

382 For Christ's temptation by vainglory see above p58. For the demons using pride begun by man see e.g. **Diad***Keph* 96 pp158–159; **GNaz***Or27* 7 p88; **Hesychios** 2.90 c1541; **Mark***Symb* 5 cc1108–1109: **GSin***Kath* c1341c; **Melet***Alpha* πγ΄ p294; *ibid.*, ρα΄ p345. For their use of pride against men in general see, ὑπερηφανία: **Doroth***Did* 12 p137; **Eph***Proseche* 2 I pp231–232; **Eph***Symb* 58 I pp273–274; **Eph***Gloss* II p288; **Isaak***Ask* 44 pp186–187; *ibid.*, 96 p355; **JKlim** 20 c941; *ibid.*, 22 cc953–956; **Mark***Nik* 8 c1041; **Pall***Laus* 47 p139: **Melet***Alpha* ψς΄ p331; **Palam***Hom* 2 p5; **Kok***SynodB* c693b; **Schol***Tel* p69. Οἴησις: **Diad***Keph* 81 pp139–140; **JKlim** 4.88 c708: **Melet***Alpha* μ΄ p160; **Palam***Hom* 6 p31. Κενοδοξία: **Diad***Keph* 46 pp111–112; **Eph***Proseche* 10 I p251; **EuZig***Psalt* 3.7 cc89–92; *ibid.*, 141.4 c1276; **JKlim** 22 cc952 and 953–956, 26 cc1029 1032; **Pall***Laus* 18 p55: **Melet***Alpha* ψς΄ p333; *ibid.*, ρβ΄ p350. Ὑψηλοφρονία: **Eph***Tapein* 100 I p334; **Max***Theol* 2.55 cc1148–1149.

383 **JKlim** 23 c965. For pride as the root of sin in Gregory of Nyssa see Louth *Envy*, p459.

> madness, a patron of faults, a foothold for epilepsy, a source of anger, a door of hypocrisy, a support of demons, a guardian of sins, a patron of mercilessness, ignorance of sympathy, a bitter inquisitor, an inhuman judge, an opponent of God, a root of blasphemy. The beginning of pride is the end of vainglory, its middle the contempt of one's neighbour, the shameless parade of one's works, praise in the heart and hatred of disgrace, while its end is the denial of God's help and the inflation of one's own zeal, a demonic characteristic.

The particular danger of pride was believed to be that, although it could be used at any stage against man, its temptation increased as he progressed along the good way; its very nature suggested that the demons would be more likely to resort to it when a man had successfully rejected their advances in some other way and, at the very moment he thought himself triumphant, they would fan the flames of pride from his victory over them. Two courses were regarded as the most usual here, firstly to delude a good man into pride by causing him to receive praise for his deeds, or false visions of angels and the like which made him believe he was in particularly close contact with God; or, secondly, to make him think he had conquered them by withdrawing for a time from their assault, thus sowing the deadly seed in his heart.[384]

Finally, the passion of grief or depression (λύπη) was one that was also thought to be encouraged by the craft of the demons. This, it was believed, led on the victim to despair (ἀπόγνωσις, ἀθυμία) when it was uncontrolled, and thence in its worst stages to voluntary separation from God and even, through suicide, to complete condemnation. It was thus thought to be useful in fulfilling the aims of the demonic powers against men. Dorotheos of Gaza[385] describes an occasion when,

---

[384] For the demons causing pride or vainglory by false dreams and visions or by false praise see **Evag***Log* 72 cc1181–1184; **Isaac***Ask* 53 p214; **JKarp** 10 c1840; **JKlim** 3 c669–672; *ibid.*, 25 c993, 26 c1013; **Pall***Laus* 25 pp79–80: **Anon***BiosNiph* 14 p22; **Gmon***Laz* 47 p524a; *ibid.*, 49 pp524e–525b, 219 p575c, 220 p575c-d; **Melet***Alpha* ϱ´ p343, ϱς´ p365; **Palam** *Peter* 31–34 cc1024a–1025c.

[385] **Doroth***Did* 5.5 p67. For the demons using or causing grief see also **GNaz***Or27* 7 p88; **JChr***Olymp* 8.1e–3d pp160–170, which uses Paul's instruction in II Corinthians 2:7–11 to forgive the man he has punished "lest he be overcome by excessive sorrow" and "to stop Satan gaining the

> there came to me a great and intolerable grief, and I was in such distress and pain that I was almost driven to betray my soul. This tribulation was from a plot of the demons, and such is the temptation which comes from their envy. It is very deep, but of short duration, deep, dark, unconsolable and without respite; everywhere there is distress and everywhere suffocation.

John Chrysostom also describes the process engineered by the demons in his letter to Theodore during the return of the latter to the world from the monastic life.[386]

> The reason why the Devil casts us into thoughts of despair (εἰς τοὺς ἀπογνώσεως λογισμούς), is so that he may cut off the hope we have toward God, that safe anchor, the foundation of our life, the guide on the way which leads to heaven, the salvation of failing souls. "For by hope we are saved", it says (Romans 8:24) ... If anyone becomes weak and lets go of this sacred anchor, he falls down at once and is drowned in the abyss of evil. Knowing this, the Evil One, when he realises that we are weighed down by the consciousness of evil deeds, comes up himself and adds the idea of despair which is heavier than lead; if we accept this it follows that, being dragged down immediately by the weight, we come into the depths of evils, having broken loose from that anchor rope ...

An example of despair leading to suicide at the Devil's behest was drawn from the case of Judas,[387] and indeed, the demonic powers were thought to lie behind suicide in general which they encouraged in order to prevent repentance and a return of hope. Theophylakt of Bulgaria, in his commentary on the story of the Gerasene demoniac even maintains that were it not for God's protection, all possessed men would kill themselves, and John Chrysostom remarks that if the soul did not

---

advantage"; cf. II Corinthians 7:10; **Theoph** *Luke* 4.1–13 cc749–750 where the Devil is said to have tempted Christ at the passion through λύπη. Cf. **Kal** *Kyp* c260; **JKlim** 5 c577; *ibid.*, 27 c1112: also **AkropK** *Myth* 3 p448; **Gmon** *Laz* 134 p548b-c; **Melet** *Alpha* λθ′ p158; *ibid.*, μ′ p159.

[386] **JChr** *TheodLog* 2 pp86–88. See also both works to Theodore passim, but especially **JChr** *TheodEp* 5.59–60 p76 where despair is described as the Devil's sharp sword with which he cuts men off from hope, and as the chain with which he holds down those whom he has captured; see also much of **JChr** *Stag* cc423–494 and **JChr** *Olymp*. For other examples of demons causing depression and despair see **Eph** *Tapein* 96 1 p331; **Isaac** *Ask* 54 p215; **JKarp** 16 c1841; **JKlim** 2 cc653–656; *ibid.*, 3 c672, 15 c888; **Max** *Keph* 2.14 p96; **Gmon** *Laz* 194 p566; **JRhak** *Stich* p114; **Melet** *Alpha* ψς′ p330; **Palam** *Hom* 2 p5; *ibid.*, 6 p31.

[387] See above p61 n214.

have the desire for the body that it does the majority of people would be made to rush to suicide at any discouragement.[388]

4.4 Methods of Operation d) More General Methods

While the methods of mental and physical manipulation discussed in the preceding sections may be said to form the groundwork of demonic activity against men or the detail of their assault, their operation was also frequently described in more general ways which might include several different elements drawn from that stock. As has been seen above, the demons were believed to defile and pollute men, to corrupt them and to darken their victims' minds,[389] but even more commonly they were depicted as constantly trying to tempt or make trial of men (πειράζω). They had tried this before, although with varying success, in the exemplary cases of mythical history with such figures as Adam, Job, Jesus and Judas, and the Devil was sometimes called ὁ πειράζων or ὁ πειραστής because of this aspect of his activity.[390] All men who tried to lead a good life were thought liable to attack in this way,[391] but the demonic powers were believed to concentrate especially on those mak-

---

[388] **Theop***Matt* 8.28–34 c225; cf. *ibid.*, 4 c181; **JChr***John 88* c479. See also †**Anast***Erot* 15 c605; †**SymNT** p153; **Pall***Laus* 23 p75: **Anon** *Dialexis* p325; **Pach***Andron* V p387. *Cf.* Joannou *Démon.*, p14; and in modern Greek belief du Boulay *Vampire* p222. For despair causing possession see Delatte*Ex* f3.

[389] See above pp26–28 and 47.

[390] See e.g. **Eph***Tapein* 59 I p316; **GNaz***Or40* 10 c369; **Theoph** *Matt* 4 c180; **Theoph***Mark* 1.12–13 c500; **JZon***Kan* on **Peter***Kan* 1 p15: **ChoumN***Theo* p201; **GCyp***Laz* 18 p595b-c; **Neil***Palam* c674; **Kok***Palam* 14 p75.

[391] For general examples of demonic temptation see among very many, **Bas***Let* 51 c772; **Bas***ArchPar* 16 cc420–421; **TBals***Kan* on **Tim***Kan* 12 p338; **Diad***Keph* 53; **Doroth***Did* 5 p67; **Eph***OrthBi* 22 II p59; **EuZig***Psalt* 12.3 c180; *ibid.*, 118.61–62 c1152; **Evag***Log* 99 c1189; **Isaac***Ask* 36 p157; **JKlim** 4 c696; *ibid.*, 26 c1036; **Mark***Dik* 157 cc953–956; **Pall***Laus* 16 pp40–42; *ibid.*, 38 p122, 71 p167: also **Anon***BiosRom* 20 p140; **Gregoras***Ant* 1.1.6.2 p151; **Schol***Nest* p88; **TheophNik***Ep* B´ c301. It should be noted that the concept of "putting to the test" included in πειράζω is applied specifically to the martyrs who face the Devil's ultimate "temptation"; see e.g. **Bas***Ioul* c237 and examples below on God's use of temptation for proving and testing his saints, pp137–138.

ing most spiritual progress. In his *Παραμυθητικὰ Κεφάλαια* John Karpathios[392] thus says that,

> The terrible demons, are accustomed to sharpen the swords of the temptations against those following the solitary way of life more than any others, and to wage war with particular frenzy on those who are more pious and god-serving. They force them into sin by this action so that, with unbearable assaults, they may perhaps even be able to turn away those attacked from the faith in Christ and from prayer and good hope.

In a somewhat similar way the demons were thought to threaten (*ἀπειλέω*) and terrify men as part of their general strategy, hoping in this way to further belief in their power as well as satisfying their own conceit by their boasts.[393] In some cases this threatening behaviour was regarded as amounting to a kind of blackmail whereby the demons promised to cease their hostile activity only if the victim would swear to commit himself to their way,[394] but in general it took place through terrifying appearances and internal promptings designed to disturb men from their faith in God and from confidence in the strength of their own will.[395]

The deceitfulness of the demonic powers has been mentioned above in connection with their fallen nature and with the

---

[392] **JKarp** 65 c1850. For other examples of demons tempting ascetics and others making spiritual progress see, **Ath***Ant* 23 cc876–877; **EuZig***Psalt* 37.23 c437; **Isaac***Ask* 5 p19; **Max***Keph* 2.14 p96: **ChoumN***Theo* pp201, 211; **GSin***Kath* c1341a-b; **Gmon***Laz* 210 p573; **Kall***JnNest* p81; **Kaloth***Greg* 10 p117; **TheophP***Max* 15 p85.

[393] Their threats were regarded as boastful since they were without substance and, indeed, the very fact that they had to threaten rather than act was taken, as has been seen, as a sign of their true powerlessness. Note here too the concept of *ἐπηρεάζω*, *ἐπήρεια* applied occasionally to demonic activity which can range in sense from insult to abuse, threat and attack.

[394] See e.g. †**Ath***AntArch* 39 c621 where a demon is said to have told an ascetic that he would not attack him if he ceased worshipping a particular icon; see also e.g. †**Amph***Bas* p194, Radermacher *Faust.*, pp138–141. Cf. here Magoulias *Lives* p259.

[395] For their threatening and terrifying in general see e.g. **Ath***Ant* 13 c864; *ibid.*, 24 c877–880, 42 c905; **Bas***Psalm* 7.7 c248; *ibid.*, 32.8 c369; **Diad***Keph* 37 p106; **Evag***Log* 99 c1189; **JChr***Phil* c751; **JKarp** 25 c1842; **JKlim** 1 c641: also **AkropK***Evdok* 10 p211; **ChoumN***Theo* p208; **GCyp***Laz* 24 p598a-b; **GSin***Keph* 131 cc1295–1296d; **GSin***Kath* c1345a; **Gmon***Laz* 58 p528 (and many other stories); **Melet***Alpha* *ψη΄* p338; *ibid.*, *ψθ΄* p340; *ϱ΄* p341; **NikMon***Neps* c946; **Palam***Peter* 22 c1016. Cf. Joannou *Démon.*, pp12–13, 16 and 43; and the *PD* p171.

fall of Adam and Eve but, perhaps more than anything else, this deceit was believed by the standard tradition to form the basis of their operation against men.[396] Being defeated and powerless in reality unless men co-operated with them of their own free will, it was thought that, of necessity, they had always to deceive their victims if they were to turn them from the good to sin. The way of trickery and subterfuge was the only one left open to them.

Much of the material that might be used to illustrate this deceit by the Devil and the demons has already been covered in the course of the preceding examination of their actions in mythical history and their operation against men. Indeed, almost all that has been described could in some way be seen in this light. On the one hand their actions may have contributed to the deception, as in the case of visions, physical attack, temptation, and threatening behaviour, which were thought to be designed to make people believe the demons had more power than they actually possessed. On the other hand such actions may have resulted from the deception, as is the case with some aspects of possession and with the arousal of the passions; unless the demons had deceived their victims both about their own abilities and the results they were to expect from their actions, no one, it was thought, would ever have fallen prey to them and their schemes. Bearing in mind all this material then, consideration of demonic deceit will be confined at this point to two particular aspects which have not so far been covered in detail: the way in which the demons were believed to confuse good with evil and evil with good, and the way the were said to deceive men by magical and divinatory practices.

Belief in the confusion of good and evil as an element of demonic deceit is illustrated in certain respects by the stories

---

[396] The most common verbs used here to describe the demons' actions were ἀπατάω and πλανάω together with various compounds of these; ἀποβουκολέω is used on one or two occasions. The range of nouns was somewhat wider, the main ones being ἀπάτη, πλάνη, δόλος, σκαώρια and πανουργία. The actions themselves were usually described as ἐπιβουλαί, μεθοδείαι, μηχαναί, μηχανήματα, τέχναι, τεχνήματα or πανουργήματα. Examples are too frequent to be cited here.

of man's fall and the temptation of Job;[397] however the clearest examples from mythical history lay in the use made of pagan religion and heresy. In both cases the demons were thought to have deceived men into doing evil while falsely believing that they were doing good. Thus in the case of pagan religion man's natural desire and inclination to worship God, which was good, was perverted to an evil end – the false worship of the demons in the guise of gods; in the case of heresy it was the true religion of Christianity that was distorted by demonic deceit which introduced evil alterations into something wholly good. Good and evil were thought to have been confused to such an extent here by the demons that men were prevented from distinguishing between them unless they possessed quite exceptional virtue and strength of will.

Even in the world of ordinary men this deceitful confusion was thought to have been noticeable in the continuation of heresy and religious controversy. During the Palaeologan period, disputes that erupted between unionist and anti-unionist factions were thus attributed to the machinations of the Devil; the former said that the schism with Rome was due to his deliberate confusion and trickery, the latter that moves towards union were the result of this and an attempt to divert the Church from its true course under the guise of a superficially good aim.[398] The same was true of the theological turmoil surrounding the figures of Gregory Palamas, Barlaam the Calabrian, and Gregory Akindynos in the middle of the fourteenth century; accusations flew hotly between the leaders and supporters of either

---

[397] The Devil's blasphemy of God in both cases and his use of advisers whose suggestions are apparently good but in fact evil. Compare also the belief that the Devil could use Scripture for his own ends as in the temptation of Jesus.

[398] On the unionist side, seeing the Devil at work in the schism and in attempts to prevent its healing, see e.g. **Bek***Hen* 6 cc21–24; **Bek***Konst* 2 c364; **Bek***Apol* c1012b-c; **Bess***Exarch* cc532b–533a, and 540b; **Doukas** *Hist* 31 p213; **Plus***Ep* p2[illegible]; **MelitenK***Hen* 11 c1048d; **MelitenK***Ekpor* 41 c1136c.

On the anti-unionist side, seeing the Latins as led astray by the Devil who wants to corrupt the true church by joining it to their "heresy", see e.g. **Anon***Dialexis* p324; **Agal***Log* p97; **Bry***Log* 2 pp18–19; **Hyrtak***Fir* p274; **Kaloth***Ath* 19 p475; *ibid.*, 23 p481 ll.914–920; **Theok***Ath* 10 p[illegible]; *ibid.*, 14 p58. In general here cf. some of the insults using demons e[illegible] in **Anon***Spanos*.

side that they were inspired by the Devil, victims themselves of his confusion in heresy as well as propagators of it. A passage of invective by Gregory Palamas directed at Gregory Akindynos may serve to illustrate this point;[399]

> Again [Akindynos] insinuates the deceit, once more he threatens, once more he imitates the archevil snake who, by false hope of divinity, sets men far from God. By hope he tries to snatch all away from the guard of the evangelical message and from the creed of faith unto the denial and unbelief of God and the destruction of the creed that piety confesses. [He introduces] a new way and a new meeting place against every kind of piety by the advocacy of this creed of belief instead of that one, and, offering a document of faith that is acknowledged by all for its obscurity and deep trickery, he tries to destroy the faith that is acknowledged by all. As I see it, these things are really the deep things of Satan, that first apostate, who is pouring out his poison in this dissembling and great invention of apparent impiety by a human tongue, as at first he talked to Eve through the snake. But then, such is the archevil envier that, whenever he falls upon a soul, having maimed the other things out of envy, he lets it turn only to speaking and doing evil. The one who has been mastered and conquered by this madness, and has shown the archevil dog's own craziness, envy, flees the sweet drink of love and thinks that the spiritual stream of grace is opposed to him; he sets aside words, even if they are holy, walks into pitfalls, neglects himself, and is senseless from the blows and wounds he brings upon himself, striking out from [rabid] madness.

The attack on ordinary men by the confusion of good and evil is also described in a more general way by a number of authors in this tradition. Ephraem of Syria,[400] for example, warns that,

> the enemy always changes the contest into confusion

---

[399] **Palam***Antirrhet* 2.66–67 pp132–133. For Barlaam and Akindynos as heretics inspired by the Devil and demons see **Palam***Hesych* 1.3.12 p135 (Mey.); *ibid.*, 3.3.1 pp695–697 (Mey.), among many passages; also **Gregoras***Hist* XVIII 8.1 p905; **Kaloth***Ep* II.1–2 pp75–76; **Kaloth***AntAk* 5 p46 among many; **Neil***Palam* c674; **Kok***Palam* pp28, 29 and 39; **Kok***SynodA* cc718a, 719; **Kok***SynodB* c700; **TheophP***Max* 20 pp91–92. For the same attitude to Palamas and his supporters, see e.g., **Argyros***Kant* pp275–276; **Gregoras***Ant* 1.1.10.13 p219; *ibid.*, 1.2.1.12 p233, 1.2.2.26 p267 among many; **Kyd***Palam* c856. For other contemporary disputes viewed in the same way see e.g. **Athan***Ep* 69 p166; **Gregoras***Hist* VI 1.4 p161; **Kaloth***Ath* 33 p498 ll.1458–1463.

[400] **Eph***TelMon* II pp416f-417a; cf. **Eph***Symb* 7 I p260.

> ... being an enemy does not always appear so and, preparing good things with bad, has obstinately opposed the truth in all such ways.

Dorotheos of Gaza maintains that "there is not one sin, not one heresy with which the Devil is able to deceive someone except by disguising it as virtue ..."[401] and Meletios Homologetes says that "just as an asp turns honey to poison and easily changes the sweet to bitter, the Evil One thus also changes the truth into falsehood.[402]

The variety of confusion, the convolutions of deceit were practically endless and, whichever way the zealous Christian turned, he could expect to find the Devil waiting. The latter's appearance in the guise of an angel of light, which has already been discussed, should be borne in mind here as well as the demons' delight in persuading men that they were especially close to God when in fact they had already fallen into the Devil's own sin of pride, but other devices of equal subtlety were believed to have been employed. It was thus thought that they might deter someone from performing good actions by making them seem harder than they really were, saying, for example, that a man could not be saved unless he became a monk in the desert, by suggesting that his sins were too great for forgiveness, or by making him delay his baptism for fear that, once baptised, he might do something wrong, lose the gift and be unable to recover it.[403] The demons might suggest similarly that there was little or no point in performing some good action such as repentance because the confessor would only say what a man expected to hear and knew himself anyway,[404] or they could be thought eager to lead good actions into such excess that they ceased to be good and became evil. This was the case when misguided notions about the nature of man's sexuality and of evil

---

[401] **Doroth** *Did* IX.103 p332.25–28.

[402] **Melet** *Alpha* *oθ'* p287; cf. *ibid.*, *ψς'* p332, *ρ'* p343. See also here e.g. **Diad** *Keph* 31 p101; **GNaz** *Or40* 10 c369; **Hesychios** 2.17 cc1516–1517; **JKlim** 7 c216; **Theoph** *Mark* 1.32–34 cc507–508. Cf. Russell *Satan* pp71 and 137.

[403] †**Anast** *Erot* 132 c781; **Schol** *Tel* p69; **JKlim** 5 cc777–780; **GNaz** *Or40* 16 c380; and cf. **TheophNik** *Ep* A' c293.

[404] **Doroth** *Did* 5.4 c1680–1681.

resulted in castration,[405] or when the Evil One suggested "the great length, breadth, and depth" of pagan learning and philosophy so that men might spend all their lives "in the search for such things and not have enough strength then to try ceaselessly to receive the purifying education of the soul ..."[406]

Quite commonly the demons were believed to ruin the progress of ascetics by suggesting that they attempted things beyond their power or a way of life that they were not yet ready for,[407] but they might also try to trick them back into the world by saying that they could practise their virtue better there or could fulfill proper obligations that were being neglected because of their withdrawal.[408] They were always seen too, as being ready to persuade men that small sins were indeed trivial and of no consequence in order that they might thus lead them by gradual means into greater and greater evil, as Gregory of Nazianzus,[409] for example, describes;

With small sins at first, like a stream, you [Devil] fall

---

[405] For the suggestion of castration see **Bas***Let* 62 c797; †**Anast***Erot* 66 c685, in which it is regarded as a device to slander God's good creation and to suggest the heretical idea of unoriginate evil. Compare generally here **Ath***Ant* 25 c881, who says that even if the demons rouse men to apparently good things, "it is not for the sake of piety or truth that they do this, but to bring the guileless into despair, to represent the ascetic life as worthless, and to make men disgusted with the solitary life". For dangers lurking in good deeds compare also e.g. **JChr***Hier* 3.13 p216 who warns a virgin to keep away even from funeral obsequies and nocturnal feasts "for that artful serpent knows only too well how to sow his poison even through the medium of good deeds"; *ibid.*, 6.8 p332 warns priests of the dangers of visiting sick women; and **Gmon***Laz* 196 p567c warns monks to avoid the company of the young for much the same reasons. Cf. the idea, mentioned above, of falling into the passions again by remembering them for confession.

[406] **Palam***Hesych* 1.1.7 p23 (Mey.).

[407] So **Eph***Tapein* 8 I p301; *ibid.*, 58 pp315–316; **Isaac***Ask* 59 pp241–242; **JKlim** 4 cc708, 709 and 725; **JChr***John* 7 c63: also **GSin***Kath* c1340b-d; **Schol***Nest* p90.

[408] So **JKlim** 2 cc653–656 who says the demons may try to get ascetics to envy men in the world who can still practise the virtues of mercy and compassion which they are deprived of by their situation, in order to get them to return to the world; **Palam***Peter* 26–27 c1020 which tells the story of the Devil in the guise of an old family servant trying to persuade Peter to return home; cf. **Melet***Alpha* ϱβ΄ p350.

[409] **GNaz***Carm54* ll.10–13 c1398; and e.g. **Isaac***Ask* 42 pp174–175; **JChr***John* 23 c137 138; **Mark***Nom* 97 c917: **Kab***Zealot* 59 p125; **Melet***Alpha* ϟ στοιχ. p353: *ibid.*, ϱπθ΄ p611; **Palam***Hom* 3 p14.

> upon the heart. Then you open the breach wider and, after that, as a turbulent and great flood, you come in until your chaos and the pit overtake me.

The somewhat similar idea that the Devil only worked one day at a time was also expressed by several authors, but perhaps most clearly by Basil of Caesarea;[410]

> He does not dare to counsel us to desert God completely, for he knows it is hard for Christians to listen to this, but he deals craftily with deceitful skills in the attempt. The worker of evil is wise, he sees that we men live for the present and so he directs all his attention against that present, stealing our today through cunning and breaking our hopes of tomorrow. Then, whenever tomorrow comes, the wicked one arrives again, taking a share from we who think the day is worth giving to him and tomorrow to the Lord; thus, always stealing the present through pleasure and so breaking down our hopes for the future, he leads our life astray unnoticed.

The second aspect of demonic deceit to be considered here is the use believed to have been made by the demons of magical and divinatory practices. In the late Byzantine period and in the inherited tradition of that time orthodox Christianity linked almost all magic and divination to the Devil and the demons, following numerous condemnations in the Bible.[411] As will be seen below in the subsequent sections of this book it is apparent that some people at this time believed, in line with ancient non-Christian traditions, that magicians and diviners actually made use of demons to accomplish their aims and desires; consequently it is clear that such people were prepared to attribute *real* power to the demons. It will also be seen that many warnings about the practice of magic and divination, and attacks on their use which appear in the writings of authors

---

410 **Bas***Bapt* 6 c437b-c; cf. also **GNaz***Or40* 14 c376: **Gmon***Laz* 226 p577a-b; **Melet***Alpha* ς′ pp53–54; *ibid.*, ϱκς′ p428; ϱν′ p491. See also above pp31–32.

411 See especially; Leviticus 19:26,31; Deuteronomy 18:10–11; IV Kings 21:6 = II Chronicles 33:6. Also e.g. Leviticus 20:6,27; Deuteronomy 13:1–3; I Kings 15:23; 28:3; IV Kings 17:17; II Chronicles 35:19; Isaiah 2:6; 8:19; 44:25; Jeremiah 14:14; 34:9; 36:8; Ezekiel 13:6–9,23; Hosea 4:12; Zechariah 10:2; Sirach 34:5; Acts 16:16–18; 19:19; Galatians 5:19–21. On their association with magic and divination in the early Christian tradition see Russell *Satan* pp71, 75, 86 and 115.

otherwise firmly rooted in the standard tradition, reveal by the seriousness with which these practices were taken and by the absence of any other explanation for them, a tendency to accept their validity and real efficacy and hence an implied agreement with the view that demons still possessed *real* power of their own.

One stumbles here upon a considerable and far reaching ambiguity in late Byzantine thought, affecting not only attitudes to magic and divination, but also to the nature and ability of the demons and, indeed, to the entire nature of evil in the world. While such significant inconsistencies will be discussed in Part II below, consideration of the topic here is strictly limited to the explanations that *were* offered by the standard orthodox tradition for these practices.

As with most of the demons' actions it could be argued that their apparent powers in divination and magic were allowed by God to test the faith of his people or for some other ulterior motive,[412] but most commonly these practices were regarded as simply being another form of subtle deceit designed to trick men into believing that the demons really possessed power despite their defeat by Christ, and to lead them astray from the true religion and doctrine of Christianity. The orthodox explanation for magic, then, was much the same as that used for pagan religion and heresy; indeed, these tools of the Devil were specifically linked in the figures of various heresiarchs particularly that of Simon Magos who, following the story about him in Acts 8 and developments of his legend, was regarded as both a pagan magician and the first heretic. In a long passage on the subject, the author of the *Questions and Answers* ascribed to Anastasios of Sinai thus cites numerous wonders believed to have been performed by Simon as well as the magicians Julian, Apollonios and Apoleios at the time of Domitian which, he says, were really accomplished through the deceit of the demons.[413]

---

[412] See here e.g. †**Anast***Erot* 20 cc527–529: and **Schol***Hod* p443; **Schol***Jud* pp284–285. See also below p137–138.

[413] †**Anast***Erot* 20 cc520–525. Cf. **Anast***Hod* 4 c96; †**JChr***Pseud* 5 c559; **Kall***Theod* 13 and 18 pp86–87. For the development of the Simon legends see e.g. the *Acta Petri* ed. M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: 1924, reprint with corrections 1953), pp300-336. See also Russell

Meletios Homologetes also argues[414] that,

> It is not strange or wonderful if some of those who are opposed to Christ should work wonders ... for many people are persuaded by such things through the demons who teach them to perform wonders and to work great signs, while even many of the heretics perform wonders or, to speak more truthfully, the demons do this through them so that they may remain in their error when overcome and so that others may be led through them to this [same error].

In the case of divinatory practices, since the demons were, like angels, unable to tell the future by nature,[415] they were believed to go to great lengths in order to deceive men into thinking that they could do this, using all the skill and ability they possessed to produce likely predictions. Their method here is described in detail by Athanasios of Alexandria, amongst others;[416]

> Often, for instance, [the demons] tell us days in advance of brothers coming to visit us, and they do indeed arrive, but they do not do this because they care for their audience but so that they may persuade them to believe in them, and then, having them in their power, they may destroy them ... What is wonderful if they, who make use of more subtle bodies than men, having seen these men begin a journey, overtake them on the way and announce their arrival?

A similar argument was used to explain the apparent ability of prophets and diviners to forecast such things as the weather, the location of lost valuables, the whereabouts of hidden objects,

---

Satan, p71; and Provatake *Diavolos* pp107–109.

[414] **Melet***Alpha* *ρπθ΄* p611; cf. *ibid.*, *ρψ΄* p611. For magic in general explained in this way see e.g. **GNaz***Or40* 17 c382 who says that the Devil steals God's worship through the use of amulets and incantations; or **GCyp***George* 23 c321d who states clearly that the works of sorcerers are the deceits of demons. Cf. †**Ath***AntArch* 124 c677a; **Bas***Psalm* 45.2 cc416d-417c; **Kall***Acta* p302, who maintains that, having failed with idolatry and heresy, the Devil now tries to subdue men with the final and greatest evil of sorcery, magic practices and spells; cf. **Kal***Acta* pp185–186, 187; **Kok***Acta* p542; also **Akrop**K*Dem* 26 pp182–183; **Stavr***Dem* 6 pp340–341; **Bry***Keph* 11 p59 (but note that in several other passages he seems to see a *real* threat here). Note that this explanation for heretical wonder-working is almost identical to Bogomil explanations for the miracles attributed to orthodox saints.

[415] Cf. above p21.

[416] **Ath***Ant* 31 c889; cf. *ibid.*, 31–34 cc889–893.

and men's future health.[417]

The vast array of different methods and mechanisms for predicting the future that these diviners were believed to have available to them[418] were thus all thought by the standard orthodox tradition to be manipulated by demons to give the verdict they wanted. An example of how they could be thought to do this in the case of the relatively common idea of divination by animal behaviour and particularly by the flight of birds, is given by Origen at the conclusion of a long refutation of such practices in his dialogue with Celsus.[419]

> Our view is that certain worthless demons ... having fallen from heaven, wallow in the grosser and more unclean forms of life on earth; having some insight into future things and being naked of earthly bodies, they busy themselves with this sort of work since they wish to lead the human race away from the true God. They thus conceal themselves in the more rapacious and savage animals and other more crafty ones and move these as they want and when they want, or turn the ideas of the creatures to such flights and movements that men, being caught by the divinatory power in the irrational animals, may not seek the God who encompasses everything nor search out the pure form of worship ...

Another practice which received attention in this tradition and which was used particularly to illustrate demonic deceit in divination was that of ἐγγαστριμυθία. This "ventriloquism" was known in classical times[420] but interest in it here arose pri-

---

[417] See †**Anast***Erot* 20 cc520–521; *ibid.*, 125 cc773d–776b; †**Ath** *AntArch* 100 c660a-b; cf. *ibid.*, 126 c677c. See too the bogus diviner of **GCyp***Laz* 12 p592b-d; **Gmon***Laz* 12 pp512f-513b. On attitudes to divination see G. de Matons *Psellos*, pp332–334 and for some subjects of demonic divination in alternative traditions see below p243. For divination in general as demonic deceit see e.g. **JChr***John* 19 c122; **JKlim** 3 c669b-c; **JDam***Orth* 2.4 p49: **AkropK***Konst* p9; **GSin***Keph* 131 c1296c-d; **Gmon***Laz* 228 p578d-e; Kallistos, *Διδασκαλία κατὰ γοήτων καὶ γοητευουσων*, Gone *Kallistos* p230; **Melet***Alpha* ϱξ΄ p365.

[418] For methods described in the alternative traditions see below pp293–297. For lists in which various means of divination are specifically described as demonic see e.g. **Eph***DevtPar* II pp195–196; †**JChr***Pseud* 7 cc561–562: **Melet***Alpha* ϱξ΄ p521.

[419] **Origen***Phil* 20.19 p144. For the use of birds see also †**Anast***Erot* 20 c529, quoting Cyril.

[420] See e.g. Aristophanes *Wasps* 1019 and Plato *Sophist* 252c for the renowned ἐγγαστρίμυθος Eurycles; see also here in particular Plutarch *de Defectu Oraculorum* 414e, "Certainly it is foolish and childish in the extreme

marily from the story of Saul consulting the "witch of Endor" who is called an ἐγγαστρίμυθος in the Septuagint.[421] The concept was related also to the woman with a πνεῦμα Πύθωνα who followed Paul at Philippi in Acts, and thence to many cases of divination by means of a possessing demon or spirit.[422]

4.5 Metaphors of Operation

Having examined the methods of demonic operation against men at some length, all that remains now to complete this consideration of their activity is to look briefly at the most common metaphors used to describe it.

By far the most frequent metaphor that was employed by this tradition was that of fighting, in terms of either military combat or the wrestling match. As is the case with most of these metaphors, such language can be seen to find inspiration and support in the Bible where, in the New Testament, Ephesians 6.11-17 stands out once again.[423]

Almost every aspect of demonic activity could be described as a battle, with the Devil and the demons represented as

---

to imagine that god himself after the manner of ventriloquists, (who used to be called Eurycleis but now Pythones), enters into the bodies of his prophets and prompts their utterances, employing their mouths as voices and instruments"; cf. Hippocrates *Epidemiai* 5.63 and 7.28. For commentary on these and other examples see Dodds *Progress* pp199–200.

[421] I Kings 28; cf. too Leviticus 19.31. In the Endor story there is also some connection to necromancy; cf. **Gregoras***DeIns* cc615–619.

[422] Acts 16 : 16–18; see Langton *Essentials* p177-179. The ἐγγαστρίμυθος and what happened at Endor was the subject of controversy among the Fathers, Origen, Hippolytos, Eustathios, Gregory of Nyssa, and John Chrysostom among others writing works on the subject; cf. Thorndike *History* I pp469–471. In the tradition see here †**Anast***Erot* 39 cc534–535; *ibid.*, 20 c521; **GNaz***Or5* c693c; **Gregoras***Ant* 1.2.2.17 pp257–259. For the case of Amarantina who was accused of ventriloquism before the Patriarchal Court in the fourteenth century, see below p293.

[423] Much language in the *LXX* about fighting and God's enemies was also interpreted as being about the struggle with the demons, particularly that in Psalms. In the book of Maccabees it comes to be used of martyrdom and, in the light of its own experience, this was taken up by the early church; this also employed the idea, that had counterparts in Stoic and other Hellenistic philosophy as well as the Bible, of the virtuous life as a continuous contest or battle against evil forces whether external or internal.

the enemies and opponents of God and all good men.[424] The demonic armies,[425] drawn up in ranks and phalanxes,[426] were thus said to march out of their camp[427] to attack and fight Christians.[428] Arming themselves with all the strategies and wiles which they had as their weapons,[429] and in particular with their

---

[424] See above pp29–30.

[425] For the idea of the demonic army in the New Testament see Revelation 9 and 19:19, as well as the story of Legion. In the tradition there is thus the *στρατιά* of demons: **Bas***NestA* 9 c180; **Bas***Barl* 3 c488; †**JDam***Barl* 29 p442: **AkropK***Barb* 7 p414; **Kal***Stavr* c264b. The *στράτευμα*: **JChr***Adam* 1 c527: **Melet***Alpha* *με΄* p185; **Schol***Evang* 6 p6. In modern times compare also the story mentioned p287 n1007.

[426] For the *παράταξις*, see **Diad***Keph* 62 p131; *ibid.*, 100 pp162–163; †**JDam***Barl* 11 p150; *ibid.*, 39 p596; **JKlim** 15 c885: **GSin***Keph* 84 c1265a. For *φάλαγξ*, which is the most common of all the military formations here, see **Diad** *Keph* 98 p160; **JChr***Hier* 2.3 p108.11; †**JDam***Barl* 30 p454; **Mark***Nik* 13 c1049; **Theoph***Luke* 10.17–20 c840: **Kall***JnNest* p81; **Kaloth***Ath* 9 p463 ll.329–330; **Louk***Evgen* 31 p30; **Palam***Dek* c1092; **Kok***Anysia* p107. Bear in mind too the appearance of demons as soldiers, see above p85 n288.

[427] For the demonic *στρατόπεδον* see **JChr***Olymp* 13.4d p346: **Palam***JnTh* p297. The invisible armies are said to be encamped around Christians by **Bas***Psalm* 7.7 c244; cf. also their *παρεμβολαὶ* in **Isaac***Ask* 43 p178.

[428] The commonest verb used for their attack in the tradition is *πολεμέω*. In New Testament usage this is largely confined to apocalyptic passages, and it is this, with its cognate noun *πόλεμος* that is used in Revelation 12:7 of the war of the dragon/Devil with Michael. In the tradition see among very many for *πολεμέω*, †**Ath***AntArch* 11 c604; †**Anast***Erot* 118 c769; **Diad***Keph* 78 p136; **Eph***Proseche* 8 I p243: **AkropK***Evdok* 10 p211; **Melet***Alpha* *λθ΄* p156; *ibid.*, *ψς΄* p333. For *πόλεμος* see e.g. **Bas***AitKak* 8 c348; **EuZig***Psalt* 118.28 c1141; †**JDam***Barl* 39 p588; **JKarp** 65 c1850; **JKlim** 26 c1013; **Bry***Log* 2 p239; **ChoumM***Hyp* p69; **Gregoras***Mich* p263; **Makar***Ia* 54 p473; **Schol***Lat* p247; cf. Mango *Byzantium* p159.

Also common was *προσβολή*, used particularly for the demonic assault and temptation through the passions; see e.g. **TBals***Kan* on **Ath** *Amoun* c552; **GNaz***Carm58* l.1 c1402; **Hesychios** 1.2 c1481b-c; **Mark** *Bapt* 4 c1013; **Max***Keph* 3.93 p188: **Anon***BiosRom* 16 p137 l.60; **Bry***Triad* 2 p32; *ibid.*, 15 p290; **Kant***Apol* IV c564b; **Melet***Alpha* *λθ΄* p157; *ibid.*, *ψς΄* p333; **Palam***Hom* 23 p134; *ibid.*, 50 p101.

Μάχομαι and *μάχη*, which are not used for the warfare of the Christian life in the New Testament, were also less common in the tradition. They do appear at e.g. †**Amph***Bas* p194; **Ath***Ant* 65 c932; **Eph***TelMon* II p416e; **EuZig***Psalt* 17.18 c233: **MetT***John* 3 p681; **GSin***Keph* 125 c1289a. Occasionally used also was *ἐπιτίθεμαι* in e.g. †**Ath***AntArch* 39 c621; **Bas***Let* 48 c764; **Pall***Laus* 19 p60; **EuZig***Psalt* 118.62 c1152: **Melet***Alpha* *ψς΄* p332; **Kok***Germ* 15 p113. A variety of other terms also appeared.

[429] *Ὁπλίζω* (cf. Romans 6:13), was used most frequently. For the weapons of the Devil and the demons seen as such things as women, envy,

burning darts and arrows,[430] the demons then wounded their enemies[431] unless these fought back, putting on the armour of God supplied by practice of the Christian virtues and the grace of the Lord.[432] In much the same way the demons were pictured

---

and various other passions see e.g. **Ath***Ant* 5 c848; †**Anast***Erot* 59 c632; **Bas***Let* 15 c701; **Bas***Phthonou* c377; **GNaz***Or2* 21 p118; **Neilos***Keph* 107 c1260: **Bek***Phot* c828c; **Bry***Log* 2 p239.

[430] The idea of God being armed with arrows is common in the *LXX*, and in the Greek and Roman tradition several gods were also thought to be armed with darts (*βέλη*) sometimes identified with lightning and thought to cause death, sickness and passion. In the New Testament *τὰ βέλη τὰ πεπυρωμένα* are said to be among the weapons of the Devil at Ephesians 6 : 16, and hence it is not surprising to find this expression quite frequently in the tradition where these darts are often associated with the arousal of the passions by the demonic powers. See e.g. **Bas***Psalm* 7.7 c248; **Diad***Keph* 82 p141; *ibid.*, 85 p145; **Eph***Gloss* II p288; **EuZig***Psalt* 37.6 c432; *ibid.*, 74.4 c773; **GNaz***Or40* 10 c369; **JKarp** 16 c1841; cf. **Isaac***Ask* 41 p172 (*καυστικὰ βέλη*): **GCyp***Evth* p422; **Melet***Alpha ψς΄* p330; cf. *ibid.*, p398.

For *βέλη* by itself see **Ath***Amoun* c1169; **Diad***Keph* 97 p159; **Hesychios** 1.44 c1496; **Isaac***Ask* 1 p3; †**JChr***Job* 1 cc563 and 566; *ibid.*, 3.3 c574: **Doukas***Hist* 31 p213; **Gregoras***Ant* 1.2.1.12 p233; **Melet***Alpha με΄* p185; cf. **AkropK***Theod* 7 p72d; **KallMon***Ep* p18 l.20 (*βολή*).

Τόξευμα is also used by e.g. †**Ath***Analeps* c1093; †**Amph***Bas* p194: and the idea of the Devil shooting (*κατατοξεύω*) appears in **GNaz** *Or6* c740; **JChr***Hier* 6.2 pp308–310 ll.33–34; **JChr***Olymp* 8.8a p186; **JKlim** 26 c1036: **Kyd***Konst* p62; **Melet***Alpha ψς΄* p333; *ibid.*, *Ξ στοιχ.* p353. Cf. also Russell *Satan* p62; Joannou *Démon.* p42; Provatake *Diavolos* pp283–284. Note that in later secular poetry and especially in the Palaeologan romances the idea of men being smitten by the darts of love is common; these, however, are no longer depicted as being shot by the demons, but by Eros. Here the wheel has turned full circle and the old classical concept is restored to something approaching its former status as times and the social factors governing ideas have altered; see e.g. **Anon***Achilles* p49 ll.284, 287 etc; *DigAk* Gro. III.1–5 p44.

[431] For wounding see **Bas***Phthonou* 4 c377; **Eph***Proseche* 3 1 p232; **Eph***Gloss* II p288; **Isaac***Ask* 41 p172; **JChr***Hier* 6.13 pp356–358; **JChr** *John* 23 c137; **JKarp** 25 c1842: **Gregoras***Ant* 1.2.1.12 p233; **ChoumN** *Test* p341.

[432] For the demons' opponents, the Christians, as soldiers engaged in battles with them see especially in the New Testament Ephesians 6 : 11–17; (cf. Isaiah 59 : 17; Wisdom 5 : 17–22 in the *LXX*), and see also e.g. Luke 11 : 21–22; Romans 6 : 13 and 13 : 12; II Corinthians 10 : 3–4; I Thessalonians 5 : 8. In the tradition see the striking passage in **JChr***Hier* 6.12–13 pp352–360; and also **Eph***Makar* I p296e-f; **Eph***Proseche* 9 1 p245c; **Hesychios** 2.4 cc1512–1513; †**JDam***Barl* 18 pp270–272; *ibid.*, 19 p286, 30 p452; **Max***Theol* 1.78 c1112: **Gabriel***Hom* 1 p142; *ibid.*, 7 p172; **GCyp***Las* 43 p606; **GCyp***George* 6 c305b; **GSin***Kath* c1340a-b; **MetT***John* 3 p681 **Kok***Hierarch* c777c.

as opposing the athletes of God, wrestling and boxing them[433] in the ring of the contest[434] in order to trip them up and throw them down if given the chance,[435] and so prevent them winning their garlands and trophies. Linked to these metaphors, in that it was their logical sequel, was the idea of the demonic powers making men their captives.[436] The most usual application of this concept, as has been mentioned above, was to the Devil, who was often called the Tyrant, holding men slaves to sin and death before the coming of Christ; it was, however, also used more generally to describe the fate of those who, through their

---

[433] The idea of Christians as wrestlers or athletes appears occasionally in the New Testament, see e.g. I Corinthians 9:26; Philippians 2:16; II Timothy 4:8. In the tradition the idea of the demonic powers wrestling or boxing them is quite common. For clear examples see **Bas***Psalm* 7.2 cc232–233; **Bas***NestB* 1 c185a–188c; and **JChr***John* 32 c188: **Gabriel***Hom* 7.4–5 pp172–173; **Melet***Alpha* ϱνη΄ p515; **MelitenT***Dial* c932b.

[434] The idea of the contest, ἀγὼν or πάλη, appears in the New Testament specifically against the demonic powers at Ephesians 6:12; see also Philippians 1:30; I Timothy 6:12; II Timothy 4:7; and cf. Wisdom 4:2 and 10:12 in the *LXX*. In the tradition examples of the use of πάλη and παλαίω may be found in connection with the demons at, e.g., **Ath***Ant* 5 c848; *ibid.*, 21 c873, 51 c917, 65 c936; **Diad***Keph* 41 p109; **Hesychios** 1.12 c1484; †**JChr***Baia2* c718; **JKlim** 4 c712; *ibid.*, 26 c1064: **Anon***BiosRom* 12 p130; **AkropK***Theod* 7 p72d; **Amir***JPal* p124; **Kall***JnNest* p81. For ἀγὼν and ἀγωνίζω see **Ath***Ant* 10 c860; *ibid.*, 13 c864; **Eph***Proseche* 3 I p232; **Eph***TelMon* II p416; **Doroth***Did* 4.4 c1664; **EuZig***Psalt* 118.61 c1152; **Isaac***Ask* 23 p101; *ibid.*, 30 p127, 51 p209, 54 p214; **Theoph***Luke* 4.1–13 c745: **Apostol***KPal* p79; **GCyp***George* 7 c305d; **GCyp***Marina* p233; **Melet***Alpha* ϱθ΄ p373; **SymThes***Dem2* p40.

Σκάμμα, the wrestling ring, appears in this context in **Eph***Arete* I p229; **Eph***Proseche* 6 I p237: **TheophP***Max* 15 p85.2–4; cf. also **ChoumM***Epit* p80 ll.141–144 (παγκράτιον); and **Gabriel***Hom* 5 II p161 (γυμνάσιον). For πυκτεύω see I Corinthians 9:26 and also †**JDam***Barl* 37 p570; **JChr***Olymp* 12.1d p322; *ibid.*, 15.1a p356; **JKlim** 4 c708.

[435] The term ὑποσκελίζω appears in the *LXX* at e.g. Psalm 16:13; 36:31; 139:4; all of which are capable of interpretation about the demons. For this and καταπαλαίω in the tradition see **Eph***Arete* I p229; **GNas** *Or40* 10 c372; **Isaac***Ask* 54 p215; **JChr***TheodLog* 15.56 p172; **JChr***John* 9 c73; †**JChr***Job* 1 c564; †**JDam***Barl* 37 p564: **Bry***Log* 2 p174; **Palam***Hom* 16 p93.

[436] This idea owes much to the captivity and exile of the Jews as recounted in the *LXX*, and to the belief in the Messiah as a liberator. Jesus is pictured as accepting this role by Luke 4:18 (quoting Isaiah 61:1) and the liberation involved was subsequently seen by the church as being not physical but rather from the spiritual bondage of the Devil who had ruled men through death as a consequence of Adam's fall; see e.g. Romans 7:23.

carelessness or folly, were conquered by demons.[437]

The second main group of metaphors used by the tradition to describe demonic activity drew more heavily on the deceitful side of their nature. Continuing in the military vein, they were thus said to ambush their unwary opponents,[438] but the idea of the hunter and his prey was also taken up in many places[439] and thus the snares, traps, and nets with which they caught men were frequently mentioned, an idea given impetus, no doubt, by the reference to the Devil's παγίς in I and II Timothy.[440]

As has been seen above, the demons were thought to have been fond of using animals for their designs and of adopting their form, and it is thus not at all surprising to find that metaphors involving animals were also popular when depicting their activity. Most commonly they were likened to lions,[441]

---

[437] For examples of Tyrant and slavery metaphors see above pp49–50.

[438] The word used most often for the demonic ambush, ἐνέδρα, ἐνεδρεύω, appears in the New Testament but only for physical ambushes; see e.g. Acts 23:16, 21; 25:3; and Luke 11:54 which is perhaps closest to the present idea. In the tradition see **Ath***Ant* 6 c849; **Ath***Amoun* c1169; cf. **JZon***Kan* c553; **JChr***Heb* 6 c528; **JChr***Adam* c531; **JKarp** 51 c1848; **Mark***Nik* 10 c1048; **Soph***MaryEg* c3709: **Gabriel***Hom* 1 p142; **Ioakeim***Typ* 13 p50.25; **Kok***Germ* 14 p75; **TheophP***Max* 15 p85.4. Λόχος is used by **GNaz***Carm54* l.5 c1397; **GNaz***Carm55* ll.4, 13 c1399; **GNaz** *Carm83* l.11 c1429: also **Hesychios** 1.8 c1484; **Kab***Zealot* 59 p125.13; and **Palam***Peter* 25 c1017b.

[439] For the demonic powers as hunters see e.g. **EuZig***Psalt* 90.3 c937; **Isaac***Ask* 19 p74; **JKarp** 5 c1839; **Theoph***Matt* 15.28 c312: and **Melet***Alpha* ρβ΄ p350.

[440] I Timothy 3:7 and II Timothy 2:26; there is also much figurative use of the idea of snares and traps in the *LXX*, especially in Psalms. Παγίς, πάγη, παγιδεύω is, then, the commonest term used but also quite frequent are βρόχος, δέλεαρ, δελέασμα, δελεάζω, δίκτυον, θήρατρον, while various others are employed occasionally. See †**Anast***Erot* 1 c342; *ibid.*, 7 c385; **Bas***Hex* 6.1 c117; **Bas***AitKak* 9 c348; **Eph***Arete* 7 I p221; **Eph***Symb* 7 I p260; **Eph***Mak* 20 I p295; **EuZig***Psalt* 5.9 c104; *ibid.*, 32.11 c376, 118.61 c1152; **GNaz***Or3* 8 pp252–254: **AkropK***Test* p45; **Athan***Ep* 47 ll.9–12; *ibid.*, 60 ll.13–19; **GSin***Kath* c1337d; *ibid.*, c1341c; **Gmon***Lar* 156 p555c; **Louk***Evgen* 3 p3; **Melet***Alpha* 5 p52; cf. also Delatte*Ex* p127.

[441] The Devil (the Opponent), is described at I Peter 5:8 as being like a lion. See here e.g. **Eph***Proseche* 6 I p237; **EuZig***Psalt* 7.3 c116; *ibid.*, 67.31 c680; **Hesychios** 1.39 c1493; **Isaac***Ask* 21 p85; **JKarp** 51 c1848; **Mark***Bap* c1013: also **Bek***Phot* c864b; cf. **Kaloth***Greg* 13 p514 ll.348–349 where the Devil's deceit is said to be like the leopard changing its

dogs,[442] and wolves, the latter often being used in relation to their attack on God's flock.[443] Also in this connection the parable of the thief climbing into the sheepfold provided the basis for several other metaphors involving theft.[444]

---

spots.

[442] So **Hesychios** 2.42 c1524, who describes how the mind is led on by the demonic fantasies, following them like lambs approaching a dog which has appeared in their pasture and receiving nothing from it except its foul smell; **Evag***Log* 94 c1188: also **Gmon***Laz* 54 p526d; **Palam***Antirrhet* 2.15.67 p133.1; **Kok***Anysia* p108.

[443] So **Eph***TelMon* II p417; **JChr***John* 59 c326; **Gregoras***Hist* VI 1.4 p161; and cf. Russell *Satan* p62.

Other animals such as pig or boar are used occasionally. For the demons as θηρὲς in general see **Eph***TelMon* II p413; **Evag***Log* 91 c1188; *ibid.*, 99 c1189; **GNaz***Carm55* l.3 c1399; **GNaz***Carm56* l.2 c1401; **GNaz***Carm83* l.5 c1428; **JChr***Olymp* 11.1a p305; *ibid.*, 13.1b p330; **Mark** *Nik* 10 c1048. On the relation of demons to beasts in the traditions behind the New Testament see Kelly *Devil* pp190–195. For the use of additional animal metaphors in relation to the passions see above p101, and for the snake and dragon pp44–46.

[444] For a clear example of this see **ChoumN***Test* p344. The image of theft was used most often in connection with the fall of man and the coming of death, but it could also be generally applied. See e.g. **TBals***Kan* on **Peter***Kan* 11 p37; **Eph***DevtPar* II p206; **GNaz***Or40* 14 c376; **GNaz***Or44* 4 c612; **GNaz***Carm59* l.6 c1403; **GNaz***Carm60* l.11 c1403; **GNaz***Carm83* ll.10, 30 cc1429–1430; **Nekt***Theod* 2 c1824: **Melet***Alpha* ρν′ p491. For the Devil and the demons as λῃσταί, often in connection with allegorical interpretations of the parable of the good Samaritan, see e.g. **Evag***Pnev* c1161a; **GNaz***Or40* 10 c369; **GNaz***Or45* 22 c653; †**JChr***Evang* c795; †**JDam***Barl* 30 p466; **Theoph***Matt* 4 c180: **Kall***Hyps* p129; cf. above pp56–57 and n200. On the Devil as a robber see also G.J.M. Bartelink, "Les démons comme brigands", *VChr* 21 (1967), pp12–24; Russell *Satan* p74 n58.

5. Resistance to the Demons

5.1 God's Control of the Demonic Powers

Before considering the ways in which men were believed to be able to resist and repel the various forms of demonic activity against them, it is important to establish the position occupied by the Devil and the demons in relation to God and men in the standard orthodox tradition of the late Byzantine period, for it is upon this that the possibility of standing up to and actually defeating the forces of evil was seen to depend.

The primary factor in the relationship was that, even before Christ's victory, the Devil and the demons were not believed to have been free to do as they wanted. Orthodox Christianity always shrank from any idea of absolute dualism which would threaten the unity or omnipotence of the God-head but, at the same time, it had both to deny that evil was from God, (to safeguard his complete goodness), and to keep open the possibility of evil in order that man's goodness should mean something, in order that it should be freely obtained. By maintaining the existence of evil and in particular the concept of the Devil and his forces, it could, however, get dangerously close to just such an unacceptable form of dualism. In order to guard against this Christianity had first to postulate that the Devil was not God's equal, was not unoriginate, while at the same time it had to maintain that his evil was not created by God. This it did by seeing the Devil as a fallen angel, created by God for good but with freedom of will which allowed for the possibility of his turning from his maker. Secondly it had to postulate that all evil and especially the actions of the demonic powers after their fall, was always under the control of the omnipotent and omniscient God; it was vital that the Devil was never thought capable, from his own will, of making men sin unwillingly and without choice, for that would have presumed a belief in evil as an absolute power and so overturned and undermined all Christian theological principles.[445]

---

[445] On the Devil, the demons, and all evil being neither self-originate

Although the freedom of men to resist the Devil in the pre-Christian era sometimes tended to be forgotten or played down, usually when the importance of Christ's victory was being stressed, it had always to remain a part of the total picture for the Orthodox tradition. The Devil's power at that time was seen to lie in his control of death, which had originally been given to him by God, and in his enslavement of the human race to sin, which was thought to have been sanctioned by God as part of the continuing punishment for man's first sin and for men's subsequent refusal to attempt to return to him.[446] This freedom on the part of men and weakness on the part of the Devil in pre-Christian times was seen as having been exemplified, and guaranteed, for the standard tradition in the story of Job. There the Devil was described as being forced to ask God's permission to act, and his attack on that noble man was thought to have been both for Job's own ultimate good and for the purpose of proving to the Devil that not all men were under his power.[447]

It was thus believed that God could have ended the Devil's domination of men at will but, because of the need to preserve the value of good by allowing men the possibility of choosing it freely, he did not destroy the power of evil absolutely; rather, by means of the incarnation, he brought a halt to man's punishment by the necessity of death. Through the incarnation man was given the possibility of returning to the eternal life and all the good things that he had been offered in paradise before, but he was not *guaranteed* them; man's salvation depended on the way he chose to live his life, upon his acceptance or rejection of the second chance he had been given. The demonic forces were seen to have lost a major portion of the power they had been alloted, but they were not destroyed. In-

nor from God cf. above p11. For a general outline of possible theodicies see Russell *Satan* pp17–18, (cf. pp72 and 150–153), also pp32–33 on the nature of Christian "dualism".

[446] For the consequences of the fall as punishment by God for man's ultimate good see e.g. **Amir***JPal* p124; **Bry***Log* 2 p57; *ibid.*, 2 p250; **Kant***Apol* II c444c-d; **Kok***Theod* 1 p76c; **TheophNik***Eu* cc352a–353a.

[447] Job 1:12; 2:6. In the tradition see †**Anast***Erot* 18 cc501, 505; *ibid.*, 32 c572; **Ath***Ant* 29 c888; **Bas***Kathelo* 1 c261; **Bas***AitKak* 5 c340; †**JChr***Job* 3.1 c571; *ibid.*, 4.2 cc577–578; **JDam***Orth* 2.29 pp101, 103; **Isaac***Ask* 54 p216; **Gregoras***Ant* 1.1.6.2 p151; **Kant***Mahom* II c649c-d; **MeliteniT***Dial* VI.4–17 cc921–937; **TheophNik***Ep* B' 2–3 cc309–316.

stead they continued to assail men with the strongest weapons left to them, attempting to so delude and deceive them that they forgot the weakness of their attackers and, casting away the virtuous life and rejecting the offer made to them by God, fell voluntarily under the demons' control once more, to be condemned through sin to death. This continuation of the danger of evil led to an emphasis still being placed on God's control of demonic activity in the world, even in the years following the incarnation. Here the equivalent exemplar to the story of Job was that of the Gerasene demoniac, where much play was made in commentaries upon the fact that the demons possessing the unfortunate man had to ask Jesus' permission even before they could enter into a herd of swine.[448]

God's control and ordering of the demons' actions was stressed in relation to ordinary men in order to counter any tendency for them to see themselves as helpless pawns in the vicious clutches of independent and self-determining powers of evil. Such a stress also provided an answer to questions that might arise as to why these evil powers should continue to trouble, and indeed, had ever been allowed to trouble good men. It was thus believed that God might permit the attack of the demons in order to make trial of his saints. On the one hand this was thought to provide these men with practice in the spiritual contest, building up their strength and training their endurance so that they might become like those who, through long experience of sailing, are no longer sea-sick.[449] On the other hand, being smelted like gold in a furnace, this was thought to prove their worth, showing the Devil that they were not in his power,[450] and giving them an opportunity to reveal their glory

---

[448] See e.g. †**Ath***AntArch* 13 c605; **JDam***Orth* 2.29 p103; †**JChr** *Job* 3.1 c571; **Theoph***Matt* 8.28-34 c225; **Theoph***Mark* 5.1-20 c540; **Pal-am***Hom* 50 p105 **AkropK***Theod* 39 p84b; **AkropK***Evdok* 16 p217; Conybeare*Bapt* (ii) pp392-393.

[449] See **JChr***Olymp* 11.1b p182; cf. *ibid.*, 13.1b p191; and also **Bas***AitKak* 9 c349; **Isaac***Ask* 19 p72; *ibid.*, 52 p212; **Bry***Erot* pp143ff.

[450] See **Isaac***Ask* 54 p216. Also †**Anast***Erot* 18 c505; **Ath***Ant* 10 c860; **Diad***Keph* 82 p142: **GSin***Kath* cc1340-1341a and 1344a; **Gmon***Lar* 70 pp530-531; **Melet***Alpha* μδ' p180; **Schol***Evgen* p7; **Sym**Thes*Sym* 5 p84; cf. **Delatte***Ex* f3.

and win the crowns of victory stored up for them in heaven.[451] At the same time the demonic forces could be used to teach men the difference between good and evil,[452] and to keep those who were progressing from falling into the trap of pride by humiliating them in this way.[453] Finally it was believed that the demons might be given authority over men in order to punish those who had strayed into sin, with a view to bringing them back, chastened but safe, to the fold.[454]

A clear illustration of several of these points is provided by this passage from Meletios Homologetes;[455]

> The apostate, Satan, it seems to me, is a rod beating children who love sport and a strap whipping them. For, just as the rod is cut from a plant and the strap from an animal, and though these are thus deprived of their own life, they may still frequently be advan-

---

[451] †**Anast***Erot* 57 c624; *ibid.*, 119 c772; **Theoph***Luke* 8.26–40 c808; **AkropK***Evdok* 10 p212; **Gregoras***Mich* p278; **GCyp***Laz* 24 p598b; **Kall** *Apotom* p124; **MelitenK***Ek* cc1185d–1188a; **Neil***Palam* c675c. Cf. Russell *Satan* p142.

[452] See e.g. **Diad***Keph* 86 p146, where the idea of a child being sent away by its mother in order to be frightened by strangers and so learn her love is used; cf. **Palam***Keph* 42 c1152, which says that God allowed the serpent speech in paradise so that man could see how bad it was and realise there was no profit in it; his plan backfired, however.

[453] **Diad***Keph* 85 p144; *ibid.*, 99 p161; **JKlim** 15 c892; **Pall***Laus* 19 p62; **GSin***Keph* 117 c1281a-c; *ibid.*, 124 c1289a; **Gmon***Laz* 48 p524c-d; **Kok***Herak* p38.

[454] The idea of the demons being used for punishment owes a lot to Psalm 77 : 49, "He let loose on them his fierce anger, ... a company of evil angels", (cf. Ezekiel 29 : 19–20), and I Corinthians 5 : 5 where Paul instructs that a fornicator should be delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh so that his soul may be saved. In the tradition see †**Anast***Erot* 31 cc568–569; *ibid.*, 18 c505, 32 c569, 62 c648; **Bas***ArchPar* 5 c396; cf. **TBals***Kan* and **JZon***Kan* on Basil *Κανὼν* 7 cc608–609; **JChr***Olymp* 8.2b p162; †**JChr***Job* 3.1 and 2 cc571–572; **Theoph***Matt* 18.24, 25 c345; **Theoph***Luke* 13.10–17 c916; **Anon***Evgen* 6 p145; **Bry***Log* 2 p418; **Gregoras***Mich* p278; **GSin** *Keph* 132 c1297a; **Gmon***Laz* 204 p571; *ibid.*, 233 p580c-d. Cf. Delatte*Ex* f4v and p130 for possession as punishment and †**Psellos***Hel* c876c; also above p95 and n320.

[455] **Melet***Alpha* ψς′ p334. For other references to God's control of the demons in general see †**Anast***Erot* 9 c412; *ibid.*, 20 cc528–529; **EuZig***Psalt* 54.23 c584; **Isaac***Ask* 5 p19; *ibid.*, 8 p36, 44 pp186–187, 48 p198; **Max***Keph* 2.67 pp124–126; cf. *ibid.*, 2.12 p94 and **Pall***Laus* 18 pp49–50; **Theoph***Mark* 9.14–29 c588; **Athan***Ep* 69 p168; **Bry***Log* 2 p180; **Bry***Keph* 11 p58; **Gregoras***Hist* VI 1.3 p160; **Kant***Apol* II c493a; **Palam***Hom* 50 p104. On the power of the demons in general here cf. G. de Matons *Psellos* pp340–342.

> tageous in correction, so too the Lord may still use the terrible dragon for punishing even though he has been separated from the heavenly life and the lands of heaven and is rightly dead, since he has surrendered himself completely to evil. He thus shows up those who are proved more excellent, and these then receive as their due the garlands from God. Therefore, the Evil One, a creature and servant of God, has been allowed to walk about the earth as a rod for correction, except that he does not have the initiative in whatever temptations he wants but can only introduce what the despotic power allows him in order to test those who are eager to serve God. The hostile one rushes up and drags them toward sin but, failing in his aim because of divine exhortation, he appears as a servant of salvific action and the creator, in his economy, makes the common enemy through hostility, do exactly the opposite of what he intends, so that he brings about the establishment of peace by fighting. Unless the Creator has allowed it to the demons, they have no strength to make any man grieve.

5.2 Means of Resisting and Defeating Demonic Aggression

Since the orthodox tradition saw the demons as creatures able to do only what they were allowed by God and deprived of much of their power by Christ, it is possible to understand how it was thought they could be resisted and controlled by ordinary men. In a general way, it was thus believed that all that was needed was a firm commitment to God and his power. Such a commitment would begin with Christian baptism, the liturgy of which contained elements involving the general renunciation of Satan, his forces and his works, as well as the provision of some protection for the future and the actual exorcism of both candidate and materials involved in the ritual. Baptism was probably the most obvious and vital point of contact with the demonic in the standard orthodox tradition for ordinary people,[456] but it was thought that the commitment to Christianity begun there had to be demonstrated and continued

[456] On the history and development of actions and prayers for the expulsion, repulsion and renunciation of the Devil and his forces in Christian Baptism see in particular Kelly *Baptism*; detailed points are cited in the notes below.

by a virtuous way of life and frequent, if not constant prayer. Against a man armed with such weapons the demonic attack was seen, necessarily, to founder.[457]

These general requirements for resisting and controlling the forces of evil might, however, be thought to be provided with greater efficacy and strength by the additional employment of some detailed refinements. The use of particular forms of prayer,[458] and the practice of specific virtues against various forms of demonic assault,[459] are thus widely attested, but the use of the sign of the cross was thought to be the Christian's most powerful weapon; reminded of their greatest defeat and of their true powerlessness against men, the demons were believed to turn tail and flee at the sight of this.[460]

---

[457] Prayer is said to be particularly effective in the New Testament at Mark 9:29, and the examples of Christ and Job during their temptations should also be borne in mind. For men countering the demons in this general way see, among very many, **Ath***Ant* 5 cc848–849; **EuZig***Psalt* 118.55 c1149; **Diad***Keph* 97 p159; **GNaz***Or24* 10 pp58–60; **Hesychios** 1.39 c1493; *ibid.*, 2.41 c1524; **Isaac***Ask* 29 p168; *ibid.*, 43 pp177–179: **ChoumN***Test* p344; **Kant***Apol* II c481b; **Melet***Alpha* ι΄ p70; *ibid.*, ιη΄ p99, ψη΄ p336; **Neil***Anth* p75; **NikMon***Neps* c958; **Palam***Hom* 16 p93. Cf. Russell *Satan* pp44, 87, 175.

[458] For example the use of passages from the Bible, **Ath***Ant* 6 cc849–852 (Psalm 117:7); *ibid.*, 9 c856 (Psalm 26:3), 13 c864 (Psalm 67:2 and 117:10), 37 c897 ("Get thee behind me Satan"); †**Ath***AntArch* 14 c605 (Psalm 67); **EuZig***Psalt* 34 int., c392 (Psalm 34); **Evag***Log* 135 c1196 (Psalm 18:37–38); **JKarp** 87 cc1854–1855 (Psalms in general); **JKlim** 22 cc953–956 (Psalm 39:15–16). Also prayers involving specific actions and directed in specific ways; **JKlim** 15 c900 (raising arms, beating breast, frequent prostrations in prayer); **ChoumN***Theo* p201 (kneeling, standing all night, hymn singing, beseeching God); **ChoumN***Thesp* cc1509–1512a (to Theotokos); **JRhak***Stich* (to Theotokos); **Palam***Peter* 28 c1021 (to Theotokos): **Gmon***Laz* 50 p525d; *ibid.*, 154 p554d, 155 pp554f–555a (prayers of Lazaros). Cf. Joannou *Démon.*, p45. Note, however, that in **Gmon***Laz* 43 p522f a monk is attacked by demons while actually praying. On keeping vigil see Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp296–298; *idem, Christus* pp126–128.

[459] For specific virtues and in particular humility, fasting and endurance, see e.g. **Eph***Gloss* II pp288–289; **Ath***Ant* 22 c876; **Diad***Keph* 99 p161; **Doroth***Did* 2.1 c640; *ibid.*, 8.5 c1713; **Isaac***Ask* 20 p78: **GCyp***Laz* 18 p595b-c; **GSin***Kath* c1341c-d; **Kant***Apol* IV c561c; **Melet***Alpha* ιθ΄ p101; *ibid.*, μη΄ p197, ψε΄ p326; **Palam***Hom* 23 pp134–135; **Theolep***Inst* p124. Compare the use of anger against the demons, above p114; for fasting in the New Testament and in particular the disputed passage at Mark 9:29 see below.

[460] See among very many **Ath***Ant* 35 c893; †**Ath***AntArch* 38 c621;

Most of the elements mentioned here, along with some other elaborations, appeared in actual rites of exorcism as well, and it was in these rites, where the confrontation between the forces of good and evil was vividly and sharply defined, that beliefs about man's ability to control the demonic powers reached their greatest development in the standard orthodox tradition. The stories which appear with relative frequency in the New Testament about the exorcisms performed by Jesus and his followers provided ample evidence and the basic support for the practices of the later tradition,[461] but the idea of exorcism was very deeply rooted owing, at least in part, to its presence in the catechumenate sevice before baptism[462] and in the liturgy of baptism itself,[463] as well as in rituals employed for curing the possessed.

---

ibid., 40 cc621–624; **EuZig***Psalt* 59.13 c617; **GNaz***Carm55* l.10 c1399; **GNaz***Carm60* l.4 c1403; **JDam***Orth* 4.11 p187; **Pall***Laus* 2 p18; **Soph** *MaryEg* 10 c3705a; *ibid.*, 15 c3709a: **AkropK***Barb* 4 p409; **AkropK***Dem* 15 p175; **AkropK***JnEl* 10 p51; **ChoumN***Theo* pp208–209; **GCyp***Laz* 28 p599; **GCyp***Marina* pp229–230; **Gmon***Laz* 42 p522e; *ibid.*, 54 p526d-e, 67 p530e, 208 p572; **Kal***Stavr* cc264b–265a; **Kall***Hyps* p135; **Niphon***Max* 3 p45; cf. *ibid.*, 18 p56. See also Joannou *Démon.*, pp22 and 43; Provatake *Diavolos* pp295–297; Campbell *Honour* p334. For its use in particular antidemonic rituals see below. The Bogomils maintained that the effect of the cross was due to pretence by the demons who really loved it as the instrument of Christ's death; Zigabenos also mentions possessed men running to it instead of away from it (see below p174).

[461] On the New Testament tradition of exorcism in general see particularly Böcher *Christus* passim, but especially pp77-170; and *idem Dämonen.*, passim.

[462] For the rites of making catechumens see Conybeare*Bapt* pp391–397; **Anon***Katech* pp274–278. Cf. Kelly *Baptism* pp163–167; Bruel *Superstition* pp96–98; Delatte*Ex* p146.

[463] For exorcism in Baptism see Conybeare*Bapt* pp399–402; **Anon** *Bapt* pp287–291. Cf. the elaborate rite of renunciation described in †**Dion** *Ekkl* 2.2.6 c396b; *ibid.*, 2.3.5 c401; cf. Kelly *Baptism* pp134–135. For this and the power of baptism against the demons in general see e.g. **Eph***DevtPar* pp195–196; **EuZig***Psalt* 59.13 c617; *ibid.*, 92.4 c956; **GNaz** *Or40* cc359–426 passim; **GNaz***Carm60* l.10 c1403; †**JDam***Barl* 11 p150; **Athan***Ep* 33 ll.19–24; **Melet** *Alpha* ϱ′ pp342–343; *ibid.*, ϱξ′ pp520–521; **Palam***Hom* 59 pp235–246; **TheophP***Max* 32 pp103–104. See further here Kelly *Baptism*, particularly Chs. 8–10; Böcher *Christus* pp170–180; J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd ed., New York, 1972, p34; Russell *Satan* pp101–103, cf. p61; Meyendorff *Theology* p194; Bruel *Superstition* p98. On the meaning of the πομπή of the Devil, rejected at Baptism see J.H. Waszink, "Pompa Diaboli" *VChr* 1 (1947), pp13–41; Kelly *Baptism* pp95, 97–99.

From the simple to the most complicated, these rituals seem to have followed a relatively common pattern[464] containing various combinations of frequently repeated formulaic statements, commands and ritual actions. In essence the Byzantine exorcist or priest established and made clear to patient and audience by these formulae firstly the identity of the God involved and the nature of his power, as well as the fact that he was working through him, and secondly, the nature and comparative weakness of the opposing power.[465] With the bounds of the contest thus set, and the defined combatants brought into confrontation, the person conducting the exorcism could command the opponent by his God and remove him from the scene, whether this focused upon an actual person or simply a substance, because of the demonstrated imbalance in their power.

The verbal elements of these rituals drew on a relatively limited range of sources, almost exclusively Biblical. The identity of God was generally established first by the use of various titles, Lord God, Son of God, God of Gods, Lord of Lords, Sabaoth, God of Israel, and so on.[466] His nature and power were then made clear, usually by mention of his role as creator of the universe and everything in it, of his complete dominance over the angels and all natural phenomena, of his ability to inspire all with fear, and of his incarnation and victory over death, as well as of his role at the end of time.[467] These latter elements fulfilled a dual function because they also reminded the demons

---

[464] See e.g. Derrett *Gerasene*; and S.J. Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words", *Man*, n.s. 3 (1968), pp175–208; cf. Eitrem *Notes* pp21–22.

[465] On the importance of getting the demon to speak and establishing its name and nature in exorcism, see C. Bonner, "The Technique of Exorcism", *HThR* 36 (1943), pp41–47.

[466] See e.g., Conybeare*Bapt ἀφ. Γ′* p394; **Anon***Katech ἀφ. B′, Γ′* p276; **Anon***OikEuch* p569; †**Bas***Ex* (a) p579; *ibid.*, (c) p581; †**JChr***Euch* (f) p582. Cf. Strittmatter*ExII* pp130–131; Pradel *Gebete* p276, (compare *ibid.*, pp290–324 on this and the following notes); Jacob *Exorcisme* 4 p246; and Delatte*Ex* p139 (see also ff11–59 for illustrations of many of the following points); cf. too the rite in the *Treatise* p429, and Del*Anec* p486; also Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp174–175; *idem Christus* pp85–90.

[467] See e.g., Conybeare*Bapt ἀφ. A′* pp391–2; **Anon***Katech ἀφ. A′, B′* pp275–276; **Anon***OikEuch* p569; †**Bas***Ex* (a-c) pp579–581; †**JChr***Euch* (d, f, g) pp581–584; **GNas***Carm83* ll.25–27 c1130. Cf. Jacob *Exorcisme* 4, 5 p246; Delatte*Ex* ff4–5 and p246; Pradel *Gebete* pp261–262, 276; Strittmatter*ExII* pp131–133, 136; MacDermot *Cult* p87.

of their principal defeat at this God's hands and of the punishment he was going to inflict on them, while their inferiority was further stressed and their nature established by mention of the Devil's original fall, of Jesus' exorcisms of various types of spirit, and of the power of his followers.[468]

Once he had defined the situation, the exorcist was in a position to command the demon to leave or to beg God for protection from it, depending on the nature of the case in hand or the particular stage the ritual had reached. Such commands and demands again drew heavily on Biblical language, particularly that of the New Testament exorcisms and Old Testament victories, but repetition of the "holy name" of God or Christ and mention of the all important cross was common here and, in cases of possession, a reminder was sometimes given that the man had been made in God's image.[469] It was believed, however, that such orders were not always obeyed, especially if the exorcist lacked authority, and mention may thus be made of resistance by the demons and violence or attempted violence on their part.[470] On other occasions it was thought necessary to

---

[468] Conybeare*Bapt* ἀφ. Β΄ pp392–393; Anon*Katech* ἀφ. Β΄ p276, Anon*Euch* p584; †Bas*Ex* (a, b) pp579–580; †JChr*Euch* (e, g) pp582–583 Cf. †Amph*Bas* p196, Radermacher *Faust.*, pp144–145; GNaz *Or40* 10 c372; GNaz*Carm55* ll.7–9 c1400; GNaz*Carm56* ll.4–5 c1401. Cf. also Jacob *Exorcisme* 2 p245; Delatte*Ex* p141; Strittmatter*ExII* pp128, 136.

[469] For commanding language in the New Testament see for example Matthew 8:32 (ὑπάγετε), 17:18 (ἐπετίμησεν); Mark 1:25 (φιμώθητι καὶ ἔξελθε), 5:8 (ἔξελθε), 9:25 (ἐπετίμησεν, ἐγὼ ἐπιτάσσω σοι, ἔξελθε); Luke 4:35 (φιμώθητι καὶ ἔξελθε), 8:29 (παρήγγελλεν ... ἐξελθεῖν), 9:42 (ἐπετίμησεν); Acts 16:18 (παραγγέλλω σοι ... ἐξελθεῖν), and 19:13 (ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς ...). For the use of the name of Jesus see Matthew 7:21–23; Mark 9:38–40; 16:17–18; Luke 9:49; 10:17–20; Acts 16:16–18 19:11–19.

For the use of Jesus' and other holy names and for commanding language in the tradition see Conybeare*Bapt* pp391–394; Anon *Katech* pp275–277; Anon*OikEuch* p569; Anon*Euch* p584; †Amph*Bas* p196, Radermacher *Faust.*, pp144–145; Ath*Ant* 78 c952; †Bas *Ex* (a-c) pp579–581; EuZig*Psalt* 8.2 c129c-d; *ibid.*, 110.9 c1096c; †JChr *Euch* (d-g) pp581–584; Neilos*Keph* 41 c1252; Origen*Phil* 17 p92; Pall*Laus* 22 p74; GCyp*George* c321d; Plan*Peter* cc1045–1046a; Theoph*P Max* 20 pp91–92. Further here see Aune *Magic* pp1530–1532 and 1545–1548; Böcher *Christus* pp85–90; M.J. Geller, "Jesus Theurgic Powers: Parallels in the Talmud and Incantation Bowls", *JJS* 28 (1977), pp146–149. Cf. also Delatte*Ex* pp141–142; Strittmatter*ExII* p136; Pradel *Gebete* p262; Eitrem *Notes* pp4–5, 8, 31, (see *ibid.*, pp54–55 on sighing and groaning); Joannou *Démon.*, p22

[470] There was a possibility that the demon might not leave at once

take precautions to prevent the spirit returning or hiding in a victim until the practitioner was deluded into believing that he had succeeded in his aim;[471] a sign of genuine departure might thus be demanded.[472]

Most of these points about standard orthodox exorcism are well illustrated in the following formula which was one of

---

but instead challenge and resist the exorcist, as in the case of the Gerasene demoniac and the deaf and dumb demoniac of Mark 9:18, or in the episode of the sons of Scaeva in Acts 19:15–16. See **Ath***Ant* 64 c933b; **Pall***Laus* 22 pp73–74; **Palam***Peter* 42 c1033a; and cf. †**Amph***Bas* p196, Radermacher *Faust.*, pp142–145; **GCyp***Evth* 11 p406; *ibid.*, 12 p408; **Gmon***Laz* 219 p575b. Cf. Delatte*Ex* f9v and p117: Mango *Byzantium* pp161–163.

[471] For the idea of the spirit returning in the New Testament see Matthew 12:45; Mark 9:25; Luke 11:26. For preventing them from returning, hiding in any part of the body, or assailing at some later date, see Conybeare*Bapt* ἀφ. *A′* p392; **Anon***Katech* ἀφ. *A′* p275; **Anon***OikEuch* p569; **Anon***Bapt* p289; †**JChr***Euch* (g) p584; **Palam***Hom* 12 p64. Cf. Pradel *Gebete* pp262, 274; Strittmatter*ExII* p134; Eitrem *Notes* p33.

Preventing the demons from reappearing was also one of the aims behind commands which sent demons to specific places when they departed from their victims. The most usual were Tartarus and the abyss, see e.g. Conybeare*Bapt* ἀφ. *A′* p392; **Anon***Katech* ἀφ. *A′* p275; †**Bas***Ex* (b) p580. The waterless places of Matthew 12:43 and Luke 11:24 and similar areas could also be their required destination, see **Ath***Ant* 64 c933b; †**Ath***AntArch* 98 c657d; **GNaz***Or40* 35 c409a; **JKlim** 15 c893a: **Louk** *Evgen* 27 p26. Cf. Pradel *Gebete* pp274, 355–360; Janiewitsch *Aura* p629.

The idea of hiding could also suggest the need to make sure *all* the demons had left the man, see **Anon***Katech* ἀφ. *A′*, *B′* pp276–277; **Anon***Bapt* p289; †**Bas***Ex* (b-c) pp580–581. Cf. Delatte*Ex* ff7v–8; Pradel *Gebete* pp263, 272; Strittmatter*ExII* pp129–130, 134–135, 143; Joannou *Démon.*, pp14, 43; Koukoules *Vios* pp242–243.

[472] See especially the story of the Gerasene demoniac and the swine, and other stories where the demons tear, hurl down the victims or cause them to cry out on departure in the New Testament; and in the tradition, **Pall***Laus* 36 pp107–108, where the saint Posidonios concludes an exorcism by saying, " 'Pray, for the unclean spirit is now leaving; there has to be a sign for us to be fully assured'. So the demon, when it left, knocked down the wall of the hall from its foundations ..."; cf. *ibid.*, 18 p55: **Palam***Peter* 43 c1031a. Cf. here Delatte*Ex* ff7–7v; C. Bonner, "The Violence of Departing Demons", *HThR* 37 (1944) pp334–336; *idem*, "The Technique of Exorcism", *HThR* 36 (1943) pp47–49; Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp98–99; Joannou *Démon.*, pp26–27, 45–46; Mango *Byzantium* p162 using the *Life* of Theodore of Sykeon; Provatake *Diavolos* pp150–151. MacDermot *Cult* p86 sees in such occurrences at the time of the early Church, a representation of man's experiences of frustration and anger as a result of the overthrowing of his old religion whose gods were now seen as offended and envious; when the conflict between new and old religion was no longer felt by the individual the exorcism was complete. Although there may be some truth in this theory in the early period it certainly does not fit the situation in late Byzantine times when such phenomena apparently continued to manifest themselves.

several pronounced during the catechumenate service;[473]

> May the Lord rebuke you, devil, who came into the world and dwelled among men in order to destroy your tyranny, who triumphed on the tree over the opposing powers while the sun was darkened and the earth shook and the tombs opened and the bodies of the saints rose up, who destroyed death by death and made idle he who has the power of death, that is, you, the devil. I adjure you by the God who showed the tree of life and appointed the Cherubim and the flaming and twisting sword to keep watch over it. Be rebuked and depart, unclean spirit, for I adjure you by him who walked as on dry land over the surface of the sea, and rebuked the storm of the winds, whose glance makes abysses dry, and whose threat melts mountains. For it is he who now commands you through us. Be afraid, come out, and leave these creatures and do not return or hide in them or meet with any of them or work upon them or assault them either by night or by day or in the hour of noon. But go off to your own Tartarus until the great day of the judgement which has been prepared. Fear the God who sits upon a throne of Cherubim and surveys abysses, before whom angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principalities, authorities, powers, and the many-eyed Cherubim and six-winged Seraphim tremble, before whom the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that are in them tremble. Come out and depart from the newly chosen soldiers of Christ our God who have been sealed. For I adjure you by him who walks on the wings of winds, who makes his angels spirits and his ministers flaming fire; come out and depart from these creatures with all your power and your angels. Because the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit has been glorified now and forever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Accompanying the verbal side of these exorcisms were a number of ritual actions which could be performed by the practitioner or his patient. A frequent element here was the employment of fasting and vigil, following the accepted version of Jesus' statement at Mark 9:29 that "this kind [of spirit] can come out only by prayer and fasting";[474] this practice could also be elaborated by various dietary prohibitions and other

---

[473] Conybeare *Bapt ἀφ. Α'* pp391-392; see Kelly *Baptism* pp163-164 for his translation of the same passage.

[474] At Mark 9:29 *καὶ νηστεία* is absent in most early manuscripts. Compare Jesus' fasting during the temptation here and on fasting in the New Testament see Kelly *Baptism* pp42-43, 107, 125-126; also Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp273-284; *idem. Christus* pp113-117 and 154-155; Eitrem *Notes*

conditions of behaviour following cure from possession.[475] Most commonly, however, the physical side of exorcism took the form of the imposition of a sign or holy object upon the patient. Here the symbolic blowing of the priest upon the person being made a katechumen or being baptized is to be noted,[476] as is the descent into the previously exorcised waters of baptism,[477] and the annointing (the *chrismation*) performed at baptism and upon victims of possession,[478] but the Bible might be read,[479]

---

p46. For fasting and keeping vigil in the tradition see †**Anast***Erot* 94 cc732–733; **JChr***Adam* 1 c527; **Pall***Laus* 17 p47; **Theoph***Matt* 17.18–20 c533; **Theoph***Mark* 4.1–13 c745; *ibid.*, 9.14–29 c588; **Theoph***Luke* 4.1–13 c745: **Palam***Hom* 12 pp63, 65–66; *ibid.*, 13 p69; **Schol***Nest* p88; cf. Joannou *Démon.*, p23.

[475] See e.g. **Pall***Laus* 17 p47 (three pounds of bread and regular work); *ibid.*, 18 pp54–55 (no meat or wine for forty days): **Niphon***Max* 5 p47 (no meat or women); **TheophP***Max* 19 p91 (avoidance of anger, injustice, perjury and meat); *ibid.*, 20 p91 (cheese, wine and sex); cf. **Gmon***Laz* 45 p523e where a man injured by a demon eats only dry beans. See also Eitrem *Notes* p22.

[476] See Conybeare*Bapt* pp394–395; **Anon***Katech* pp274 and 277, where the priest blows on the subject's forehead, mouth and chest saying, "Drive out of him every wicked and unclean spirit hidden and lurking in his heart ..."; **Anon***Bapt* p289 (purifying holy water and oil); †**Dion***Ekkl* 2.2.6 c396b; *ibid.*, 2.3.5 c401a-b; cf. **Anon***Diavol* p54. Further on such blowing see Kelly *Baptism* pp112–114, 144–145, 167–169, and note, p163, the breathing and spitting upon Satan by candidates in the ritual of renunciation during Byzantine Baptism; R. Meyer, *St Athanasius, the Life of Saint Antony* (Westminster, Md., and London: 1950), n53 pp110–111 and n146 p116. Cf. Russell *Satan* p175; Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp28–29, 220–224; *idem Christus* pp103–104; Eitrem *Notes* pp20–21, 47–49; Koukoules *Vios* p242; Joannou *Démon.*, p25.

[477] See Conybeare*Bapt* p401; Kelly *Baptism* pp167–169; cf. pp70–74, 110–111. Cf. the Epiphany rite of blessing the waters in the Orthodox Church and see below on the connection of demons with water, Pt.II pp189–190 and 232–233.

[478] See Conybeare*Bapt* pp402–406; **Pall***Laus* 18 p51; *ibid.*, 18 p55: **Gmon** *Laz* 45 p523d; **Theok***Rel* 43 p94; cf. *ibid.*, 27 p78, where, as in some other miracles not involving evil spirits, the oil from the lamp above the saint's remains is apparently taken internally to effect the miraculous cure. Compare too the use of a saint's μύρος and the sign of the cross made with oil or water. On anointing and the consecration and or exorcism of the oil in Baptism see Kelly *Baptism* pp169, cf. 138–139; also Delatte*Ex* p147; Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp216–217; *idem, Christus* pp100–101, 151–152; Joannou *Démon.*, p24; Eitrem *Notes* pp29–30; see *ibid.*, pp56–60 for the similar use of saliva, on which see also Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp218–220; *idem, Christus* p102; Kelly *Baptism* p121; Langton *Essentials* p25.

[479] See †**Dion***Ekkl* 4.3.3 cc476–477: **Gmon***Laz* 43 p523b; *ibid.*, 70 p531a, 74 p532b; cf. **JChr***John* 32.3 c187.

and relics or similar power objects whose efficacy was well known might also be placed in contact with the sufferer during these rituals.[480] Above all the sign of the cross was employed, often being drawn many times upon the patient with holy oil or water, or being physically imposed in the form of a crucifix.[481]

It was in exorcism and the other apotropaic practices mentioned here that man, in the standard orthodox tradition, came closest to being invested with individual power over the demonic forces. For this reason there was a constant danger of transgressing the bounds of what could be accepted as compatible with orthodox doctrine; it was all too easy for men to see the names, the rituals, and the objects they used as possessing power of their own, as having an *automatic* effect on the demons if they were properly employed. It was easy too for practitioners to slip from language of invocation and prayer to God, his angels and saints, into language of command. Thus a phrase such as "Christ, drive out this demon" could be quite esasily interpreted in both ways, but to see it as a command would result in a complete transformation of the structure of power believed to be involved; instead of the desired effect on the demons being wrought by the grace of the higher powers from free will, those powers would be reduced to much the same level of conception

---

[480] For the efficacy of contact with relics note in particular the stories in the New Testament at Acts 5 : 15 and 19 : 12 of Peter's shadow and Paul's handkerchief, as well as the cases where Jesus touched the people he healed, cf. Eitrem *Notes* pp41–46. In the tradition see †**Ath***Beirut* c801d; **Pall***Laus* 22 p73; *ibid.*, 44 pp131–132: **Akrop**K*Evdok* 10 p212; *ibid.*, 13 pp213–214, 18 p218; **Choum**N*Symb* p150; **Gregoras***Dem* 10 p93; **Gregoras***Mich* p278; **Gmon***Laz* 45 p523d; **Kant**T*Theoph* 29 pp214–215; **Theok***Rel* 28–29 pp78, 80 (the latter involving incubation and a vision of the saint); *ibid.*, 43 p94, 67 p116; this work also knows the practice of healing, apparently from evil spirits as well as natural diseases, by the inhalation of smoke from a burnt fragment of the saint's robe, 32 p84 ll.1–8, cf. below p265. See also here Delatte*Ex* ff5–6, 9 and p146; Joannou *Démon.*, p24.

[481] See e.g. Conybeare*Bapt* pp394, 402, 403, 405; **Anon***Katech* p274; **Anon** *Bapt* pp289–290; **Anon***OikEuch* p569. Cf. here the numerous mentions of its power in averting evil spirits noted above, n460. For imposition of an actual cross see **Gmon***Laz* 73 pp531f–532a; *ibid.*, 47 p524c, 70 p531a, 219 p575b; cf. Delatte*Ex* ff5–5v and pp143, 146; Müller *Teufel* p98. On imposition of hands in exorcism see Kelly *Baptism* pp64–66, 109, 127; Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp176–182; *idem, Christus* pp80–84. For sealing see Kelly *Baptism* pp60–64, 76, 87–88, 165; cf. the elaborate seals provided in Delatte*Ex* and the parallel use of "characters" in the alternative traditions, see below pp277–279.

as those they were being opposed to, and they would be compelled by the exorcist who knew the correct formulae and ritual actions for securing their necessary compliance. It was, then, to guard against such subtle but extremely important alterations in outlook that the standard orthodox tradition laid a common stress on the role of God and the Holy Spirit in these practices, denying man any power of his own.[482]

The standard orthodox tradition here, however, as in other equally important areas of belief about the nature and control of the demons, clearly failed to eradicate and counter ideas that were, fundamentally, in opposition to it. Such ideas, many of which stemmed ultimately from Byzantium's pagan heritage, were rooted too firmly in men's minds and provided alternatives that were too attractive to be swept away completely by the dominant doctrines of orthodox Christianity; instead they could be seen flourishing in its shade in the Palaeologan period, and it is the existence and nature of these "alternative" traditions of practice and belief which form the subject of the second part of this study.

---

[482] In the New Testament see Matthew 7:22 and Luke 10:20 which play down the importance of the ability to exorcise; also the Beelzeboul controversy at Matthew 12:28, Luke 11:20 (cf. Mark 3:22–30) where it is stressed that Jesus' exorcism was performed by the power of the Holy Spirit. The quotation "If I by the spirit of God cast out demons", became current in theological debate in the Palaeologan period; see e.g. **Gregoras***Hist* XXIII 3.2 p1113; **Palam***Ekpor* 2.62 pp133–134.

For human nature being powerless against the demons except with the aid of the Holy Spirit see e.g. **Ath***Ant* 38 cc897–900a: **Bek***Hen* 27 cc80–81; **MetG***Man* c1316. For stress that God is working through the practitioner see Conybeare*Bapt* ἀφ. *B'* pp392–393; **Anon***Katech* ἀφ. *A'*, *B'* pp275–276; cf. Delatte*Ex* ff5–5v and p138; *ibid.*, f8v which warns the exorcist against being tricked into magic. Note however, that the book of Tobit by its references to the ability of the smoked liver and gall of a fish to drive out the demon Asmodaeus (6:6, 15–17; 8:2–3) goes beyond the attitude really acceptable to orthodoxy; see further on this story and on Asmodaeus below p264 and also n698. Alternative traditions concerning exorcism and the control of demons are dealt with at some length in Part II, but see here, on compulsion rather than prayer Eitrem *Notes* p16, and *ibid.*, pp24–25 on the ease with which Christian exorcism could go too far; also *ibid.*, p41 and Aune *Magic* pp1523-1539 on Jesus being accused of using magic formulae. On the doctrinal problems and dangers inherent in exorcism see too Bruel *Superstition* pp117–118; Ducellier *Diable* pp205–207; *idem Drame* pp226–227; Kelly *Baptism* pp150–151; Joannou *Démon*.. pp45–47.

PART II

ALTERNATIVE TRADITIONS

I. Introduction to Part II

In the first part of this study beliefs concerning the nature and activity of the demons that were acceptable to orthodox theology have been described and discussed as they appear in the literature of the Palaeologan period, both inherited from the past and actually written at that time. These were the opinions to which all orthodox people were supposed, or were said, to adhere, and they formed what has been referred to as the standard orthodox tradition: a relatively well ordered, internally coherent, defined, and circumscribed set of ideas about the Devil and the demons, which was legitimized and hallowed by the seal of orthodox Christian doctrine.

It is vital to realise, however, that a description of the standard tradition, no matter how detailed or complete in itself, would never be able to provide an accurate or complete picture of what people in the late Byzantine period actually believed about the demons. This is because there existed, in addition to the standard orthodox views, a mass of what may be called alternative traditions of belief and practice concerning this subject; these differed from the standard tradition to a greater or lesser extent, supplementing, expanding, distorting, or even directly opposing it. Unless these alternatives are given the consideration that is their due, it is quite impossible to gain any real notion of the true extent and complexity of late Byzantine belief in demons, let alone an understanding of it. It is the alternative traditions, then, which occupy the second part of this study.

Before going any further, however, it must be pointed out that, although the whole structure of this book depends on it, the distinction and separation that has been made between "alternative" and "standard" traditions is, inevitably, artificial and imposed. It is one which would have existed in the minds of only a few people at the time, people who were particularly aware of the historical boundaries of orthodox thought and the complicated theological and logical equations, developed over centuries of struggle and interaction with heresy, which supported those boundaries in such a delicate balance. For the vast

majority, however, even at high levels of society, such distinctions will only have been matters of vague concern, imposed on their thought, if at all, and generally little understood. In their minds will have existed only "the tradition" of demonology, a tradition composed of the elements of belief with which they had been brought up, which they had been taught by their elders, and with which they had come into contact during the course of their lives. Although this overall tradition will have undoubtedly had a fairly substantial backbone of orthodox conceptions, it will also have contained a great deal of material that falls into the category of what is described here as alternative. Elements from the different backgrounds will have been joined and fused into an unresolved and undifferentiated whole to form the normal, everyday view of how the forces of evil worked in and affected the world of ordinary men.

It is important, then, that the distinction which appears here is not translated by the reader to the minds of the late Byzantines. Indeed, it might be argued that it would be safer not to draw such a distinction at all, but I believe that the added clarity in the presentation of the material that results from this approach, and the stress that can be placed upon the artificiality of seeing Byzantine Christianity, or rather Byzantine religion, solely in terms of the standard orthodox tradition of belief, justifies its use. I hope it may be that by artificially overexposing the different elements of belief which compose the demonology of this time, their fusion in the minds of the people who lived then may be better appreciated and better understood.

The material in the first part of this study was gathered from sources which present the beliefs of the standard orthodox tradition. Due to the very nature of that tradition and its position in Byzantine thought, such sources are abundant and there is no difficulty in obtaining a very detailed and clear picture of its beliefs. Given the nature of the alternative traditions, however, it is not so easy to find evidence of the same quality and availability. Not only are such traditions necessarily diverse and lacking in overall coherence with each other, but the great majority of those who believed in them were often not

in a position to record them, and the specialist works in which they were formulated and utilised, being usually illegal, were especially liable to loss and destruction. Most ordinary people who held such beliefs about the demons are likely to have been illiterate and, even among the literate, there will have been little incentive to record these unorthodox views. Furthermore, although the demonic magic of actual practitioners tended to be an "art" consigned to books, such works were dependent on secret keeping and transmission which cannot have assisted either their textual purity or their ultimate survival, at least in any quantity;[483] on top of the danger of accidental loss or damage there was the constant threat of their discovery and official destruction, generally by burning.[484]

Despite these problems, however, it is possible to construct quite a reasonable picture of at least some of these alternative conceptions from the evidence that does survive, patchy though it may be. The firmest evidence is, of course, drawn from references that appear directly in the literature of the period. There is thus a small amount in the literature of the inherited standard tradition, usually in a condemnatory context,[485] and there is somewhat more in the works that were written at this time. Two such works are of particular importance here since they concentrate to some extent on such beliefs: the dialogue *Τιμόθεος ἢ περὶ δαιμόνων*, formerly attributed to Michael Psellos,[486] and the commentary by Nikephoros Gregoras on the

---

[483] On their textual purity see below pp219–220. As regards their storage see e.g. **Kok***Acta* p544, where the sorcerer Gabrielopoulos is said to have kept his books "like pearls" in safe-boxes (*σενδουκίοις*). At an earlier date a book of magic found in the possession of the influential, and apparently corrupt, court interpreter Isaac Aaron was hidden in an imitation tortoise shell; see Choniates *Χρονικὴ Διήγησις*, p146 ll.45–46. On Aaron and this incident see Oeconomos *Vie* pp79–82. Also compare the *Life of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch* by Zachary the Scholastic, *PO* II pp61–62.

[484] So e.g. **Kok***Acta* p543 which refers to such books being burnt, "as is proper"; cf. Acts 19:19. On the burning of such books of "literary" magic see also Brown *Sorcery* p34.

[485] For example, **TBals***Kan* on **GNyss***Kan* 3 p307; *idem*, on Basil *Κανὼν* 83 cc801–804; *idem*, on Canon 61 of the Council "in Trullo", c720. **†Amph***Bas* pp188–197; **†Anast***Erot* 20 cc529–532; *ibid.*, 39 cc584–585, 125 cc773–776; **Bas***Psalm* 45.2 c417; **Origen***Phil* 20.19 p144.

[486] Edited by P. Gautier, "Le de Daemonibus du Pseudo-Psellus",

Περὶ ἐνυπνίων of Synesios of Cyrene.[487] Besides these, some cases concerning demonic magic and sorcery, records of which have survived among the documents of the Patriarchal Court, are of special interest;[488] a number of other works contain sig-

REB (1980) pp105–194; (cited as *PD*). The great majority of this work is concerned with beliefs about demons following some initial material about heretics said to be Euchites or Bogomils. Gautier suggests a possible late thirteenth or early fourteenth century date after dismissing the attribution to Psellos. For discussion of authorship and date see pp128–131 there; the basic reasons for his rejection of Psellos as author are a) that the work is not in the principal collections *Par.Gr. 1182, Vat.Gr. 672*, or *Laur.Gr. 57-40*; b) that the indisputable antiquity and good quality of manuscript G *Riccardianus Gr. 68* 1–11), which dates to 1280–1300, means giving priority to its branch of the tradition which is the one which ignores attribution to Psellos – the oldest witness which makes this attribution is manuscript X, of c.1400; and c) that the philosophy of the *PD* does not agree particularly well with that expressed by Psellos in other works and that the Platonic style dialogue is not a form used by him. For further bibliography on the *PD* see Gautier p105 n1, and for previous editions pp127–128. It is interesting to note that if the later date is accepted then parallels between the stories about the heretics which appear in the *PD* and similar accusations in contemporary Western anti-heretical literature may be of significance.

The alternative redaction, which survives in the fourteenth century *Laurentianus Gr. 89-20* ff211–215v, and in the fifteenth century *Monacensis Gr. 488* ff179–188, is edited by J. Bidez, *CatMAG* VI, text pp119–131, commentary pp97–118; see especially pp113–118 on the two redactions and, *contra*, Gautier pp125–126. This alternative redaction (cited as *PDAltRed*) is substantially the same as Gautier's text in content, although not in order, and so it is noted only when it provides additional information. Much of that information also appears in the other work attributed to Psellos on this subject, the *Περὶ δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες*, published in Migne*PG* 122 cc875–882 (cited as †**Psellos***Hell*).

[487] *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸν Συνεσίου περὶ ἐνυπνίων λόγον*, ed. Migne*PG* 149, cc521–642 (cited as **Gregoras***DeIns*); the commentary as a whole contains a number of interesting passages about demons. On its date and content see especially Beyer *Gregoras*, 2.1, "Der Kommentar zum Traumbuch des Synesios", pp25–31: also I. Ševčenko, "Some Autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras", *ZVI* 8.2 (1964), Mélanges Ostrogorsky II, pp435–442; and N. Terzaghi, "Sul commento di Niceforo Gregora", *SIFC* 12 (1904), pp181–211. Synesios' *Περὶ Ἐνυπνίων* is edited, also by Terzaghi, *Synesii Cyrenensis, Hymni et Opuscula* II (Rome: 1944), pp143–189; (cited as **Synesios**). There is an English translation by A. Fitzgerald, *The Essays and Hymns of Synesios of Cyrene* (London: 1930). For an apparent link between this aspect of Gregoras' interests and some of the legal cases mentioned in the following note, see the *Homilies* of the Patriarch Kallistos, 3.2.2 and 3.2.13 in Gone *Kallistos* pp168–194.

[488] **Kal***Acta* pp180–181 (cf. Grumel *Regestes* N.2185, V pp140–141); *ibid.*, pp184–187 (N.2187, V pp143–144), pp188–190 (N 2188, V pp144–145); **Kall***Acta* pp301–306 (N.2318, V pp260–261); *ibid.*, pp317–318 (N. 2331, V p276), pp342–344 (N.2334, V pp277–278); **Kok***Acta* pp541–550 (N.2572–2573, V pp480–486): *ibid.*, p560 (N.2615, V p518), pp594–595

nificant shorter passages.[489]

Although the evidence provided by these sources is rather slight, it may be substantially augmented by material contained in other works which were referred to or copied in the Palaeologan period, or the historical transmission of which makes clear their existence and use in some form at that time. Of particular importance in this connection are three works or collections of material: the *Kyranides*, the *Testament of Solomon*, and *Solomon's Magic Treatise*.

The *Kyranides*[490] (an Hermetic work which dates back in origin to the Hellenistic period, and which at one time probably existed in the form of six related books) deal primarily with the powers of plants, animals, birds, fish, and stones, singly and in various combinations. There is a certain amount of demonology amongst the predominant magical medicine which shows that these books are closely related to many other medico-magical texts, although they form a distinct corpus of their own. The *Kyranides* are mentioned at earlier times, but they are referred to twice in the literature of the late Byzantine period: by the Patriarch Athanasios I,[491] and in one of the trials involving

(N.2648, V p543); **Neil***Acta* pp84–85 (N.2770, VI p78). For commentary on these cases see especially Cupane *Magia* passim, although her conclusions about the social background of those involved seem to bear little relation to the texts themselves. On the cases involving Amarantina see Gone *Kalistos* pp213–214; cf also A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* I (Moscow: 1893), pp. lxiii and lxxi-lxxii.

[489] For example, **Bry***Keph* 47 pp119–123; **GCyp***Marina*; **GSin** *Keph* 125; **Gmon***Laz*; **Katrones***Herm*, (on the authorship and dating of this work see especially F. Jürss, "Iohannes Katrarios und der Dialog Hermippos oder über die Astrologie", *BZ* 59 (1966) pp275–284; cf. also G. de Andrés, J. Irigoin, and W. Hörandner, "Iohannes Katrarios und seine dramatisch-poetische Produktion", *JÖB* 23 (1974) pp201–214, in particular Irigoin's contribution); **Pleth***Nom*; **Staur***Dem* (on this see I. Dujčev, "A quelle époque vécut l'hagiographe Jean Staurakios", *AnalBoll* 100 (1982), pp677–681; *Idem*, "La miracula S. Demetrii Thessalonicensis di Giovanni Stauracio", *RSBN* 14–16 (1977–1979), pp239–247. For further passages in similar works see below in context.

[490] Edited by D. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden* (Frankfurt-am-Main: 1980), (cited as *Kyran*); previously edited in part with a French translation, F. de Mely, *Les Lapidaires de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age*, III (Paris: 1898). On this work see also Thorndike *History* II, Ch. XLVI, pp229–235; and cf. M. Waegeman, "The Gecko, the Hoopoe and ... Lice", *L'Antiquité Classique* LIII (1984), pp219–220 and 223–224.

[491] **Athan***Ep* 69 p168 ll.80–81.

magicians before the Patriarchal Court, where one Demetrios Chloros is said to have copied passages from this work and from "other vile and monstrous sources" [492] These references bear witness to the popularity of the books at this time, and additional support is provided by their survival in seven manuscripts from the period [493]

The *Testament of Solomon*[494] is a work devoted primarily to demonology linked only loosely at times to the legend of Solomon's construction of the temple at Jerusalem. There is no doubt that many elements date back at least to the first centuries of Christianity, while some of the traditions on which it is based, such as that of Solomon as a magician, healer, and master of demons, who left behind him text-books on related subjects, or that of the *decans* are even older.[495] The *Testament*

---

[492] **Kok***Acta* p541, (12th May 1371). On Chloros see F. Cumont, Demetrios Chloros et la tradition des Coiranides", *BAntFr* (1919), pp175-181: also Cupane *Magia* pp253-257. A confession of faith made by this man appears in **Kok***Acta* pp503-505.

[493] The earliest text is of the Latin translation made at Constantinople in 1169 but which survives only in the edition printed at Leipzig in 1638 by the German Rhyakinus, see Delatte *Cyranides* pp5-6. The earliest Greek manuscript is from the thirteenth century (1272), but there are in addition two from the fourteenth century and four from the fifteenth. On the manuscript tradition see Kaimakis' introduction, *Kyran* pp5-8, which also contains further bibliography. Cf. here J. Petroff, "Testament of Solomon", *EJ* (1971) 15 cc118-119; Pingree *Ghāya* p1.

[494] Edited by C.C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig: 1922), (cited as *TestSol*); also partially edited in Migne*PG* 122 cc1315-1358 from F. Fleck, *Anecdota Sacra* (Leipzig: 1837). This latter version (McCown's Manuscript P), was translated into English by F.C. Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon", *JQR* XI (1898-1899) pp1-45. The earliest surviving fragment dates from the sixth century; see K. Preisendanz, "Ein Wiener Papyrus-fragment zum Testamentum Salomonis", *Symbolae Raphaeli Taubenschlag Dedicatae* III (Warsaw-Vratislav: 1957), pp161-167.

[495] On the history of these traditions see especially McCown's Introduction VIII, *TestSol* pp90-104; Preisendanz *Salo.* cc660-704, (in particular cc684-690 on this work); and Winkler *Salomo* pp175-184 in particular. Note the story of Eleazar in Josephus on which see D.C. Duling " The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8.42-49", *HThR* 78.1-2 (1985), pp1-25; (cf. Langton *Essentials* pp31-32). See also on the *Treatise* in the following notes and below p273f; elsewhere, J.A. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus Veteris Testamenti* I (Hamburg: 1722), cxciv pp1032-1040 for an early summary and collection of such ideas; also Butler *Magic* pp29-36; Jung *Angels* pp84-89; A-M. Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs d'ancien Testament* (Leiden: 1970), pp67-69; L.I Rabinowitz, "Demons, Demonology in the Talmud", *EJ* 5 (1971) c1528

was certainly in existence in the late Byzantine period and was undoubtedly in use then; the exact form in which readers will have found it cannot now be established, but the existence of manuscript copies belonging to each of the different recensions and dating from the fifteenth century may justify reference here to most of the material occurring in them.[496]

The third work, *Solomon's Magic Treatise*, the *Ἀποτελεσματικὴ πραγματεία* or *Ὑγρομαντεία* survives, mostly in fairly small fragments, in a number of manuscripts of which the earliest date to the fifteenth century.[497] In its present ba-

on Solomon and the demons in the temple; A. Rothkoff, "Solomon in the Aggadah", *EJ* 15 c107 on Solomon and Asmodai in this context. The Solomon legends in the Qu'ran, where he is thought to enjoy the same sort of power, should also be noted - see especially Sura 27, Dawood pp83-84; 34 p183 and 38 p287. In the Coptic *Mysteries of Saint John the Apostle and Holy Virgin*, ed., and trans., E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* p252 (p69 text), it is claimed that Solomon compelled the demons to tell him the remedies of all sicknesses and the plants from which they were made, and that he wrote these on the walls of the temple.

On the *decans* see below pp220-221.

[496] On the manuscript tradition and the different recensions see McCown's Introduction, *TestSol* pp10-28 and 105-108.

[497] The majority of manuscripts containing parts of the *Treatise* are listed by Delatte *Plantes* pp148-149. For the sake of clarity I have followed his list and used the same abbreviations for the manuscripts which are given below; the list contains both manuscripts specifically of the *Treatise* and manuscripts with very close connections although lacking the title or major portions of the work, such as B2, M3, or V. They are

A *Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Publicae 1265* (16th century); see on this *CCAG* X, pp9-23 and 66-100; Del*Anec* pp10-104.
B *Atheniensis, Bibliothecae Societatis Historicae 115* (18th century); *CCAG* X pp40-45 and 66-100; Del*Anec* pp10-104.
B2 *Bononiensis 3632* (15th century); *CCAG* IV pp39-46; Del*Anec* pp572-612.
D *Dionysiou, Mons Athos, 282* (16th century); Del*Anec* pp649-651.
H *Harleianus, Brit. Mus. 5596* (15th century); *CCAG* IX.2 pp14-16; *TestSol* pp13-15 and 18-20; Del*Anec* pp397-445. (Cited as *Treatise* + page).
M *Monacensis 70* (16th century); *CCAG* VII pp3-5; *CCAG* VIII.2 pp143-165.
M2 *Mediolanensis H2 infer.*, (16th century); *CCAG* III pp15-16; Del*Anec* pp631-633.
M3 *Mediolanensis E37 sup.*, (16th century); *CCAG* III p13; Del*Anec* pp640-648.
N *Neapolitanus II C 33* (15th century); *CCAG* IV pp54-56; Del*Anec* pp613-624.
P *Parisinus 2419* (15th century); *CCAG* VIII.1 pp47-49, 58-60, 63, *CCAG* VIII.2 pp172-176; Del*Anec* pp446-510; *TestSol* pp25-27;

Sic form the *Treatise* is apparently a fusion of various magical techniques, primarily for controlling demons, which rely most often on celestial and angelic assistance; it thus contains a great deal of valuable demonological material. Most of the magical ritual and related astrological information that is not obviously spurious seems to centre around the preparation for, and actual conjuring of demons in a magic circle in order to divine information from them or to force them to help the practitioner. It has been maintained[498] that the title *Hygromanteia*, which appears in some manuscripts, is false, but although it seems probable that the various astrological lists and such like were at some time independent of the summoning rituals, the obvious similarities between the main rite of the circle and the other hydromancies and katoptromancies which also appear here may argue against this view and suggest that it is the basin or mirror that has dropped out of the main ritual rather than the other rituals being appended to something that originally had nothing to do with them. At some time prior to the fifteenth century then, if this is the case, there will have been in existence a pseudo-Solomonic work which was basically a hydromancy text-book.

---

cf. Reitzenstein *Poim.* pp186–187.

P2 *Petropolitanus Cod. Academicus Musaei Palaeographici* (17th century); *CCAG* XXII pp18 and 114–135; Delatte *Plantes*.

P3 *Petropolitanus Cod. Bibliothecae Publicae 575* (17th century); *CCAG* XII pp26 and 136–161.

P4 *Petropolitanus Cod. Bibliothecae Publicae 646* (18th century); *CCAG* XII pp39 and 163–165.

T *Taurinensis C VII 15* (15th century); *CCAG* IV p16; (destroyed).

V *Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 108* (15th century); *CCAG* VI pp1–2 and 15–16; Del*Anec* pp634–638.

To this list must be added:

G *Gennadianus 45* (16th century); Delatte *Gennadianus*.

Also, (apparently, for I have not been able to see it):

M4 *Moni Metamporphoseos, Meteora 67* (16th century); N.A. Bees, *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετέωρων*, ed., I. Vranoussis (Athens: 1967), p87.

Further on the *Treatise* in general see Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus Veteris Testamenti* I cxcix p1046, cf. ccii, pp1050–1052 and cciii pp1052–1057; Preisendanz, *Salo.*, cc690–694; Del*Anec* pp2–8; Delatte *Plantes* pp148–151; *TestSol* pp100–101; and Pingree *Ghāya* pp9–10. Note that Recension C of the *Testament of Solomon* appears with the *Treatise* in H, and it is also in P although there the two are separated by other material; on their relationship see *TestSol* pp33–34, cf. 83–85.

[498] Pingree *Ghāya* p9 n67.

This will have had at its heart a ritual for summoning demons to a circle by means of a water-basin or something similar, but it will also have included alongside this instructions and detailed information required for the complex preparations which preceded the summoning, involving the use of powers and concepts drawn from magical and catarchic astrology.[499]

It is clear from even a brief reading of the *Treatise* and the material related to it that it has close connections with texts and practices of ritual magic which were current in the West in many languages and in many countries from the thirteenth century onwards, although again the best and most elaborate of these texts only survive in manuscripts of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Very little comparative work has been done on the literature of this ritual magic, the magic of the notorious *Claviculae* and *Grimoires* of the later Middle Ages, and not much is known of its precise development and origin.[500] Although any attempt to answer such questions obviously lies outside the scope of this study and must be the subject of a great deal of further research, it is nevertheless clear from the Greek *Treatise* and related material, which is what is of concern here, that traces, and in some cases quite large portions, of much older traditions are preserved in these now rather muddled and confused texts. Some of the material here is thus very similar to techniques and rituals preserved in the very much older Greek magical papyri,[501] and the history of the lecanomancy and its

---

[499] Compare Delatte's division of the *Treatise* into two books, (so Delatte *Plantes* p149), and note the introduction of the main rite in G, f24v p299, "γράμματα τῶν ἐννέα βιβλίων τοῦ Σολομῶντος"; Delatte suggests a confusion at some time between θ′ and β′ is responsible. For a further connection of Solomon and hydromancy see the amulet illustrated and commented on by Goodenough *Symbols* II p232 and III fig. 1059. Goodenough describes the *Treatise* as it appears in M in II pp233–234; in his opinion it is a Jewish adaptation of pagan materials giving a clear picture of how Judaism functioned in the astrological magic of the ancient world.

[500] See in particular here Butler *Magic*; also for a good summary of what is known of the early history Cohn *Demons* Ch. 9, pp164–173; cf. Thorndike *History* II, Ch. XLIX, pp279–289; Presiendans *Salo.*; "Magic". *EJ* 11 (1971), c706.

[501] Cf. Hopfner *Lekano.*, passim and Pingree *Ghāyo* pp10–12. A careful analysis of of the precise relationship between the later material and the papyri would be extremely useful in determining at least a part of the history of these traditions and might yield important clues about their

related arts which plays such an important part in these rituals was also well known in Byzantine times and can be traced back much further.[502] Again, the elaborate lists of angels and demons may well be linked to older Hebrew traditions,[503] while elements of both main aspects of the Treatise find parallels in the *Ghāyat al-hakīm*, an Arabic work on celestial magic written in Spain in the eleventh century, but dependent on older Arabic texts and thence on much earlier traditions.[504]

Despite the fairly late date of the earliest surviving manuscript and the Italian origin or influence apparent in a number of the manuscripts, it is thus clear that information contained in the various versions of the *Treatise* both derives from ancient ideas and was also current in the late Byzantine period; indeed, a *βίβλου Σολομώντειον* said to have been discovered in the possession of a magician at Constantinople in the twelfth century,[505] is taken by commentators to refer to this particular portion of the pseudo-Solomonic literature.[506] Given this situation, the *Treatise* may be used as an important source for the alternative traditions of demonology in the late Byzantine period, providing that the late date of many of the manuscripts is not overlooked. I have thus limited myself primarily to use

transmission.

[502] See below pp295–296.

[503] See Pingree *Ghāya* p10, who notes that such lists represent a relatively late stage in the development of Jewish Kabbalistic angelology and demonology; they thus suggest that these portions derive from the "geonic" period of the seventh to eleventh centuries. Parallel material in an Hebrew work, the *Sefer ha-Razim* which is possibly dated to the third century, may take the date back even earlier; on this see also C. Merchavya, "Sefer Ha-Razim", *EJ* 13 (1971), cc1594–1595; cf. J. Dan, "Magic in Mediaeval Hebrew Literature", *EJ* 11 c712; Aune *Magic* p1508.

[504] See Pingree *Ghāya* pp1–3, and *idem*, "Between the Ghāya and Picatrix, I: the Spanish Version", *JWarb* 44 (1981), pp27–56. The Spanish and thus the Latin Picatrix is closely related to the *Ghāya* which was dependent on Arabic texts produced in the ninth and tenth centuries in the Near East; Pingree says that its magical acts "reflect also ancient traditions, some of ultimately Mesopotamian and Egyptian origin, transmitted through Hellenistic and Roman versions, and Syrian combinations of indigenous traditions with those of Greece, Iran and India".

[505] Choniates, *Χρονικὴ Διήγησις* p146 l.47, (cf. above n483); compare further, perhaps, Glykas, *Annalium* II, Migne*PG* 158, c349, on which see Koukoules *Βίος* p124.

[506] So Preisendanz *Salo.* c669; *TestSol* Introduction VIII, pp101–102

of the text which appears in the fifteenth-century manuscript of the British Museum, *Harleianus 5596* (H), as being that which is both most extensive and closest in time to the period. Caution has been exercised in attributing to Byzantine belief details drawn from other versions of this work and from material related to it.[507]

Two other works have also been employed as sources which fall into the same general category as the *Testament*, the *Kyranides*, and the *Treatise*. The first is the *Βίβλος Σοφίας*, a work dating possibly to the fifth or sixth century in origin and connected with the name of Apollonius of Tyana, which has survived in some cases with the *Magic Treatise*.[508] The second is the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a work which increased in popularity in the Byzantine world after the eleventh century and seems to have reached a peak of interest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; John Katrones' dialogue *Hermippos* and Nikephoros Gregoras' commentary on the *de Insomniis* of Synesios bear witness to this, as does the fact that the best manuscripts stem from this period.[509]

---

[507] Once a detailed analysis of the relationship between this material and the Greek magic papyri is undertaken, however, it will perhaps prove to be the case that much more of it may have actually been used in Byzantine times than can safely be asserted at present.

In general, parallels to the other versions of the *Treatise* are not cited in the discussion below since they are given by Delatte either in the text of the *Anecdota* or in that of *Gennadianus 45*. For the survival of this type of literature into modern times in Greece see Blum & Blum *Hour* p325, especially the narrative (57) on p94 there which maintains that when Solomon's temple was burnt the sacred books which contained his magical techniques were stolen and hence black magic is now called *solomonaiki*: cf. (24) p31 and (15) p99. See too J. Gottwald, "Deux amulettes", *EO* 12 (1909) p137; and du Boulay *Portrait* p67 although the work in question is not actually named there.

[508] There are fragments of this work (cited as *BibSoph*) in B2, f359v, ed. Del*Anec* pp601-603; in P, ff247v-248, ed Nau *PS* II, pp1362-1392 - Nau also uses there *Paris. Suppl. Gr. 1148* (of 1573), ff36r-40v, *Paris. 2316* (15th century), f324v, and *Paris. Suppl. Gr. 20* f170 (copied from P); and in *Berolinensis 173* (15th century), ff72v-74v, ed. Boll *CCAG* VII, pp174-181. It would also appear to be in M4 ff46v-48v, Bees p87. It also survives in a more complete Arabic version, see Pingree *Ghāya* p9; cf. Delatte *Catoptro.*, p161. On its attribution to Apollonius, denied by Pingree, see also Nau pp1364-1371.

[509] It is edited by A. Nock with a French translation by A.J. Festugière, (cited as *CorpHerm*). On its popularity in this period see the in-

In addition to the above works, the "Byzantine" office of exorcism edited by Louis Delatte from an eighteenth-century manuscript has also been used as a comparative source, since some of the material contained in it has close connections with the demonology being discussed here; the majority, however, probably belongs with the standard orthodox tradition, and the late date of the manuscript also restricts its use.[510] Other comparative material has been drawn from texts edited by Legrand,[511] Pradel, and Strittmatter, amongst others.[512]

troduction to Vol. I, pp.li-lii; also Jürss, "Iohannes Katrarios", p281; cf. Reitzenstein, *Poim.*, p210.

[510] L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme* (Brussels: 1957), (cited as Delatte *Ex*).

[511] É. Legrand, *Bibliothèque Grecque Vulgaire* II, pp.xviii-xx and 17-19, (cited as Legrand*Ex*).

[512] F. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschworungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters*, (cited as Pradel *Gebete*); A. Strittmatter, "Ein Griechisches Exorzismusbüchlein", *OC* XX.3 and XXVI.2, (cited as Strittmatter*Ex I* and *II*).

2. General Characteristics

The alternative traditions of demonology in the late Byzantine period stemmed, for the most part, from beliefs which were accepted before the coming of Christianity and which had survived in the undercurrents of thought during the long ages of Christian domination; sometimes they were completely untouched by the concepts of the orthodox system of belief which lay above them, but sometimes too they were adapted as explanations and elaborations of that tradition. There was, then, little actual innovation except in respect of the fusion with Christian beliefs, and it is to the religion and philosophy of the pagan past that one must look for most of the original sources of the ideas found here. Occasionally, however, there was also influence from the ideas of other religions and thought systems contemporary to Christianity, or from heretical sects which had themselves developed earlier or divergent theories.

Before turning to a close examination of the practices and beliefs of alternative demonology in this period, it may thus be useful to look briefly at one or two more general concepts which underlay or influenced the traditions, but it should also be stressed that a detailed examination of the entire background to these beliefs lies beyond the scope of this study. For many aspects of the classical and pagan background it is suggested that reference be made in particular to Theodor Hopfner's lengthy and detailed work, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, and for the Jewish and early Christian background the works of such authors as Böcher, Langton and J.B. Russell. Further references are provided in the footnotes below.

Perhaps the principal characteristic which distinguished the alternative traditions from more orthodox conceptions was their general affirmation that the demons possessed power *in their own right*. The position of the demons in relation to God and men as this was seen by the orthodox Christian tradition, and the consequent explanation that tradition gave for such things as demonic magic and divination, has been examined at some length in Part I above. Such ideas, which basically

see the demons' apparent power as yet another example of their all pervasive deceitfulness, do not lie at all comfortably, however, alongside the traditions now being examined. The whole rationale of demonic magic, for instance, required that the demons possessed powers of their own which were seen as being experienced by men, whether they welcomed or feared them, employed or countered them. These were *not* seen as delusions, nor were they generally thought to be allowed only by God's permission; spirits were not conjured to perform something if it was believed that they could only work illusion, demons were not commanded in the names of God and his angels if it was believed that God himself was allowing them to do what was being commanded for some ulterior and entirely different purpose. The point is illustrated too by attitudes towards the truth of what the demons said when questioned; the standard tradition denied at all times that they could consistently tell the truth, claiming that what truth they did tell was only a bait to further delusion, but the alternative traditions readily accepted that they *could* be made to do this, if at times with some reservations.[513] As will be seen below, many of the magical practices involving demons depended for their very existence on this belief in their ability to tell the truth.

The next general point to be made about these traditions is that the attribution of real power to the demons by people who, in the vast majority of cases, believed in a good God at the same time, will necessarily have involved those people with a world view that was markedly more dualistic than that admitted by the standard orthodox tradition. Once the demons were thought to possess real, independent power of their own the world was no longer a place in which all forces, all powers, both good and evil, were immediately or ultimately subject to and "managed" by the one good God. Instead the world of men was filled with spiritual forces which, though still of course opposed, were now independent of each other and to some extent equal in power. The far-reaching consequences for man's relationship to the spiritual powers about him which stemmed from

---

[513] For such reservations see e.g. *PD* p177 il.645–648; Gregoras *Delns* cc540 and 591

this radical difference between standard and alternative views will be discussed at greater length below, but here it may be appropriate to make some further points about the dualism of the alternative traditions.

At the outset it has to be said that discussion of the precise nature of this dualism is severely hampered by the paucity of the sources on the subject. With the notable exception of Bogomilism, which will be considered shortly, the sources contain practically no formal discussion of how the demons, or evil, came into being. On occasions when the subject is mentioned they accept for the most part an angelic origin for the demons although they generally ignore the logical problem of how it might be possible for angelic beings to act in independence of the good divine will. At times there are traces of various other origin stories which circumvent this difficulty, such as the old Jewish tradition which maintains that the demons were born as the result of a union of angels and mortal women. The story is alluded to in Genesis 6 and appears more clearly in I Enoch and Jubilees, where angels are said to have been urged by their leader to descend to earth; this they did and had intercourse with women from which union came the demons by way of a race of giants who were born first.[514] It is reflected variously in the origins claimed by Ornias, Asmodaeus, Abezethibou, and the "cave-spirit" in the *Testament of Solomon*.[515] Other ideas

---

[514] The story may also be alluded to in I Corinthians 11 : 10; I Peter 3 : 19–20; cf. II Peter 2 : 4; and Jude 6. This lust after women could also be used as another reason for the fall from the original angelic state, as in †JChr*Prod* c487 where, in listing the evils the Devil has worked through women, the author says, "Through a woman he cast down the angels from heaven". Further on this idea of the "watchers" and the fall from heaven through lust, as well as its eventual rejection by the early Church, see Russell *Satan* pp64–66 (Justin), 77 (Athenagoras), 81–82 (Irenaeus), 132 (Origen), 156 (Lactantius); also L. Wickham, "The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men", *Oudtestamentische Studien* XIX (1974), pp135–147 who concentrates on the various strands of early Christian exegesis of Genesis 6 : 2; and R. Bauckham, "The Fall of the Angels as the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria", *VChr* 39 (1985), pp313–330. See also here Bamberger *Angels*; Barton *Names* pp159–160; Böcher *Dämonen*., pp36–37; Y. Janssens, "La thème de la fornication des anges" in U. Bianchi, ed., *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo* (Leiden: 1967), pp488–495; Jung *Angels* pp90–139; and Reicke *Baptism* Ch. II. On the standard tradition of the fall and variants there see above pp9–13.

[515] *TestSol* pp14*, 21*, 71*(Rec.B), and 50* respectively; cf. Hopfner

known to the alternative traditions were that they might be the offspring of other demons,[516] that they might be evil men who had grown to superhuman power,[517] that they might be souls of the dead,[518] or that they might be the offspring of superior beings.[519]

As regards the nature of the dualism of these traditions then, all that may be said perhaps is that the sources, in the information that they do give, *apparently* show no trace of radical or absolute dualism. Instead they generally seem to adopt various forms of the monarchian or qualified dualist approach which maintains that, at some point no matter how distant, the power of evil originated in some way from the one preexistent power of good, whether or not that power afterwards continued to control it. Orthodox Christianity itself, of course, followed a monarchian line on the question of the nature and origin of evil and its spiritual forces, but, although they thus fall into the same overall classification, the alternative traditions were quite different, precisely because of the real power they attributed to the demons and the refusal by most of them to see the forces of evil as entirely subject to the good God in the present.

If it is accepted, as I believe it certainly should be, that many of the alternative ideas about the demons discussed in this study were quite widely held in late Byzantine society, one may note with interest how superficially the orthodox tradition had thus managed to cope with the problem of the persistence of unacceptable dualist attitudes among its adherents. It means

---

OZauber., p88.

[516] So Beelzeboul's "child", *TestSol* (Rec.C) p25*; cf. Hopfner *OZauber.*, p118.

[517] So Rhabdos, *TestSol* pp37* -38* . *CorpHerm* 1.7.116 maintains that men have the power of immortality by changing into demons, which reflects, of course, an old classical concept.

[518] For the existence of this belief and its rejection by standard orthodoxy see **Theoph***Matt* 8.28–34 c224; **Theoph***Mark* 5.1–20 c540; **Theoph** *Luke* 8.26–40 c805; the demons are said to encourage it by getting possessed men to live among tombs. Cf. Koukoules *Vios* p228, and also below p231 n714 on demons associated with graveyards, but note that the common later concept of vampires and revenants scarcely appears in these sources at all.

[519] As in **Pleth***Nom*. Cf. the origin of Onoskelis in *TestSol* p20*; *ibid.*, Introduction p43. On their fallenness see e.g. *Treatise* p421.17.

that such dualism can be seen to have exercised a strong and continuing influence on the thought of all those people who accepted their cultural tradition of demonology as a whole and not just its standard orthodox formulations, despite its vigorous doctrinal denial and its public denunciation in attacks on the various heresies that openly admitted it. Indeed, one does not have to look far in this period to find a formal acceptance of just such a dualism, for this was crucial to the thought of the Bogomil sect.[520]

There is clear evidence for the existence of this heresy at a sufficient level of popularity to be worrying to the ecclesiastical authorities from just before the start of the period covered here,[521] and for its continuation into the middle of the fifteenth century, particularly in the north-western Thracian areas of the Empire and beyond its northern borders;[522] a brief account of

---

[520] If, however, the demons were generally credited with a good deal more *real* power by many people than was allowed by standard orthodox belief, then the acceptance of Bogomil demonology may not be such a surprising phenomenon in this context as it might otherwise seem.

[521] This evidence is provided by the encyclical on the subject, sent by the Patriarch Germanos II (1223–1240) to Constantinople from Nicaea, and by some of his homilies, which show his direct contact with the heresy. For the encyclical see Ficker *Phundug.*, pp115–125, and especially pp118, 122–123, and 125 for its currency; it is cited below as Germ*Bogomils*. For the homilies see Migne*PG* 140; *Α΄*, *Εἰς ὕψωσιν ... καὶ κατὰ Βογομίλων* cc621–644; *Δ΄*, *Εἰς τὴν πρώτην Κυριακὴν τῶν νηστειῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ἀναστήλωσιν* cc659–672; cf. also *Β΄*, c652. It is confirmed by Rainerio Sacchoni who wrote, c1250, of two Cathar churches in Constantinople, one Greek and one Latin, as well as one in Philadelphia; see Loos *Heresy* pp233 and 269; Hussey *Church* pp163–164. There is, of course, substantial evidence from an earlier date.

[522] For the continuation there is evidence from George Moschampar's *Διάλεξις*, (Beck *Kirche* p678), written in 1277/1278; see Loos *Heresy* p329 and n1.

Somewhat later there is evidence from the Palamite controversy, confirmed by other sources. So, in 1316/1317 the young Palamas stayed with his brothers on Papikion and there had meetings with "Marcionite and Messalian" heretics from a nearby mountain who were certainly Bogomils; Kok*Palam* Migne*PG* 151 cc562d-565a; cf. Meyendorff *Palamas* pp50–51; and Loos *Heresy* p330. In a letter of 1345 Palamas and Isidore were accused by Akindynos of suspect liasons with the heretics who had appeared on Athos, in Constantinople and in Thessalonica, Isidore having lived in the same house as their leader George, who had been branded and expelled from Athos, and both of them having held in high regard a nun called Porine who was a disciple of this man. Kallistos, in his life of Theodosio e Trnovo, seems to confirm that Thessalonica in the fourteenth century wa

the relevant aspects of Bogomil belief will thus not be out of place at this point. Using the description of Euthymios Zigabenos' *Πανοπλία δογματική*, although this is of course a twelfth century work and so perhaps not an entirely accurate representation of the state of the heresy in the late period,[523]

an important centre for Bogomilism, mentioning monks from Athos taking the heresy back there after after being infected in the city by a nun called Irene; two, Lazar and Cyril Bosota, were later expelled and went to Bulgaria. Gregoras, writing in 1347, gives the names of six heretics expelled from Athos after a formal condemnation from Constantinople and suggests that it was to escape a similar condemnation, not from fear of Turkish incursions, that Palamas went to Thessalonica in 1325. Although the actual extent of Bogomil contact with, and influence on the hesychasts is a matter for debate, and the insinuations and accusations of their opponents seem largely unfounded in this respect, the existence and popularity of Bogomilism in this area would seem to be confirmed by their very use of the accusation. See here Meyendorff *Palamas* pp55–58 for a more detailed treatment of the evidence and the issues; also Loos *Heresy* pp331–333; Hussey *Church* p164; and L.M. Clucas. "Eschatological Theory in Byzantine Hesychasm", *BZ* 70 (1977), pp334–340 especially and n38 for discussion in particular of the idea that the sensual experience of the Godhead claimed by the Palamites was a form of Bogomilism or Messalianism.

Other evidence from this period comes from the Patriarchal Acts which suggest the existence of the heresy in the region of the village of Bukovik in 1316 and again in 1340; the heretics are referred to as "Paterini"; Hung*PRK* no42 pp298–303 and no101 pp568–579. See further D. Angelov, "Zur Geschichte des Bogomilismus in Thrakien in der I. Hälfte des 14 Jahrhunderts", *BZ* 51 (1958), pp374–378; and for the location of this place near the mouth of the Ebros, C. Asdracha, *La region des Rhodopes aux XIIe et XIVe siècles, TFByzNGPhil* 49 (Athens: 1976). Another document of 1325 (Hung*PRK* no95 pp536–541) mentions the existence of the Bogomils in Thessalonica when a sick monk was in contact with a man who appeared to belong to the sect; see Loos *Heresy* p334 n5; Meyendorff *Palamas* p58 n71. In the late 1340's the *Protos* of Athos was accused of Bogomilism in a clearly political move (Loos *Heresy* p333) but there is evidence of the real existence of the heresy on Byzantine territory as late as the early fifteenth century, for Symeon of Thessalonica refers to it in his anti-heretical dialogue (Migne*PG* 155 cc65d-73b) and seems to have precise information about the heretics, known also as "kudogeroi", living close to the city; see Loos *Heresy* pp333 and 335 n19.

In a passage not referred to by Loos, **Schol**Orth p107 mentions "Messalians, Jacobites, Bogomils amd Paulicians, the shoots of the rubbish of Manes and Marcion, some rising up in the time of Valens, some in that of Alexios Komnenos, and others at other times, being honoured until now by some nations in whom they have grown from the beginning". **Harm**Her 19 cc28–29, gives a brief account of them clearly based on Euthymios Zigabenos. Cf. also Del*Anec* pp318 319 for a similar account from a 14 century manuscript from Athens.

[523] **EuZig**Pan *KZ' Κατὰ Βογομίλων* Migne*PG* 130 cc1289 1332. His account depends on evidence extracted from the heresiarch Basil Alexios I Komnenos in the early twelfth century (c1289; cf. Anna

together with evidence provided by Germanos II in his encyclical *Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ κατὰ Βογομίλων* and by the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων*,[524] it can be seen that Bogomil demonology, although representing only one particular strand of alternative belief about demons, and itself exhibiting several "alternative" traits, clearly illustrates the same sort of dualist attitudes involved in a wider spread of such belief, as well as paralleling many aspects of orthodox opinion.

Bogomil mythology thus held that Satanael[525] was the first-born son of God the Father, the God whom Jesus preached in the gospels, and the second in honour to him alone, having the same form and apparel and being enthroned on his right hand.[526]

---

nena *Alexiad* XV.8–10; Zonaras 18.23). See Loos *Heresy* pp80–91; Loos *Satan* pp25–26; Runciman *Manichee* pp70–71, 74–79; D. Gress-Wright, "Bogomilism in Constantinople", *B* 47 (1977), pp163–185.

[524] **Germ***Bogomils*, cf. Loos *Heresy* p233 and *idem*, *Satan* p33; *PD* pp135–145, cf. here Loos *Heresy* p84 and *idem*, *Satan* pp23–25, whose assumption that the work is by Psellos plays an important part in his discussion, however; see also M. Wellnhofer, "Die thrakischen Euchiten und ihr Satanskult im Dialoge des Psellos *Τιμόθεος ἢ περὶ δαιμόνων*", *BZ* XXX (1929–30), pp477–484.

[525] The name Satanael was artificially formed in a Greek environment and came into Bogomil myth from apocryphal traditions where the idea of him as first angel appeared; see Langton *Essentials* pp114–116 and 135–136; *idem*, *Satan* pp17–18. It is not used either in the account of Kosmas the Presbyter or Euthymios of Acmonia, and Loos concludes from this that it was a later embellishment of the earlier version of the myth; see Loos *Heresy* pp58, 69 and 84; cf. *idem*, *Satan* pp26–28, n12. The fact that it does appear in the *PD* would fit the later date now ascribed to it, pp135.49, 137.58. Note that demon 50 in the long list in Recension C of the *Testament* is *Σαταήλ*, apparently a version of this name.

[526] **EuZig***Pan* cc1293d-1296a. The *PD* maintains that these "Euchaites" have three principles, a Father and two Sons; to the Father they assign power over *τὰ ὑπερκόσμια*; to the younger Son over *τὰ οὐράνια*; and to the elder Son over *τὰ ἐγκόσμια* (p135). As with most of the evidence of the *PD* that does not correspond exactly with Zigabenos, it is impossible to tell with any certainty whether the discrepancy is due to a real change or divergence in Bogomil belief or to the misinformation of the author. At this point **Germ***Bogomils* has them believing that the Devil is Christ's brother (pp117–118). Note that Kosmas' account shows no evidence of a connected myth of the fall of the first angel, although the characteristic identification of the evil ruler of the world with a fallen angel is present at that time. In the case of Euthymios of Acmonia, Loos sees an incipient tendency to adapt the original Marcionite/Paulician dualism to the normal Christian version of the origin of evil, though he later stresses, against other commentators, that there is *no* evidence in Byzantine sources for a radical dualist version of two eternally opposed principles: for him

Pride drove him to rebel and he tempted others amongst the angelic powers to follow him by offering to lighten the load of their liturgical duties,[527] but the plot was detected by God and, as in the orthodox version, the rebels were cast down from heaven to earth. This however, being still covered with water according to the Bogomils, allowed them no resting place and in consequence Satanael, who still possessed his divine creative powers, ordered the visible universe, creating a second heaven above and our world below with all its plants and animals.[528] Satanael formed Adam from earth and water and stood him up in order to breathe life into him, but a trickle of moisture ran from the big toe of his right foot; Satanael's breathing only succeded in animating this twisting trail in the dust which became the serpent. Realising his failure, he appealed to God for help, promising him that the offspring of Adam and Eve could fill the places left in heaven by the fallen angels; God agreed and the originators of the race were thus enlivened.[529]

Bogomilism was always monarchian, Loos *Heresy* pp58, 69 and 348. On the idea and origin of Satan as first-born Son in Bogomil belief see especially *idem, Satan*. On the different interpretations of Bogomil thought which may well be due to actual divergences within the thought system itself, see also Russell *Lucifer* p44; Russell also gives an account of Bogomil "diabology" pp44–48.

[527] This offer by Satanael was linked to the characteristic Bogomil interpretation of the parable of the unjust steward; **EuZig***Pan* c1296a; cf. Loos *Heresy* pp84 and 88.

[528] **EuZig***Pan* cc1296d-1297a; **Germ***Bogomils* pp117–118 and 125; cf. *idem Homily* 4 Migne*PG* 140 cc668b and 672b-c; *PD* pp135 and 137 where the idea of his being first-born and creator is said to derive from "the Prince of lies".

[529] **EuZig***Pan* c1297a-b; cf. **Germ***Bogomils* p119. As Loos points out, a much more primitive variant is given by Euthymios of Acmonia, describing the beliefs of the eleventh century Phundagiagitae. According to this, the Prince of this world created the visible heaven and earth after his fall with the exception of the sun and the soul, which he stole. Early attempts to animate Adam failed and he lay lifeless for three hundred years; then a mess of many unclean beasts fouled the soul which was thus momentarily held in the body and, receiving evil qualities, was bound to it forever; Loos *Heresy* pp69 and 348. On the idea of the bargain with God see *ibid.*, p85; he remarks that there is here a basic disagreement with Gnostic ideas, for the soul is no longer seen as a part of God and thus there is no question of God's self-liberation, instead the aim of the cosmic drama is to fill the places left by the angels. That Satan was master of this world and its creator was apparently confirmed for the Bogomils by Christ's temptation with the kingdoms; *EuZig*Pan c1324d. Cf. here I

As in the orthodox tradition, Satanael became jealous of man and, slipping into the serpent, deceived Eve; here however the fall of man was interpreted more literally for Satanael was believed to have had intercourse with Eve in this form and to have made her pregnant with the twins Cain and Calomena. His hope was that their resulting race would dominate the legitimate offspring of Adam and prevent them ever reaching heaven; Adam too became jealous and fathered Abel but he was at once killed by Cain. Satanael's union with Eve was seen as marking the second stage in his degradation, for he at once lost his divine appearance and became black and unseemly although the Father, in his goodness, allowed him to continue ruling all he had created.[530] Later too, in a version of the story in Genesis 6, it was said that the fallen angels through jealousy of man's chance to attain their former position, lusted after the daughters of men; from their union giants were born. These, however, rebelled against Satanael along with men, and were destroyed by him in the flood with all else; only Noah was saved who, not having a daughter, was ignorant of Satanael's apostasy and continued to worship him.[531]

Men were thus held in a diabolical tyranny far stronger than that admitted by orthodoxy, for their bodies were thought to be evil *by nature*, and few at all ever reached heaven. The Father eventually became aware of Satanael's deception however, and, after 5,500 years, sent the son. Following his passion and resurrection (which were no more than apparent), Satanael was imprisoned in Tartarus and, as a result, the name of the evil one became Satan since he lost the right to the divine suffix "-el".[532]

Sorlin, "Femmes et sorciers, note sur la permanence des rituels païens en Russie, XIe -XIXe siècle", *TM* 8 (1981), pp463 and 466–467 especially.

[530] **EuZig***Pan* c1297c-d.

[531] **EuZig***Pan* c1350b-c. This is consistent with the Bogomils' attribution of all the characteristics and actions of the Old Testament God to Satan, and is clearly derived from the Marcionite and Paulician background. Moses was thus said to have been inspired by him to lead the Israelites from Egypt and to give them the ten commandments for their destruction (*ibid.*, cc1305d-1308a), and all the Mosaic books were rejected by them (*ibid.*, c1292b). Cf. Germanos, *Homily* 4 Migne*PG* 140, 669c-d.

[532] **EuZig***Pan* c1301b-1304a. Further on the change in his name

The power of the demons was still thought to have persisted, however, and to have worked particularly in the Orthodox church which they had managed to pervert, basically through its identification of the God of the Old Testament with the God of the New.[533] The Bogomils thus believed that churches were inhabited by demons and they attributed the miracles of Orthodox saints to the demons who dwelt in them and worked wonders to delude the foolish. They also totally rejected the cross as a proper Christian symbol, seeing in the means of Christ's death the main tool of the demons. The attraction of the cross to some possessed men was explained as being due to the indwelling demons' love for it, while cases in which it had the opposite effect were held to be simply a pretence to delude observers into honouring it the more.[534]

---

see H. Gaylord, "How Satanael Lost his '-el' ", *JJS* 33 (1982) pp303-309, although the Bogomil explanation is not discussed there. On Bogomil Christology and its apparent inconsistencies see Loos *Heresy* pp86-87; cf. Germanos, *Homily* 4 Migne*PG* 140 c669b. The *PD* claims that the third branch of the heretical movement, those who follow only Satanael, abuse the younger son (i.e. Christ), as being jealous of his brother's good administration and as thus being the cause of natural disasters on earth, pp135-137. This would seem to be no more than an attempt to discredit the sect and is unlikely to have any basis in actual belief; cf. Loos *Satan* pp24-25; Gautier, *PD* p136 n9. It may well derive from the well known Bogomil rejection of the outward forms of Orthodox religion.

[533] On the discrepancy between the fate of Satan after Christ in one strand of the myth and the continuation of demonic power in another see Loos *Heresy* p87. As has been seen above the same problem was faced in orthodox demonology, above pp63-66 and 135-139; in contrast to the solution developed there, the Bogomils resolved it by altering both their Christology (a downgrading of Christ), and their attitude to the Evil One (who was effectively upgraded in power). Note, however, the presence here too of the idea that this power was *allowed* by the Father, **EuZig***Pan* cc1297d and 1309b.

[534] **EuZig***Pan* cc1313c, 1309a-b, 1312a-b; for the rejection of the cross cf. **Germ***Bogomils* p120 and *idem*, *Homily* 1 Migne*PG* 140 cc632a-636a. Churches were apparently believed to be divided among the demons by status; Satanael was thus held to have had the temple at Jerusalem for his own but to have moved to Ayia Sophia in Constantinople in the Byzantine era. Zigabenos also claims that they believed a demon dwelt in all who were not of the Bogomil faith, leading them astray, staying with their remains even after death, and finally being punished with them (c1309c). This idea is supported in Kosmas too, who says that they regarded even baptised children as still being "children of Mammon" until they had undergone their initiation ceremony, Loos *Heresy* p58. The explanation for the miracles of saints is almost exactly the same as that offered by the orthodox tradition for heretical wonderworkers, see above pp126-127. On

It is clear, then, that the alternative demonology offered by Bogomilism did not involve a radical or absolute dualism, such as that of Manichaeism, where the forces of good and evil derived from equal first principles. Rather, it can be seen to have involved a particularly well structured and clearly thought out version of the same type of dualism that would seem to have been accepted by the majority of late Byzantine people; that is to say, the dualism accepted by those who subscribed to their general cultural tradition of demonology and not just the exact doctrines of orthodoxy, and who thus attributed to the demons a degree of real power and independence that orthodoxy was not prepared to admit.

Leaving aside their dualism, another basic characteristic of many of the alternative traditions was the linking of the demons to inherited speculation about the astral powers, in particular the seven planets of the ancient and mediaeval world, and to related cosmologies. In general such theories saw all that happened in the universe as being due to, or at least influenced by, the movements and relative positions of the astral bodies, whether these were regarded as actually being divinities, angels or demons, their dwelling places, or simply their intermediaries. The demons appeared in these traditions most usually in positions of a varying degree of subservience to, and dependence on these controlling powers. One may think here most obviously of the elemental world-rulers or *decans* of the *Testament of Solomon*,[535] and of the demons (and angels) of each planet listed in the *Magic Treatise*,[536] but this view also found clear

the ritual, apparently attributed to the Bogomils by the *PD*, which is obviously fictitious, see below pp256–257; the accusation that all their rites were performed with the aim of seeing demons, an idea drawn from pagan theurgy, probably falls into the same category of deliberate denegration, *PD* pp141–145.

[535] *TestSol* pp51*–59*; they are identified as demons and spirits in the preceding paragraph and in the following sentence where they are linked explicitly to the zodiac. McCown makes the point here, p46, that "the astrological entity does not *belong* to the demon, or the demon to it, but *is* the demon", (his italics), but it is still implied that they are subservient to the greater powers of the zodiac. Further on this passage and the *decans* in general see below pp227–228; cf. the seven evil sisters who are also described as elemental world-rulers whose stars are in heaven, *TestSol* p32*, see below p222.

[536] *Treatise* p404; see below pp222–225 and Tables VI and VII.

expression in John Katrones' dialogue *Hermippos*, for example, where statements are based on the *Corpus Hermeticum*.[537] Indeed, it was in such theories that much of the role ascribed to the demons in divination and sorcery was grounded since their position as the controllers, administrators or servants of such powers and influences made it vital for the practitioner of these arts to secure their favour in some way, to find the moment when they were most favourable or most easily led, or else to force them to use their power in the desired fashion. In the last case this might usually be accomplished by the authorities who were believed to be positioned above them in their particular astrological hierarchy.[538]

Some of these alternative traditions similarly depended on cosmological ideas, whether related to, or independent of such astrological speculation, that saw the universe as a minutely and infinitely related whole, in which each part from the greatest to the smallest was capable of influencing or being influenced by other parts. Here the demons became important since they were regarded as being relatively powerful parts that might be controlled or exploited by the knowledge of those other lesser parts which influenced them. This idea is expressed clearly in Nikephoros Gregoras' commentary on the *de Insomniis*:[539]

---

[537] **Katrones***Herm* p25.118; it is even clearer in the passage in the *CorpHerm* on which Katrones is based, 16.13.4–9, "Under this [the Sun] has been placed the choir of demons, for they are many and various, being ranked under the squares (plinths) of the stars, good and bad according to their nature ..."; cf. **Katrones***Herm* p26.19–21 based on *CorpHerm* 16.15. To Katrones is also to be compared **Staur***Dem* p341 ll.13–14 which seems to have a similar source, see below pp196–199; and **Pleth***Nom* III 34a 138–139, "After the Sun and with him we salute you, Planets, wandering stars, you ... who share with him sovereignity of mortal nature and at the same time the direction of the terrestrial demons ..."; cf. *ibid.*, III 34c 166–167, "Under you [the Planets] also are ranged the terrestrial race of demons, subservient to the other gods".

[538] See below pp268–270.

[539] **Gregoras***DeIns* c538. The original passage, on which Gregoras comments here and in his subsequent notes, runs: "It must needs be, I think, that the parts of this great whole, since it all shares one feeling and one breath, belong to one another. They are, in fact, limbs of one entire body, and may not the spells of magicians be even such as these? Obviously, for charms are cast from one part of it to another, as signals are given, and he is a sage who understands the relationship of the different parts of the universe. One thing he attracts to himself through the agency of another

> The parts of the cosmos must be linked and have a share in each other just as is the case with the limbs of an animal, and [they must] thus have a sympathy with each other and some sort of symbiosis, as it were. Having said these things, [Synesios], as though taking himself up, raises a question and asks himself, 'Perhaps the spells (ἴυγγες) of magicians (μάγων) are like this?' For the wise man, who knows the relationship of things to each other, seeing that some things are charmed by others and that some things receive direction from others, attracts one thing by another. Thus, just as iron is [attracted] by a magnet, so also this or that is [attracted] by this or that material (ὕλης), this or that design (σχήματος), or this or that speech (φωνῆς) ... Not only are trees charmed by trees ... plants by plants, and animals by animals, but even the terrible fish [is charmed] by garlic and other things by other things; [finally], what is even more amazing is that demons from the air and from the land are charmed by certain stones, certain plants, certain speech, or certain designs which are called characters (χαρακτῆρας), and which, I think, were first discovered by the Chaldeans and Egyptians, each sign capable of making each demon known.

This theory is that which appears particularly in the *Kyranides*, but it was also present in every means of controlling the demons that did not depend on the invocation of superiors to subjugate them, and which used instead objects, substances, and the like for this end.[540]

---

thing, for he has with him pledges of things which are for the most part far away, to wit, voices, substances, and figures. And as when the bowel is in pain, another part suffers also with it, so a pain in the finger settles in the groin although there may be organs between those parts which feel nothing. This is because they are both portions of one living organism, and there is that which binds them one to the other more than to other things. Even to some god, of those who dwell within the universe, a stone from hence and a herb is a befitting offering, for in sympathising with these he is yielding to nature and is bewitched"; Fitzgerald *Synesius* pp328–329.

Theodore Prodromos, in his *Astronomical Poem*, ed. E. Miller, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France* XXIII.2 (1872) p39, 576ff, uses the common analogy of a magnet attracting iron to explain how the much greater celestial bodies may have the influence in affairs that is ascribed to them by astrology. Cf. the passage from Proclus quoted by Pingree *Ghāya* pp13–14 and see also below pp283–285; also Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp211–212.

[540] On this theory in general cf. Pingree *Ghāya* p1, where such "natural" magic is distinguished from both demonic magic on the one hand and celestial magic on the other. In these traditions in the late Byzantine period such a distin[illegible] annot usually be made since the demonic appears to involve both celestial and natural magic. See *ibid.*, pp5–6 for

Finally here, one further general concept underlying this demonology which must be mentioned was the identification of the pagan gods with demons. This identification was almost universal, except when these beings appeared in something like their old classical roles,[541] and, as has been seen, it was one which was made by the standard tradition as well. Here, however, there was often much more detail and development which carried the beliefs beyond the limits of what could be recognised as acceptable to orthodoxy.[542] Thus much of the speculation about the nature, characteristics and activity of the demons, as well as belief about the ways in which men might receive their favour or might influence or control them, was drawn from or affected by a variety of non-Christian cosmological theories and notions about the divine beings of the universe.

---

the relationship of such natural magic to the planets in some traditions, and compare the inks and incenses of the planets mentioned below, pp256 and 282. Note, however, that the *PDAltRed* pp128–129 and †**Psellos***Hel* c880, to which it is related, place this sort of speculation in the area of non-demonic "magic" as opposed to "sorcery" which does utilise demons. Cf. here Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp161–168.

[541] As is especially so in **Pleth***Nom* where old classical ideas of gods and demons are retained in the new celestial hierarchy, and where the demons are thus regarded as being of a different rank but in the same class as the gods. Moreover, for Plethon they are not evil beings; II.19 bore the title *Ὡς οὐ πονηροὶ οἱ δαίμονές εἰσιν*, and the concept is assumed throughout; cf. Bruel *Superstition* p10. Belief in good demons is, however, not common in these traditions which, although they see the demons as more powerful in some ways and more usable than the standard orthodox tradition, share its belief in their inherent malicious evil and dangerous trickery. Note, however, the *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* of *CorpHerm* 10.22.124–125.21–22; 12.1.174.10; 12.8–9.177.1–5 e.g., and Nock's n78 p135 on the concept. Compare too the attitude of Demetrios Chloros to the divinities/demons of the *Kyranides*, **Kok***Acta* p544, which he regards as simple medicine while the doctors see them as demonic magic; also compare those *ἐπικαλούμενοι τοὺς ἀγαθοποιοὺς δαίμονας εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ ἀνάρωπιν αὐτῶν* mentioned in a sixteenth-century *nomokanon*, Rouse *Folklore* pp153–154.

[542] On the inheritance, continuity, and development of non-Christian ideas in late Byzantine demonology and religion in general see e.g. Bruel *Superstition* pp26–31; Oeconomos *Vie*; Lawson *Folklore*.

3. Simple Ideas about Demons

Having looked briefly at some of the more important general concepts which lay behind alternative traditions of demonology in this period, it is now time to turn to details. The first major area to be considered is that of alternative belief about the demons' nature and what may be described as the mechanics of their operation. Not surprisingly, perhaps, there was a great deal of variation and inconsistency in these traditions and, as will be seen in the following chapter, some of them were elaborate and complex in the extreme. In contrast, however, others could be quite simplistic and were sometimes far less developed than orthodox beliefs in the same area; it is with these simpler conceptions that this examination begins.

3.1 Simple and Physical Conceptions

A demon might thus be thought of as being by nature little more than an animated wind, as is the case with Ephippas who appears in the *Testament of Solomon*.[543] This demon is said to have beeen captured by one of Solomon's servants in a wineskin following a plea for aid by the king of the Arabs whose country had been devastated by its activities, and the inflated skin containing the demon was returned to Jerusalem. There the spirit was questioned and put to work by Solomon to whom it brought the apparently similar Abezethibou from the Red Sea. Ephippas is described most often as a *πνεῦμα*, but is also equated with an *αὔρα*, a *δαίμων* and an *ἄνεμος*.[544] Very similar too is the demon Lix Tetrax, apparently a whirl-

---

[543] *TestSol* pp65* –70*; cf. the Qu'ran, Suras 34 and 38, Dawood pp183 and 287.

[544] On the first of these, *αὔρα*, see Barb *Antaura* and below p185; cf. Athan*Ep* 69 p166.65 for the *αὔρας τοῦ πονηροῦ*. Ephippas is also mentioned in *TestSol* p42*, although there he may possibly be equated with the demon from the Red Sea; both are made to support a column in the air, pp70* –71*, to which may be compared, perhaps, the suspension of the Devil by his feet from a cloud in Anon*Diavol* pp52.65 and 54.19–21.

wind.[545] In rather the same way the demons were sometimes thought of in grossly physical terms, always exhibiting the same form which, at least in its basic elements, seems to have been unalterable, and relying on physical violence to harm men;[546] in the Testament the demon Pterodrakon is even said to be capable of sodomy with women.[547] The forms such demons were believed to possess, according to these traditions, were often extremely bizarre, the most common types being perhaps those which mixed human and animal features in a variety of combinations; a demon in the form of a dog, a triple headed dragon with human hands, or a horse with a fish's tail, for instance.[548] Another form with a long history that appears, amongst other places, in the *Testament of Solomon* is that attributed there to the demon Phonos which is described as having the limbs of a man but being headless. This demon apparently sees through its breasts and, when asked about how it speaks, replies,

> I have inherited my voice from the voices of many men,
> for I have bound up the heads of all the men who are

---

[545] *TestSol* pp28* -31*. On this demon and a possible connection to the "Ephesia Grammata", see C.C. McCown, "The Ephesia Grammata in Popular Belief", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 54 (1923), pp128-140; also K. Preisendanz, "Ephesia Grammata", *RAC* 5 (1962), cc515-520.

[546] For examples of their physical violence see the individual cases cited below; the idea is, of course, related to belief that they could cause physical diseases, see below pp237-240 and 245-247. As has been seen such ideas are not unknown in the standard tradition, see above pp77-79 and 82-83.

[547] *TestSol* p45*, apparently causing insatiable lust in them; cf. the myth of the angels having intercourse with women, that of Satanael and Eve in Bogomil tradition, and the belief mentioned in the *PD* that demons could produce sperm, see below p215. Similar physical ideas of the demons appear in belief that they have bodies which can feel pain and be damaged, see below pp211-213, and that they can feed, below pp213-215.

[548] *TestSol* p37*, Rhabdos; *ibid.*, pp41* -42* (Rec.B), Koryphe drakonton, the three headed dragon, cf. Eitrem *Notes* pp17-18; *ibid.*, p48*, Kynopegos; cf. too Leontophoron, *ibid.*, p39*; Pterodrakon, which has the form of a writhing dragon with the head and feet of a man but with wings on its back, *ibid.*, p45*; and especially the *decans* who are described at *ibid.*, p51* as having shapeless heads like dogs, human forms, bull forms, animal faces, dragon forms, sphinx faces and bird faces. See also Delatte*Ex* ff103v-104 pp93-94; Del*Anec* p236; Jacob *Exorcisme* 8 p246; cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp253-272. Such notions are clearly indebted in large part to the zoanthropic gods of Egypt and the Near East, as well as some of the figures from Greek myth.

> called mute. When children reach ten days, then, when a child cries in the night, I become a spirit and rush in and attack it through its voice. Meeting me is particularly harmful at dead of night and my power is in my hands, for, taking the head in my hands, I cut it off as on a block and put it on myself. Thus from the fire which is within me I consume it through the neck ...

So strong is this fire that the demon is later used as a lamp to light men working on the temple.[549] According to the *Kyranides* the demon sent to men by the first *decan* of Capricorn is also headless, although in this case it is said to be unable to see or hear.[550]

This more physical conception of the demons which is found particularly in the *Testament of Solomon* was, however, denied or explained away by more developed and philosophically grounded theories which appear in the writings of the late Byzantine period or earlier. That the conception continued to exist in popular imagination at some level and not just as a literary relic is, however, proved beyond doubt by the need that was obviously felt to argue against it by those who adhered to more complex ideas and by its appearance in the everyday folklore of the late and post-Byzantine periods.

---

[549] *TestSol* pp35* and 39*; it also appears in Delatte*Ex* f103 p93, and in Del*Anec* p234 in an exorcism attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria, edited from *Parisinus Gr. 825* f9v of 1710; cf. here Eitrem *Notes* p23. On modern Greek belief in nereïdes stealing voices see Stewart *Nympho.*, pp225-226; cf. Campbell *Honour* p334; and also the "Fishoti" mentioned in L. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey and their Folklore: The Christian Women* (London: 1890), p123.

[550] *Kyran* p30 ll.154-155, "There remains for me to speak of a certain evil demon which is four-daily (i.e. quartan fever), and which is sent to men and women by the first *decan* of Capricorn; it is not easily persuaded because it does not see or hear being headless". There is another example of this kind of demon in Gmon*Lar* 155 p554f; cf. Joannou *Démon.*, p13 On the tradition of Akephalos who appears frequently in the Greek magic papyri and who dates to even earlier times, see K. Abel, "Akephalos", *RE* Suppl.XII (1970) cc9-14; also A. Delatte, "Etudes sur la magie Grecque (I) v, *'Ακέφαλος Θέος*", *BCH* 38 (1914), pp235-240 in particular; and K. Preisendanz, *Akephalos der kopflose Gott* (Leipzig: 1926), pp14 15 here.

3.2 Female Demons

The points made here are perhaps most clearly illustrated by beliefs about female demons that were current at this time. If demons were thought of as actually female, as was obviously the case, it means that such beliefs must have involved this less developed notion of demonic nature, and in consequence they were also attacked by those who held more elaborate theories. The *Testament* thus maintains that there are male and female demons, and Onoskelis appears before Solomon to prove it,[551] but this is specifically denied in the following passage from the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων*,[552]

> [Mark (the informant)] said that there is not a demonic sex of male and female by nature, for such things are the properties of composite bodies wheras demonic bodies are simple ... [Since they are also easily altered, masculinity and femininity] are in them only as far as appearance goes, and there is nothing of [the sexes] that is permanent in them. Thus the demon ... if it was seen to resemble a woman, was not permanently so, but was only putting upon itself the form of a woman.

The idea is also implicitly denied by all other conceptions of the demons as subtle spirits able to change shape at will.[553]

Despite such denials and refutations, however, the more physical notion of a female, and violent, demon survived as a strong feature in the alternative traditions of late Byzantine demonology; indeed, this idea seems to have been so persistent that such females became perhaps the commonest type of demonic being in post-Byzantine folklore. Three examples may serve to show the continuity of such beliefs in the late Byzantine tradition, the first of which comes from the *Testament of Solomon*:[554]

---

551 *TestSol* p18*; cf. p44.

552 *PD* pp165–169 ll.480–481 and 514–519; cf. Hopfner *OZauber.*, p106.

553 Cf. Delatte *Contrib.*, p220.

554 *TestSol* pp43* –44*; cf. Recension B (MS. P), "... if I have the chance I strangle, but if not I go on to another place, for I cannot be idle for one night. I am a harsh spirit, many named and many formed ... Hearing these things I, Solomon, wondered and I saw all of her body appeared dark but her face shone translucent green, her hair was wild like a dragon and

> There came before me a woman in shape, but whose form and limbs were covered by her loose hair. I [Solomon] said to her, 'Who are you?' ... 'Obyzouth', she replied, 'I am she who does not sleep at night but goes about the whole world [looking] for women [in labour] and, calculating the right hour, I seek out and choke the babies; and I do not pass a night without success ... My only occupation is [causing] the death of babies and hurt to [their] eyes, harm to [their] mouths, damage to [their] brains, and pain to [their] bodies'. When I heard these things I, Solomon, wondered and I could not see her shape, for her body was dark and her hair wild.

This Obyzouth is said to be controlled by the archangel Raphael and is hung by the hair in the entrance to the temple. She may thus be identified with the idea of the Gorgon as it lived on in popular belief, in which case the hanging may well reflect the *Gorgoneia* which at the time when the *Testament* was written would still have been visible on numerous Greek temples and even some synagogues.[555] It is possible, however, that the hanging may also have some connection to the story of the Sibyl who was supposed to be hung in a bottle or jar in a temple of Apollo at Cumae, or in an iron cage in a temple of Hercules at Argyrus, and who reappears in these traditions as a ruler of demons.[556]

The second example is from the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων*, from a speech by Timothy, the secondary character in the dialogue:[557]

> I had an elder brother who married a woman who was perfectly sound of mind but who suffered greatly in child-birth and who was completely changed by various

all her limbs were invisible ...". Cf. Eitrem *Notes* p18; Koukoules *Katades.*, *B'* p55.

[555] See Barb *Antaura* p9.

[556] The former in Justin Martyr, *Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας*, 37 Migne*PG* 6, cc308–309; Petronius *Satyricon* 48 p100: the latter in Ampelius *Liber Memorialis* VIII.16 pp17–18. Note that there is an interesting parallel in the discovery by Kallimachos of Chrysorrhoe hanging by the hair in the dragon's castle, Anon*KallChrys* pp38–39. For the reappearance of the Sibyl, or Sympilia, as a demonic ruler, and on the connection of the name Obyzouth and its variants with Gylou, see below; she would also seem to be the 27th *decan* and one of the demons of the North in the *Treatise*, see n701 below. Cf. also Delatte*Ex* f103v p93; and J. Petroff, "Testament of Solomon", *EJ* 15 (1971), c119.

[557] *PD* pp163 ll.435–439 and 165 ll.456–457; cf. *ibid.*, p169 ll.520–523 where he says that many people have told him that the demons appear to all women in bed in female form.

> illnesses Once, then, when she was in childbed, she had a very bad [attack] and became quite hysterical; having ripped off her dress, she screamed out, speaking fluently in some foreign language ... When she had returned to her wits, I asked her if she knew what had happened; she said that she had seen an apparition of a demon, shadowy and with wind swept hair, attacking [her] ...

The third description comes from a fifteenth-century manuscript in Paris, published by Legrand:[558]

> As the archangel Michael was coming down from heaven, the unclean [female] spirit met him who has hair like feathers and burning eyes. The archangel Michael said to her, 'Where have you come from and where are you going?' The abominable one answered and said, 'I am going off to a house and, entering it like a snake, like a dragon, or like some reptile, I will destroy the animals. I am going to strike down women; I will make their hearts ache, I will dry up their milk ... I will strangle [their] children, or I will let them live for a while and then kill them.

In these examples, then, the demons in question are clearly thought of as permanently, or at least predominantly female by nature, and they possess several other more or less constant features which are extremely physical, most notably the hair and the violent interest in pregnant women and young children.

The female demons of Byzantine thought are, however, not only interesting as survivals of ideas about a more simple demonic nature. The subject of the developments of these concepts, which appear in mediaeval and modern Greek demonology, and the inter-connection of ideas which can be seen to have taken place within them, is particularly fascinating and has perhaps been discussed most revealingly in an article by

---

558 Legrand *Ex* p.xviii, from *Parisinus Gr. 2816* ff432a–433a; (cf. the spell for *hemicrany ibid.*, p17). The same text, together with another, is also published with slight variations by Reitzenstein *Poim.*, pp297–299. There are quite a number of related texts in existence dating from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries; see for example Pradel *Gebete* pp267–268, 345–347; Spyridake *Ex.*, pp61–62. On these texts see M. Gaster, "Two Thousand Years of a Charm against the Child-Stealing Witch", *Folklore* XI (1900), passim; Winkler *Salomo* especially pp109–114; and my own forthcoming article, "Saint Sisinnios, the Archangel Michael and the Female Demon Gylou: the Typology of the Greek Literary Stories". More generally see also Barb *Antaura* pp2–3. For another mention of a demon who visits pregnant women and kills babies in the womb see Delatte *Ex* f33v pp47–48.

A.A. Barb, "Antaura: the Mermaid and the Devil's Grandmother".[559] Barb suggests that many of the group characteristics shared and exchanged between different types of female demons in Byzantine thought, which can sometimes seem extremely incongrous, may be explained when traced back to the fusion of ancient Near-Eastern folklore and mythology. There Lilith/Lilîtu, a supernatural harlot who tempted and then disappointed her lovers, and whose name according to Sumerian etymology is an evil wind, was connected with the similar Jewish word for night and with another Assyrian female demon, Lamashtu, who was particularly the enemy of pregnant women and their babies. At the same time the Sumerian Abzu, the primeval sea from which the world was created, which came into Greek as Ἄβυσσος and corresponded to the Babylonian Tiamat or Hebrew Tehom, the evil mother of a horde of demons in Babylonian myth and the great chaos dragon of the deep, was also merged into this concept. Many of these ideas were, of course, reflected in Greek mythology too, in such figures as the Nymphs, Nereids and Muses in their more sinister aspects. Sirens, Harpies, Lamies, and Gorgo/Medusa, as well as in several of the characteristics of the greater goddesses, most notably Hecate.[560] There was thus substantial backing for these ideas in the two primary areas of tradition in which the beliefs of later Christian peoples were founded.

Here, then, was the basis for the alluring female who tormented men, disappointing or killing them when she had aroused their lust, and for the wild female who attacked women and children as well as causing other illnesses. Here too may be found the ultimate explanation for the connection of such creatures with the sea and water in general, and for their depiction with scales or fish-tails, just as for their association with wind

---

[559] *JWarb* 29 (1966) pp1–23, (cited here as Barb *Antaura*).

[560] See also here Ninck *Wassers* especially Chs. I and II which discuss at greater length the background to the link between these demons, water, and the subterranean world in Classical thought. Cf. here Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp110–111; Langton *Essentials* pp5, 15–16, 47–48, 89–91 and 145: G. Scholem, "Demons, Demonology in Kabbalah", *EJ* 5 (1971), c1530 on the "four mothers of demons" in Jewish tradition (Lilith, Naaman, Agrath, Manaiath); and on the background relationship of the demonic to sexuality cf. Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp33–40 and 124–136.

and their depiction with feathers or wings, and finally for their connection with snakes, dragons, and sea-serpents.

Several of these characteristics have already appeared in the three examples given above and, in the last one from the Paris manuscript, it is no real surprise to find that the demon turns out to be the well-known Gylou. Furthermore, among her names listed in the passage are *'Αβυςά*, *'Αμιςούς* and *'Αμιδαςού* which link her even more closely with the Obyzouth of the first example from the *Testament of Solomon* and in turn right back to the primeval ocean Abzu/Abyssos; for examples of such lists see Table IV.[561] Although Gylou/Gello was known to the Greeks at least as far back as the time of Sappho and is described by such authors as John Damaskenos and Michael Psellos,[562] she is referred to only three times in the main sources used here. The references are in the passage quoted above; in the *Kyranides* where it is said that if anyone sleeps on an ass's skin he will not fear any demon or Gello (*Γελλώ*) and nocturnal encounters

---

[561] Lists of names associated with Gylou are relatively common, though generally from a somewhat later date, and almost all contain some variant of Abzu. The largest published collection of such lists is at present to be found in Müller *Teufel* p100 (see pp99-101 there for his discussion of them), although a more complete collection and more detailed comparative discussion will appear in my own forthcoming article, mentioned above. Five of Müller's lists are reproduced from Perdrizet *Negotium* p20 who in turn reproduces his first three from K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη Ε'* pp575 and 576, while one of Sathas' lists is itself drawn from L. Allatius, *De Graecorum hodie quorundam opinationibus* (Coloniae Agrippinae: 1645), pp126–129; the fourth comes from Reitzenstein *Poim.*, p299, the fifth from Pradel *Gebete* p280. Müller's sixth and seventh lists are reproduced from Delatte *Contrib.*, p231 which itself republishes them from Del*Anec* pp99 and 117. Further lists are found in J. Iriate, *Regiae bibliothecae Matritensis, codices Graeci Mss.* (Madrid: 1769), pp423–424; Pradel *Gebete* pp275–276; Rouse *Folklore* p162; Spyridake *Ex.*, p62; D.B. Oikonomides, *'Απεραθίτικα λαογραφικὰ σύμμεικτα, Τεῦχ. Α'* (Athens: 1940), pp65–70 (two lists); *Idem*, "*'Εξορκισμοὶ καὶ ἰατροσόφια ἐξ 'Ηπειροτικοῦ χειρογράφου*", *'Επ.Λαογρ.'Αρχ.* 8 (1953–1954) p22; S.D. Hemellos, "*'Εξορκισμοὶ τῆς Γελλοῦς ἐκ χειρογράφων ἐξ 'Αμοργοῦ*", *'Επ.Λαογρ.'Αρχ. ΙΖ'* (1964), pp41–48 (5 lists). Another list, now separated from a recognisable Gylou story (like the others there), appears in Del*Anec* p131; cf *ibid.*, p235 where *'Αβυςούθ*, *'Αδιούθ* and *Γιλου* appear in close association. There is another unpublished list in Oxford Bodleian Library, manuscript *d'Orville 110*, f3.

[562] The former, *Περὶ Στρυγγῶν*, Migne*PG* 94 c1604; the latter, *Περὶ τῆς Γιλλοῦς*, ed., K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη Ε'* pp572-573. Sappho, fragment 38 (168), mentions *Γέλλω<ς> παιδοφιλωτέρα*. Cf. here Spyridake *Ex.*, pp67–68

with demons (*συναντήματα*);[563] and in the *Πουλολόγος* where the crow is described as *Αἰγυπτίσσα μὲ τὸ μαυδίν, γυλοῦ μὲ τὸ καρκάλιν*.[564] The idea of the *gelloudes* is, however, common in post-Byzantine folklore where they are believed especially to be women who suck the blood of babies;[565] they are thus closely linked to the rather similar *striggles*.[566]

Other aspects of the characteristics described here are also illustrated in the female demons that appear elsewhere in the alternative traditions of Palaeologan demonology. Clearly, there is Onoskelis of the *Testament*, the beautiful female who lurks in caves and gorges, excites men's lust, and then strangles

---

[563] *Kyran* II.31 p163 ll.20–21; note here a possible link to Onoskelis.

[564] **Anon***Poul* p106 l.428; later in the poem, pp126 l.558 and 128 l.587, the crow is described as being a Devil in colour, i.e. black.

[565] On Gylou in modern Greek folklore as well as her history and association with Lilith in particular but also with others of these female demons, see D.B. Oikonomides, "*Ἡ Γελλώ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ Ῥουμανικὴν Λαογραφίαν*", *Λαογραφία* 30 (1975–1976), pp246–278; cf. *idem*, "Yello dans les traditions des peuples Hellénique et Rouman", *Λαογραφία* 22 (1965), pp328–334. Also Barb *Antaura* p5; Hopfner *OZauber.*, p110; Lawson *Folklore* pp176–179; Perdrizet *Negotium* pp16–25; Pradel *Gebete* pp338–344; Provatake *Diavolos* pp115–119; Rouse *Folklore* pp151–152; Spyridake *Ex.*, pp69–72.

[566] *Στρίγλα* is also quite common in the lists of Gylou's names and, as is in fact the case with many of the supernatural and particularly female beings of modern Greek folklore, the activities ascribed to both *gelloudes* and *striggles*, or the individual Gylou and Strigla, are frequently interchanged and indeed confused. N.G. Polites, *Παραδόσεις Α΄* #822 p500, (Athens: 1904), thus provides the following description of *striggles* which is said to be known from many parts of Greece; *εἶναι γριαῖς φτωχαῖς καὶ ἐλεειναῖς ποῦ δὲν μποροῦν νὰ κάμουν καλὸ σὲ ἄνθρωπο, καὶ ὅλο σὲ μαγικὰ εἶναι παραδομέναις· καὶ κάμουν πράγματα ποῦ ἀρέσουν τοῦ διαβόλου ... Πηγαίνουν΄ς τὰ μωρὰ τὰ νεογέννητα ποῦ κλαῖν, καὶ τοὺς βυζαίνουν τὸ αἷμα τοὺς καὶ τ΄ ἀφίνουν σὰν ξερά· αὐτὰ κι΄ ἂν δὲν πεθάνουν, μειγέσκουν ἐλεεινά κι΄ ἀρρωστιάρικα ὅλη τοὺς τὴ ζωή* ... Cf. John Damaskenos, *Περὶ Στρυγγῶν*, Migne*PG* 94 c1614; Oikonomides, *Ἡ Γελλώ*, *Λαογραφία* 30 (1975–1976), pp249–256; Koukoules *Vios* pp253–255; Blum & Blum *Hour* especially pp96–98 and 329–330; G. Eckert and P.E. Formozis, *Geister- und Dämonenglaube im Pontus* (Thessaloniki: 1943), pp21–23; Lawson *Folklore* pp179–184; Langton *Essentials* pp47–48. The concept of such beings is also clearly related to the Roman background to Byzantine belief and the *strix*, or *striges*, see e.g., Cohn *Demons* pp206–207; it is thence connected with the *stria* or *striga* of the seventh century Germanic law codes and on into the beliefs of the Western Middle Ages where it later played a part in the development of the Witch figure of the late Middle Ages; see *ibid.*, pp208–210.

them with a halter.[567] She reappears torturing men in the *Magic Treatise* in a description of Kronos' plant, ἑκατοντακέφαλον; "for those who are tortured by the demon called Onoskelidos, take some of its root and some of its seed, and wrap it in ass's skin and carry it [worn] round the neck ...",[568] and she lives on in post-Byzantine folklore, although it should perhaps be noted that the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* suggests that this demon is male, at least in appearance;[569]

> Those [spirits] which inhabit arid places and have dry bodies, such as they say the *onoskeleis* are, alter themselves into the form of men [as opposed to women] or at other times into dogs and lions and other similar animals in which masculine appearance is usual.

The appearance of Ornias in the *Testament* as a woman who hurts or mocks men when they grasp her in their sleep is similar,[570] and the seven evil sisters who come before Solomon must also be mentioned here,[571] as well as the females summoned in various divination rituals of the *Magic Treatise* and related

---

[567] *TestSol* pp18* -21*, 83* ff; cf *ibid.*, p58* , the 33rd *decan* who is said to lurk in ravines and also in swaddling clothes, something which links it to Obyzouth/Gylou. Perhaps to be compared here is the appearance of a demon in the form of an adorned woman in front of the cave where St. Maximos Kavsokalyvites is praying; Niphon*Max* 3 p45.

[568] *Treatise* p444. Cf. also *DelAnec* p617 ll.23–26 from N f233v, *CCAG* IV no19 pp49ff, which mentions "the demons of great Hades, of whom the first is called Ornias with Theth ... and his daughter Onoskelida". Both Ornias and Onoskelis appear among the demons of the East, *Treatise* p426, cf. below n704. For other references to this demon in the *Anecdota* see Delatte *Contrib.* p213; cf. here Strittmatter*ExII* p143 where an ὀνοσκελιακὸν type of demon is mentioned; Koukoules *Vios* pp251–252; and Caillois *Démons* pp75–76.

[569] *PD* p171 ll.548–552; see Gautier's n61 p170. Further on Onoskelis see Goosens *Femmes* based on the appearance of this sort of demon in Lucian, *Ἀληθῆ Διηγήματα β΄* .46 p124; also Hopfner *OZauber.*, p108; and Perdrizet *Negotium* p23 which links her to Gylou.

[570] *TestSol* p14*; the passage is corrupt and there are a number of different variants on the theme. In other appearances in the *Testament* it is apparently male, but its sucking of the boy's thumb may link it to the Onoskelis type. The name Ornias appears elsewhere in the lists of demons, see above n568 and below n704; cf. Delatte*Ex* f33 p47; Pradel *Gebete* pp272 and 347; Hopfner *OZauber.*, p112. Compare also to the idea of such a demon the Thessalian witch Pamphile in Apuleius *Golden Ass* 16, who is on fire with lust and seeks men, killing or harming those who reject her.

[571] *TestSol* pp31* -35*; see below p222. Also in the *Testament* is Enepsigos, p46*, who appears with two heads and hands on her shoulders.

texts: Lady Sympilia,[572] Anerada who comes from the Red Sea with her galleys and entourage,[573] and *Ἡ Καλὴ τῶν ὀρέων* who appears in an illustration in manuscript B2 as a woman with a fish-tail, claws, and a feathered head-dress.[574]

Also in this connection another passage in the *Περὶ*

---

[572] *Treatise* p433 in a katoptromancy; also Del*Anec* pp593–594 in another closely related katoptromancy, ed. from B2; cf. *ibid.*, p614.8 where rabies is apparently asked who gave birth to it and replies, *ἡ μάνα μου ἡ Σιβύλλα*; it claims its father is the North wind (from N f46v); cf. Hopfner *Lekano.*, p230. On the role of the Sibyl here see further Delatte *Catoptro.*, pp165–166, and 167 (cf. Dodds *Progress* p191 n2); Preisendanz *Salo.*, cc661–662; Ninck *Wassers* Ch. II and especially p79. There is also a fascinating reference to this same character in the Sicilian "fairy cult", information about which has been preserved in the records of the Spanish Inquisition during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here "*Dona Zabella*" or "*La Sabia Sibila*" (the Wise Sibyl) plays quite a prominent part and significantly at one point at least is said to be King Solomon's sister. There is clearly a direct link between these beliefs and those preserved in the *Treatise* and related material, and it is to be hoped that further research in this area will add considerably to our understanding of these different texts. I am grateful to Dr. Gustav Henningsen of the Danish Folklore Archives for this information; further details may be found in his forthcoming chapter on "The Ladies from Outside" and the Sicilian Fairy Cult, to be published in B. Ankarloo and G. Henningsen, eds., *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: 1987). Lady Sympilia'a role in divination in these texts is certainly indebted to the ancient idea of the Sibyl and the Sibylline Oracles but it is interesting to speculate whether she may not also have something to do with the ancient Mother goddess Cybele.

[573] Del*Anec* pp460–461 in a katoptromancy in which she is drawn on the back of a mirror and conjured by king Philvan who rules all waters and seas, ed. from P; *ibid.*, p466 in a love charm in which she is drawn on a loaf of bread, also from P. She is also linked to the Neraïdes, cf. Delatte *Catoptro.*, p172.

[574] Del*Anec* p600 in a procedure for gaining her assistance which takes place on August 1st at midday, ed. from B2 f537 with the accompanying illustration; cf. Barb *Antaura* p10; and Delatte *Contrib.*, for other references to her in the *Anecdota*. As Delatte and Josserand point out, p224, she is related to modern Greek belief in the *κουρίτσια τοῦ βουνοῦ*, cf. here Campbell *Honour* pp332 and 336 where such demons, it is said, may have their hair in the form of snakes; also Caillois *Démons* II pp76 and 81–82 for illness associated with them. On the relation of these and other female demons to midday see *ibid.*, pp73–77; they are thus connected to the *μεσημβρινὸν δαιμόνιον* of the standard tradition; compare also Müller *Teufel* pp95–98; Blum & Blum *Hour* pp329, 331–332 and 350. For a female demon associated with the mountains see also here Anon*Dyst* II.264–265. It may also be noted that in the exorcism attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria and ed. Del*Anec* p234, the "Kakiste" of the Seven Evil Sisters in the *Testament* has been replaced by "kale". All the demons mentioned in the text at this point are further linked in that they are conjured by similar procedures involving an imaginary or real feast, see below pp214.

Δαιμόνων states that,[575]

> those [spirits] which live in damp places and are fond of a softer way of life make themselves into the resemblance of women, wherefore these were also called in a feminine way by the sons of the Greeks Naïdes, Nereïdes and Dryades.

It is significant in the light of this that the *nereïdes* and similar *(e)xotika* in modern Greek folklore are particularly associated with streams and wells, and are thought to attack women and children, especially in the period between birth and baptism. Although the appearance of such *(e)xotika*, apart from the related female demons listed above, is not particularly common in the literature of the late Byzantine period, this is in contrast to later periods when these demons receive a great deal of attention, and it would seem reasonable to suggest that the literature here may not accurately reflect the state of popular belief.[576]

3.3 *Στοιχεῖα*

Leaving these alluring though ultimately unpleasant and extremely dangerous females, a scarcely more developed idea of demonic nature is found in the notion of the "elemen-

---

[575] *PD* pp169–171 ll.545–548; cf. Hopfner *OZauber* p107; the *PD* also says, p153 ll.297–298, that aquatic demons drown those who stray into water.

[576] Bry*Keph* 47 p227, does however mention that people in Crete in the period believed that there were Nereids in the sea; also Anon*KallChrys* l.1306 calls the demonic sorceress, "the grandmother of the Nereïdes" in the same line as "the nursling of Satan" – later, l.2579 she is called "mother of demons". See also Delatte *Contrib.*, p213 for three references to them elsewhere in the *Anecdota*. The connection of such demons with water has already been mentioned togther with the possible explanation offered for its development by Barb; other passages and references, mentioned below, also illustrate and develop this point, see e.g. p204 and n620, p216 and n665, and p232 and nn719–723. On the *nereïdes* see especially Stewart *Nympho.*, passim; Lawson *Folklore* pp130–162; Blum & Blum *Hour* especially pp112–118 and 328–329; and V. Cajkanovic, "De daemonibus quibusdam Neohellenicae et Serbicae superstitione communibus", *SBN* V (1939), pp418ff. On the background see Ninck *Wassers*; Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp50–53.

At this point I would like to express my thanks to Charles Stewart of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford for the advice and information he has given me in many enjoyable discussions on modern belief in the *nereïdes* in particular and *exotika* in general; his forthcoming doctoral thesis will provide an important contribution in this area.

tal spirit" or στοιχεῖον. The problem of what exactly στοιχεῖον/στοιχεῖα means, however, and what is implied by the process of στοιχείωσις or by the verbs στοιχειοῦν and στοιχειοῦσθαι which also occur in these sources, is one that has received the attention of various scholars, although none of the conclusions they arrive at are wholly satisfactory.[577]

It is quite clear that *stoicheia* had come to imply the astral bodies in some contexts by early Christian times, and it seems too to have been linked, quite logically, to the powers believed to lie behind them, to be represented by them, or to dwell beneath them. Thus in the New Testament, although this has again been the subject of debate, *stoicheia* seems definitely to refer to astral bodies at Galatians 4:3 and 4:9, and at II Peter 3:10 and 12, and it is possible that in the former case the "powers" of these may also be implied; Galatians 4:8 thus speaks of being "in bondage to them which by nature are no gods" apparently paralleling verse 3 which speaks of being "in bondage under τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου" before the coming of Christianity.[578] In a passage from the *Testament of Solomon*, where the τριάκοντα ἓξ στοιχεῖα, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου come before the king,[579] *stoicheia* refers explicitly to demonic astrological powers, the *decans*; this is apparently the case too in the passage in the same work on the seven evil sisters,[580] who are identified with seven stars, probably the Pleiades or perhaps the planets, as well as being said to

---

[577] See especially here C. Blum, "The Meaning of στοιχεῖον and its Derivatives in the Byzantine Age", *ErJb* XLIV (1946), pp315-325 which contains discussion of the earlier arguments, e.g. Diels and Lagercrantz; also Delatte *Contrib.*, pp209-211; Koukoules *Vios* pp237-239. See also W. Burkert, "*ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟΝ*: Eine semasiologische Studie", *Philologus* 103 (1959), pp167-197; P. Chantraine, *Dictionaire etymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots* (Paris: 1968), "Στείχω", pp1048-1049; Kittel *Wörterbuch* VII pp666-687 and X pp271-272; Lawson *Folklore* pp225-291.

[578] Cf. Colossians 2:8. For a summary of the debate on the subject see P.T. O'Brien, "Principalities and Powers and their Relationship to Structures in Ephesians and Colossians", *Reformed Theological Review* XL (1981) no1, pp1-10. As O'Brien points out, p6, the majority of commentators this century have understood *stoicheia* in this context as denoting personally active spiritual beings despite attempts by one or two to make them impersonal elements.

[579] *TestSol* p51*.

[580] *Ibid.*, p31*; cf. Introduction VI pp45-46.

be ἐκ τῶν τριάκοντα τριῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος τοῦ σκότους. Similar too is the passage on the demon Enepsigos who is said to dwell near the moon, who is linked to Kronos, and who says of herself τὸ μὲν τοῦ στοιχείου μέτρον, ἀνίττητον καὶ ἀόριστον, καὶ ἀκατάργητον ἐστιν.[581] This may also be the idea of a rather confused passage in the *Kyranides* which tells how a *stoicheion* may be caused to appear by using anchovy head and star-fish;[582] the latter is significant in view of the sympathetic theory of magic so common in this work, and it is to be noted that anchovies are also said here to be useful for seeing stars and altering the moon.

It is also clear, however, that by the late Byzantine period *stoicheion* had, whatever the process of transformation, come to denote a much lesser elemental spirit. The word was thus usually used of demonic powers believed to dwell throughout the earth in particular places, but it could also occasionally be applied to the spirit in a certain object or person. This idea is common in post-Byzantine folklore, but a number of passages clearly show its acceptance at least by the late Byzantine period. Joseph Bryennios, for instance, mentions in one passage the belief of people of his time that there were "*stoicheia* controlling each place" to whom as "τὰ τῆς οἰκίας στοιχεῖα incense is burned",[583] and at one point in the story of *Digenes Akrites* victims of the hero's extraordinary valour and strength try and convince themselves that Digenes must either be a sorcerer (γόης) or else a στοιχεῖον τοῦ τόπου in order to explain away their defeat by a man on foot and armed only with a staff.[584] To these passages are also to be compared a reference in the "pibaktromancy" in the *Treatise*, where the conjuration runs,[585]

---

581 *Ibid.*, p46*.

582 *Kyran* I.24 ll.65–67.

583 Bry*Keph* 47 p227.

584 *DigAk* Gro VI.320, 326 p182. Note that immortality and immateriality are implied for a *stoicheion* here and also that the almost unearthly beauty of Digenes' wife is taken as another point in favour of the theory; this is perhaps significant in the light of all that has been said about female demons above and the connection of *stoicheia* to females in modern Greek belief; cf. *ibid.*, Gro V.37–38 p144.

585 *Treatise* p430.

> ὁρκίζω σας, στοιχεῖα τὰ ὁποῖα εἶσθε γλυκέα ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ὑπόκρυφα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὁποῦ στρέφετε τὰ πρόσω πάντα ὡσὰν θέλετε, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ...,

and two in related material where one Mortze is said to be εἴτε στοιχεῖον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ τοῦ τόπου τούτου and where the στοιχεῖον ὁποῦ ἐστιν εἰς τὸ δένδρον τοῦτον is conjured in a form of dream divination.[586] The idea of a *stoicheion* being the spirit in a man and the parallelism between this spirit and a demon is also illustrated from the late Byzantine period in the *Romance of Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* where the wicked sorceress is described as an "embodied demon, an evil-working, soul-destroying *stoicheion*";[587] earlier she is also called a στοιχειοκρατοῦσα and here the concept is once more linked back to astrology, for in the same line she is said to be an ἀστρολογοσκοποῦσα.[588]

The main problems are, however, connected with the processes, obviously magical, to which στοιχείωσις and the verbs στοιχειοῦν and στοιχειοῦσθαι are applied. Blum, in his unrevised article on the subject,[589] wishes to see the principle meaning as depending on the use of signs and letters in this process. He maintains that *stoicheion* was initially used in such contexts for a magical sign, but that it later came to be applied to the (demonic) power represented by this and eventually to any demonic being. He links the astrological connotations of the word to this theory by stressing the importance of writing these signs, characters, or names at the times most appropriate to them. It may be, however, that by making the astrological significance secondary here he reduces the force of his argument. Blum rejects suggestions that *stoicheioun* should

---

586 Del*Anec* p578 from B2; *ibid.*, p468 from P. Στοιχεῖα is also used as a parallel of πνεύματα for the spirits of the West wind in the prayer of that wind, ed., S. Weinstock, *CCAG* IX.2 p167 ll.8–9 from the fifteenth-century *Holkhamicus 290*. In **Makar***Ia* 34 p469 the saint replies to an accusation of surviving by magic and sorcery by saying that this is due to the living God not to the action of, "ἀναισθήτων στοιχείων", nor "περιεργιῶν" nor "μαγγανειῶν".

587 **Anon***KallChrys* l.2586, δαίμονα κακομήχανον, ψυχώλεθρον στοιχεῖον. On this witch figure see also below pp250–251.

588 *Ibid* l.1067.

589 Blum, *ErJb* XLVI (1946) pp315–325.

mean "to provide an object with a demon" on the grounds of the late occurrence of this sense, but it is possible that this apparent lateness may be due to his ignoring the implications of these words in some of the passages from an earlier date which he quotes and which are not entirely clear on this line of interpretation. Furthermore, the flow of meaning may become somewhat clearer if another suggestion, also rejected by Blum, is followed and *stoicheioun* is taken to involve primarily the notion of "fixing" the powers believed to lie behind, in, or under the astral bodies (or *stoichea*) into an object such as a statue or amulet through which the practitioner hopes to perform his magic, a process which will certainly have involved the use of power names and signs. Such an idea makes even more sense of the disputed passage in pseudo-Ptolomaeus' *Centiloquium* quoted by Blum,[590] who rightly maintains that the *στοιχειωματικοὶ* mentioned there were not the "persons who cast nativities from the signs of the zodiac" of Liddell and Scott, but the "makers of talismans". Blum here says that these men "must observe the celestial bodies, since the affairs of mortals are influenced by these", but goes no further, simply maintaining in accordance with his theory that this is because "the most important stage in their operation was the correct application of the magical names and signs". It may be, however, that it would make far more sense for such men to be observing these bodies in order to find the most opportune moment for drawing down their powers and "fixing" them in the amulets they were making.

Such a notion would not be without support in the theory of talisman construction that was current in Neoplatonic magic; there, angelic or demonic powers, ranked beneath the planets, were drawn down into statues or talismans by the use of lower materials, animal, vegetable or mineral, which fitted into the same chain of planetary subordination. Such procedures are discussed by Pingree in connection with the *Ghāyat al-Hakīm*,[591] together with the similar theory of that work which involves drawing down the actual spiritual powers of the celestial bodies

---

590 *Ibid.*, p324.

591 Pingree *Ghāya* pp13-14.

themselves and fixing them in talismans. Amongst other things this theory makes use of the notion of planetary rays, which significantly requires precise astrological timing so that the rays may reach the practitioner at the best possible moment.

In the sources being used here, the only obvious occurrence of such ideas is in the *Βίβλος Σοφίας* where the astrological connection is stressed as well as the use of power names,[592] and where the phrases *στοιχειῶσαι ἀποτελέσματα* and *ἀποτέλεσμα στοιχειοῦν* occur;[593] some aspects of the principal rituals of the *Treatise* are, however, also to be compared. It is clear from the other places where this concept appears in the *Βίβλος Σοφίας* that the verb had also come to mean simply "to charm", although perhaps implying the use of a talisman prepared in this way, and that the noun *stoicheion* was used to mean such a charm.

Finally, two other rites involving *stoicheia* which appear in material related to the *Treatise* and which have already been cited above should be mentioned again in this context; although the later notion of *stoicheion* as an elemental spirit or simply a demon is important to them, it may be significant that in both cases the spirits are symbolically "fixed" in place for the purposes of the conjuration by the sorcerer's knife which is stuck, in one instance, into a table, and in the other, into the roots of a sapling.[594]

---

[592] *BibSoph*, *PS* II pp1372–1374; *CCAG* VII pp175–176.

[593] *Ibid.*, Del*Anec* p602; cf. *CCAG* VII p178.15 *ποιεῖν στοιχείωσιν ἀποτελεσμάτων*, also p179 for the note on l.1.

[594] Del*Anec* p578 from B2 f346 (cf. *ibid.*, p47 and *CCAG* IV p394); and *ibid.*, p468 from P. Cf. here the divination ritual at *Treatise* pp432–434 where the sorcerer is told to stick his knife into a grave-shaped mound at the centre of his magic circle and to balance upon this the mirror in which the katoptromancy is to take place; the knife is clearly visualised as a "conductor" for the demon or spirit and seems to be almost literally pinning it down. Further on such "sticking" and "fixing" of demons and the comparable piercing of images used in magic see below pp265–268. Cf. here too, Delatte*Ex* p115; Blum & Blum *Hour* pp303–304; Campbell *Honour* p333.

4. More Complex Ideas

In the literature of the late Byzantine period, if probably not always in the popular imagination, there are other alternative traditions about the demons which are much more complicated than those described above. These usually agree in wishing to position the demonic powers somewhere between gods or higher powers and men, (as is, of course, the case with the standard orthodox tradition), but they differ in the precise nature they ascribe to them.

4.1 The concept of *Eidola*

One type of these traditions sees the demons as *εἴδωλα*, playing on their identification with the pagan gods and on their believed ability to change shape and appear to men, as well as on other connotations of this word in pagan philosophy.[595] In late Byzantine sources the notion of demonic *eidola* receives its fullest, if not its clearest, treatment in the work on the miracles of St. Demetrios composed by the Chartophylax of Thessaloniki, John Stavrakios, in the late thirteenth century;[596] it also appears in Gregoras' commentary on the *de Insomniis* of Synesios, and John Katrones' dialogue *Hermippos*.

In his passage, Stavrakios comments upon the nature

---

[595] In classical Greek the word *εἴδωλον* ranges in meaning from a phantom or ghost, to an insubstantial form or image, to the film in the Epicurean system given off by an object and causing an impression on the eye, all of which could be applicable to Byzantine conceptions of the demons; see Liddell and Scott p483. For the relationship between *eidola*, souls and shades of the dead, which is of great importance for the development of some aspects of the Christian notion of demons, see especially Ninck *Wassers* pp58–70. Apollonius Rhodius, *Ἀργοναυτικῶν* 3.1004, uses *εἴδωλα οὐράνια* in the sense of constellations, which is interesting here in view of the astrological link in the material that follows. In later Greek the connection is strengthened by the application of the word to the images of gods, who were of course identified with the demons; this was its predominant use in Christian times although it retained its other meanings, and there are examples of plays on these, e.g. Clement of Alexandria, *Παιδαγωγός*, 2.12 (126) p238 with reference to the worship of the golden calf. See further Lampe *Lexicon* pp408–409.

[596] See above p157 n489.

of the demons and the way in which it was believed that this could be used in astrological magic; what happens to men, he maintains, is a result of the various motions and changes in the "images", once, presumably, the atoms of the Demokritean system, but now identified with the demons. These cause disease and misfortune which can be cured by invoking them through magic parchments bearing their characters and the like:[597]

> The works of the Hellenes foolishly say that there are certain images in the universe which form themselves into all sorts of shapes, such as the ones Demokritos, the philosopher of the Hellenic party, supposed, picturing strange types impressed and formed immaterially by some movement; figures of which those of the magic and divinatory art bear on papers for deceit and trickery, imagining for themselves these appearances under the names of demons. For they say that to the extent that something positioned, by origin, outside the cosmogeny as regards the material world, is without passion and is immutable, so, to the extent that something looks to and has permanent relation to the things of matter by origin, it is impassioned and can be enchanted. There is mind, here is [changeable] nature, and the [mind] is moved inexorably to the better things, but the [nature] is moved at different times by some other random movement, becoming consumed perhaps by its constant changes, and at other times taking on other shapes and appearances, and it is from these, in whatever combination, that our affairs are ordered.

This passage comes in the story of Marinianus, Eparch of Illyria, who falls seriously ill and is seemingly incurable until healed by St. Demetrios in a dream. Before this happens, however, a devoted servant who is concerned for his health brings him a parchment to wear round his neck inscribed with "names of gods, drawings of circles and semicircles, images of all kinds of designs, and extraordinary pictures of *eidola*", which he says will cure him. Stavrakios comments, "*τὸ δὲ ἦν Ἑλληνικῆς κακοδαιμονίας μυστήριον*", and makes Marinianus vehemently refuse the proffered charm, but he himself must have had a certain knowledge of such things, or had access to informa-

[597] Staur*Dem* p341. To the idea of them ordering mens' affairs compare Schol*Evang* p7; the fallen angels received also "this gloomy air in order that, just as by the good angels, thus also by exercise of the wicked ones the things of men might be managed ...". See also above pp19–20 on the idea of the Devil as world-ruler.

tion about them, as is shown by the combination of description and explanation, which are by far the most elaborate of the three passages on the subject. Thus in the same story as told by Konstantine Akropolites the explanatory passage on *eidola* is missing although the servant is said to have "taken the configuration of the stars and the conjunctions of the planets and invoked the perigeial and enaerial demons", a practice which he describes as being one of "unspeakable Hellenic vice". It is apparently the results of these observations and calculations that are thought to be written on the paper given to the Eparch.[598]

Commenting on the statement by Synesios that demons "throughout all their being are phantasmic, making their appearance as images in things that are coming into being ...", Nikephoros Gregoras presents a similar view to Stavrakios but in more simple terms:[599]

> [Synesios] says images (εἴδωλα) are things which are bodiless (ἀσώματα) but which have a certain solidity (πάχος), some more, some less. [He] here seems to follow the belief of Demokritos and Sextus and other Greeks, for they say there are certain demons about the air and the earth which have a certain solidity (πάχος), composition(σύνθεσιν) and ability to experience passion (ἐμπάθεια). The things which they call *eidola* live in health unseen by human eyes because they retain, I think, a certain type and shadow and likeness of the angelic and immaterial nature from which they are fallen ...

The reference to Sextus here is to a passage which discusses the beliefs of various peoples about gods:[600]

> Demokritos says that there are certain images which impinge upon men, and of these some are beneficent, others maleficent ... and these images are great and huge and are hard to destroy, although not indestructible, and they signify the future to men beforehand since they are visible and utter sounds. Hence the

---

[598] **Akrop***Dem* p183. Note that both the explanation of *eidola* and any overt astrological connection are absent from the seventh-century version by John of Thessaloniki, and the parchment is not specifically said to be demonic there although its description is similar; Migne*PG* 116 c1209b. cf. below n952.

[599] Synesios pp155-156, Fitzgerald *Synesius* p335; **Gregoras***Delns* c567. Cf. Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp87 and 102.

[600] Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* IX.19 p10.

> ancients, on receiving a presentation of these images, supposed that God exists, God being none other than these images, and possesses an indestructible nature.

The passage from Katrones which refers to this tradition is, significantly, one of the only things there which is not drawn from the *Corpus Hermeticum*. He says that,[601]

> Because of their participation in matter [the demons ranked under the astrological powers] are called material spirits, and because of their frequent appearance and emission of sound, [they are called] *eidola* ... And one may not well ignore the saying of Demokritos who, calling them *eidola*, says that the air is filled with them ...

There would seem to have been, then, a tradition about the nature of the demons in circulation in the late Byzantine period, which all these authors have made use of although apparently independently of each other, that linked them to *eidola* and used Demokritos to support this theory. Gregoras also refers to Sextus, however, and Katrones appears to know the passage or something like it too, but Stavrakios is well removed from it and it does not seem to have been his source.[602]

4.2 Composition of the Demons

In general it may be said that the problem of how the demons moved, took form, or possessed and yet were bodiless was one that was not really considered or discussed in the standard orthodox tradition; the closest it came to this was in the idea of the demons being more subtle (λεπτὸς) than men or having some sort of subtle body which occurred in its attempts

---

[601] **Katrones***Herm* 120, 122 pp25.26–26.2 and 13–15.

[602] H. Diels and W. Krantz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* II (Berlin: 1935), have both the Katrones' passage, A.78 p104, and that of Sextus, B.166 p178, but not the other two. They deny any connection with Demokritos himself but suggest a possible link to the *Epistulae Pseudhippocraticae*, although the passages there are not close to these. On the belief that Demokritos was involved in magic see E. Wellmann, "Demokritos (6)", *RE* 5 cc135–140; I. Hammer-Jensen, *RE* Suppl. 4, cc219–223; H. Steckle, *RE* Suppl. 12, cc191–223. Cf. also here *PDAltRed* p128 for the appearance of εἰδωλικὰ φάσματα and εἴδωλα of demons in sorcery; and †**Psellos***Hel* c880a.

to account for their apparent ability to divine and which derived from early Christian ideas about their nature following the fall.[603] It was, however, a comparatively short step from this position to the idea of their "solidity", "composition", and "passibility" mentioned in the above passage from Gregoras, as well as to the idea that they were possessed of a certain materiality. Gregoras, indeed, was not alone in taking such a line at this time, even if it led into an area of dubious orthodoxy and one that has been included here because it cannot strictly be described as belonging to the standard tradition. Somewhat like Gregoras then, the Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus in his *Life of St. Marina* declares that the Devil became material (ὑλαῖος) after his fall, taking up bodily solidity (σωματικῆς παχύτητος);[604] and the influential teacher Gregory of Sinai mentions that although the demons were once noetic they have fallen from their immateriality and subtlety and have acquired a certain material solidity (ὑλικήν τινα παχύτητα) as well as being embodied (σωματούμενος) and material (ὑλώδεις) in some way from the material passions.[605] Significantly both these authors follow their statements with others that clearly belong to these traditions and not standard orthodoxy.

There is a rather more detailed discussion of the subject in the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* which, maintaining that they are fallen angels, ascribes to the demons an altered version of the subtle (λεπτὸν) body attributed by Basil of Caesarea to the angels.[606]

---

[603] See above p14 and cf. pp127–128. In the early Christian tradition Justin, for example, maintained that the fallen angels had grosser bodies than the subtle ones of the angels, Russell *Satan* p64, and Tatian that they had grosser and more material bodies and a material spirit (πνεῦμα ὑλαικόν) but no flesh, being composed of fire or air, *ibid.*, p73, cf. p156 on Lactantius. See also the following notes.

[604] GCyp*Marina* p232.

[605] GSin*Keph* 123 c1288a; cf. Palam*EpBarl* A´.52 p256 which maintains that the demons are more material (ὑλαῖος) than men since they cannot return whence they have fallen; and Diad*Keph* 81 p139 which maintains that there are two kinds of demon attacking respectively soul and body, one ὥσπερ λεπτότερα, the other ὑλωδέστερα. Cf. Russell *Satan* p77.

[606] *PD* p145 ll.183–195 in response to Timothy's question of how they may be seen with eyes if they do not have bodies. The reference to Basil is to his *Περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος*, Migne*PG* 32 c137a, see Gautier's

This gets round the problem of their being specifically called incorporeal in the Scriptures by saying that both Christian and pagan writers call thicker bodies corporeal, but that which is subtle (λεπτομερὲς) and cannot be touched, incorporeal. The dialogue continues,[607]

> The angelic [body], emitting certain marvellous and dazzling lights, is intolerable and unbearable to corporeal eyes, but whether the demonic body was such at one time, I [Thrace] cannot say although it seems so since Isaiah calls 'the one who fell' 'Lucifer' (Isaiah 14 : 12). Now, however, it is as though dark (ζοφῶδες) and gloomy (ἀμαυρὸν) and grievous to the eyes (τοῖς ὄμμασι λυπηρὸν) being naked of its wedded light (τοῦ συζύγου φωτός). The angelic [body] is completely immaterial and therefore it passes through all that is solid; it is even more impassible [i.e. unalterable] than a sun-beam, for that, while passing through transparent bodies, is stopped by earthly and dark things, so as even to be subject to breakage when these contain matter, but the other is opposed by nothing because it contains nothing to oppose anything with nor has a common element with anything. The demonic bodies, however, even if they are rendered invisible by their subtlety (λεπτότητος), still support material (ἔνυλα) in some way and thus the capability of feeling passion, [i.e. of alteration] (ἐμπαθῆ). [This is true] in particular of those which live in underground places (τοὺς ὑπὸ γῆν τόπους), for these have such a composition (σύστασιν) that they fall when touched, feel pain on being struck, and burn when brought into contact with fire ...

n26 p144. Basil Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὴν προφήτην Ἠσαίαν, Migne*PG* 30 cc532c–533a, quoted in the margin of Gautier's manuscript E and in the text of his H (both of which are from this period) describes the demons as having aerial bodies (ἀέρια σώματα) whether these are also fiery or mixed from both elements; cf. *PD* p144 n25 and also Nicetas Stethatos quoted by Joannou *Démon.*, p26. †**Psellos***Hel* c877a attributes bodies to the demons which are subtle, aerial and less firm. For a brief discussion of this issue see also Delatte *Contrib.*, pp214–215; Ducellier *Diable* p202; and further on the angelic body see Mango *Byzantium* pp154–155.

[607] *PD* p147; Gautier notes, p146 n27, that the very end of this passage, partially omitted here, draws directly on Proclus, Εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον Πλάτωνος, Γ΄.142c-d, II p11.10–17. On their feeling pain see below pp211–213. There is something of an acknowledgement in Timothy's reply to these statements that the material presented here is not entirely orthodox, since he confesses that he has never heard such things before. On the character Θρᾷξ see Gautier *PD* p136 n9; and for the connection of this name to the *PD* cf. Runciman *Manichee* pp90–91; also H. Grégoire, "Thraces et Thessaliens, maitres de religion et de magie", *Homages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont*, (Brussels: 1949), pp375–386.

4.3 Elemental Divisions of the Demons

Many of the alternative traditions, which were generally dependent in origin on late Antique philosophical speculation, made further distinctions between different types of demons by attributing greater materiality to them in proportion to the proximity at which they were believed to live to the earth. This division generally followed that of the elements and distinguished between ethereal, aerial, aquatic, earthly, and subterranean demons.[608]

Gregoras' commentary on the *de Insomniis*, in its longest list, knows five elemental categories of demons, attributing this division to the Chaldeans; they, says Gregoras, speak of the ethereal (*αἰθερίους*), the aerial (*ἀερίους*), those near the earth (*προσγείους*), the aquatic (*ὑδραίους*), and the subterranean (*ὑποχθονίους*).[609] However, there is also another list of four, attributed now to the wise men of the Greeks and Chaldaeans, which omits the ethereal and knows *τὰ ἀέρα, ὑδραῖα καὶ ἐνάλια, χθόνια* and *ὑποχθόνια*,[610] and elsewhere here Gregoras refers to the demons "from the air and land", and the demons "about the air and land".[611] Furthermore, he uses a passage from the *Chaldaean Oracles*[612] which contrasts the "ones from the ether" (*ἀπ' αἴθρης*) with those of "the middle, perching

---

[608] For ideas about the demons, including their "materiality" and their relation to elemental forces, in the general background see Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp6–57, and particularly pp53–57 for the closely comparable elemental division of Olympiodorus. On pp89–94 and 100–103 Hopfner has especially relevant passages on the materiality of demons, using much the same sources as are employed here. See also Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp40–46 and the following sections there; on the elemental composition of the demons in Jewish Kabbalistic theory see G. Scholem, "Demons, Demonology in Kabbalah", *EJ* 5 (1971), c1529.

[609] **Gregoras***DeIns* c599.

[610] *Ibid.*, c616. On Chaldaean aquatic demons see Lewy *Oracles* p267.

[611] *Ἐξ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς*, **Gregoras***DeIns* c538; and *περὶ ἀέρα καὶ γῆν*, *ibid.*, c567. Cf. **Akrop***Dem* 26 p183 which mentions *περίγεια καὶ ἐναέρια δαιμόνια* perhaps significantly in relation to the talisman in the Marinianus story.

[612] **Gregoras***DeIns* c540; *OrChal* p120 and n223 there. The passage is also in Eusebios, *Προπαρασκευῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς* 8.6. For the authenticity of the "Chaldaean" fragments Gregoras uses see E. des Places, *OrChal* p119 n4.

on the middle winds". One commentator on the *Oracles* has seen here the demons of the air, intermediary between ethereal and earthly, which are bad demons,[613] but Gregoras apparently identifies them with the demons near the earth which he says are liars,[614] and which in the list of four categories above are seemingly to be further identified with the earthly ones. Gregoras' inconsistency appears shortly afterwards, however, when he contrasts the "material, unseen and evil demons" (*ἐνύλων καὶ κακοποιῶν δαιμόνων*) with the "middle demons" which are both material and immaterial (*μέσων δαιμόνων ἀύλων καὶ ἐνύλων*) and which are here apparently somewhat better than the former. It is obvious that he has no particularly well structured idea of these divisions although believing that they do exist.

When looking at Gregoras' treatment of the subject certain passages in Synesios' *de Insomniis* itself should also be borne in mind, since they make somewhat similar statements about souls, ranging them between heaven and earth according to their entanglement with matter.[615] One passage in particular may be quoted since its language is also rather like some used by the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* and the *Testament of Solomon*.[616]

> When [the soul] becomes thick and moist, it sinks into the hollows of the earth by its downward momentum, lurks in holes, and is finally pushed into the regions below the earth; for this spot is the most suitable to the spirits clogged with moisture, and there the way of life is ill-starred and full of vengeance.

The *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* with its usual elaboration, has a longer list of six elemental categories.[617] These are Leliourios, meaning fiery(*Λελιούριον, διάπυρον*) which is also said

---

[613] G. Wolff, *de Philosophia*, (Berlin: 1856) cited by des Places, *OrChal* Fr.223 n2 p120.

[614] Gregoras*DeIns* c599; further on Chaldaean *ὑλικοὶ* demons see Lewy, *Oracles* pp304–309.

[615] See Synesios pp161, (Fitzgerald *Synesius* p339), 163 (340), and 181 (353).

[616] Synesios p157, Fitzgerald *Synesius* p336.4–8.

[617] *PD* p153; cf. *PDAltRed* pp97–98. For a brief commentary on the division and specialisation of the demons in the *PD* see G. de Matons *Paellos* p343; Ducellier *Diable* pp202–204; cf. Russell *Lucifer* pp41–43.

to range in the air above us;[618] aerial (ἀέριον) which wanders about the air near to us; earthly(χθόνιον); that which lives in fresh and salt water (τὸ ὑδραιον καὶ ἐνάλιον); subterranean (ὑποχθόνιον); and finally that which hates light and lacks sensibility (τὸ μισοφαὲς καὶ δυσαίσθητον).[619] In the alternative redaction of this work some additional detail is given about the last four kinds; thus the earthly is said to press about the earth and to attack those on it with myriad machinations; the aquatic is said to haunt damp places, lurk about harbours and rivers, and raise storms at sea to drown men sailing there; the subterranean dwells underground and attacks well-diggers and miners as well as apparently causing earthquakes; while the light-hating kind is extremely gloomy and veiled in darkness and harms people by its extreme cold.[620] This six-fold division is apparently

---

[618] Gautier *PD* p152 n37, mentions Gaulminius' explanation of this term as coming from the Hebraic "lel", meaning night, and "our", meaning fire; cf. Svoboda *Démon.*, p9; Hopfner *OZauber.*, p92; Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp23 and 46–50. Also compare here the passage from Isaiah mentioned above, and Pall*Laus* 17 p47 who says there is a *tagma* of demons called fiery (πύρινον), one of which possessed a man and caused him to be insatiable in his appetite so that he even ate his own excrement and drank his own urine; cf. G. de Matons *Psellos* pp337–338. See here too the Qu'ran, Sura 55 (the Merciful), Dawood p19, which says Allah created the jinn from smokeless fire. For the demons as cold and *not* fiery see below.

[619] See Gautier *PD* p150 n34 on this kind. In *ibid.*, n38 pp152–153 he follows Bidez, *PDAltRed* pp11–17, who thinks it is inspired primarily by passages from Olympiodorus *in Alcibiadem* and *in Phaedonem*. Note, however, that John 3:20 says that all doing τὰ φαῦλα hate the light; φαῦλος is an adjective occasionally applied to the demons in the standard tradition, see above p24. On this type see also Butler *Magic* pp89 and 164.

[620] *PDAltRed* pp122–123. See too an interesting passage in **EuZig***Pan* c1300a on the Bogomils, where he mentions that "now also [the fallen angelic powers or demons] dwell in waters, streams, rivers, harbours and seas, and live underground as immaterial spirits ..."; cf. also **ChoumN***Dys* p383 who warns against giving idols the names of subterranean, shadowy demons. On the coldness see also **GSin***Keph4* p700 ll.14–16, where it is said that "since the Lord is fire it is clear that the demon is cold (ψυχρός); not cold by nature but by persuasion, having lost through sin that divine warmth which 'maketh its ministers a flaming fire' ". On the harm resulting from the coldness of these demons see also below p217. The idea seems to be derived from Evagrios who held that demons, being made of air devoid of light, are heavy and ice-cold; Russell *Satan* p178. Compare on the subterranean demons here Mango *Byzantium* pp160–161 where their link to old pagan temples is also mentioned. Further on the background to the connection of demons with both water and subterranean areas see Ninck *Wassers* Chs. I-II.

contrived to fit the hexad which the author makes the character Thrace maintain is a characteristic of bodies and the universe, following a vulgarised version of Pythagorean arithmology.[621] The *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* contains another list too, here in the context of its discussion of the imaginative ability of the different kinds, which contains fiery and airy (*ἐμπύριοι καὶ ἀέριοι*), aquatic and earthly (*ὑδραῖοι καὶ χθόνιοι*), and light-hating.[622]

There is a rather tentative but not dissimilar threefold division of the demons in the *Κεφάλαια* of Gregory of Sinai. Here material (*ὑλώδη*), moist (*ὑγρώδη*) and light, subtle and aerial spirits (*κοῦφά τινα καὶ λεπτὰ ὡς ἐναέρια πνεύματα*), apparently ranged under the three *archontes* of the abyss, of this world, and of the air, divide between them different methods of spiritually attacking men; basically the first mislead them with material pleasures, the second with sexual temptations, and the third with delusions and false visions.[623]

Another rather similar division is known to Katrones, significantly not drawing on the *Corpus Hermeticum* once more. He says that the demons are divided up under the astrological powers, and have alloted to them the dry, the wet, and the aerial (*τὴν ξηρὰν καὶ ὑγρὰν καὶ ἐναέριον*).[624] Likewise the *Testament of Solomon* has a simple division which occurs in a formulaic praise of Solomon's power, and which speaks of the aerial, earthly, and subterranean spirits (*ἀερίων, ἐπιγείων, καταχθονίων πνευμάτων*).[625] The Byzantine version of the Alexander legend speaks of the sorcerer Nektanabo summoning enaerial and subterranean demons (*ἐναερίους δαίμονας καὶ τὰς καταχθονίους*),[626] and the *Kyranides* mention individual spirits as airy or fiery,[627] while in Plethon's *Laws* "the terrestrial

---

621 See Gautier *PD* p150 n35.

622 *PD* p169. Cf. †**Psellos***Hel* c876c which assigns demons to fire, air, water and earth and mentions the different sacrifices properly offered to aetherial, aerial and subterranean demons, c877a-b.

623 **GSin***Keph* 122 and 123 cc1285c-d and 1288a-d.

624 **Katrones***Herm* p25.

625 *TestSol* pp98* (Rec.B), 51*, and 65*; cf. p48*.

626 **Anon***Alex* I.64.

627 *Kyran* I.7 ll.4-7 *πνεῦμα ἀερώδες*; I.15 ll.28-32 *δαίμονας* [illegible]

race of demons" (*τὸ χθόνιον δαιμόνων γένος*) is a common description, distinguishing them from the other classes of gods who are higher in the heavens or above them.[628] Finally, in *Solomon's Magic Treatise* there appears to be a relic of these distinctions in the major conjuration when the sorcerer is instructed to say,[629]

> I conjure you [spirits], in the air, in the fire, and in the water, in the earth and sea, and in rivers, wherever you may be found, in heaven or on earth, on mountain or on hill, in plain or ocean or sea or harbour ...

Different charcteristics were attributed to these different categories but the ethereal and aerial were usually seen as being in some way superior to the others.[630] This is the case in the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* where these two types are said to harm men by fantasies and the use of reason, approaching them with art and intelligence and so deceiving them that they fall into unnatural passion. The more material kinds, however, physically molest their victims, drowning them or savagely possessing them so that they are harmed or driven mad in accordance with the precise type of demon which has attacked.[631] The same sort of

---

πούς.

[628] Pleth*Nom* III p154 e.g.

[629] *Treatise* p420 ll.2–6; cf. Delatte *Contrib.*, pp222–223, and below pp231–233, on such geographical classifications. Apparently related to this elemental division in some way also are the aerial and wind demons of the four quarters, see below pp225–230. This is also obviously close to the passage on the Bogomils from Zigabenos noted above. Cf. too Pradel *Gebete* pp347–348; Delatte*Ex* p123; Strittmatter*ExII* p129; Joannou *Démon* p43; and Lawson *Folklore* pp283–287. Further on the *ἀέρικα* of modern Greek folklore in general see Lawson pp68–69 and Blum & Blum *Hour* p95 together with the references given there on p393. As was seen above the standard tradition makes use of the idea of the Devil as the *archon* of the air and of the demons dwelling there, following Ephesians 2:2, see above pp15–16. There is also a link between the *telones* (above pp16–18) and the *aerika*, see Koukoules *Vios* p253.

[630] Gautier *PD* p153 n39, points out that Psellos in the *de Omnifaria Doctrina* says that Christian doctrine makes it necessary to believe that all demons are bad, but for the Greeks and Chaldaeans the etherial and aerial gods are good; cf. *PDAltRed* pp98–99. On the demons of the various strata of the air in Jewish traditions see G. Scholem, "Demons, Demonology in Kabbalah", *EJ* 5 (1971), c1531.

[631] *PD* pp153–155 ll.295–303. On the distinctive types of possession see below p217. Cf. *PDAltRed* p122 which mentions that the earthly demons set themselves against those on earth with *πολλαῖς ταῖς μεθόδοις καὶ μυρίοις τοῖς μηχανήμασι*.

distinction was drawn too in their ability to change shape and appear in different forms to men. Thus the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* says that, like clouds which easily change shape according to the winds which blow on them or the air which changes colour, the demons also change in size and appearance being particuarly suited to this by the nature of their "bodies", but whereas clouds and the air are affected by external influences, the demons transform themselves by the power of their own "imaginative energy" (*φανταστικὴ ἐνέργεια*).[632] The demonic body is, however, not stiff (*στερρὸν*) enough to retain the form it has chosen, but this rather slips from them as colour dissolves when poured into water.[633] The ease with which these transformations can take place depends on the demonic type, for the ethereal (or fiery) and aerial demons, "since they have a very diverse imagination (*πολυσκεδῆ φαντασίαν*), change themselves into the form they have conceived whenever they choose ...", but the most material sorts "are very limited in their imagination and thus do not change into many forms because they do not have many which they imagine, nor a flexible and changeable body". Those in between, the watery and earthly demons, "are able to alter shape, but on the whole they remain in the one which pleases them at some time".[634] The *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* thus offers a sophisticated explanation not only of how the demons might actually change form, but also of how it was that some people could conceive of them in the more simplistic ways described

---

[632] The analogy of earthworms stretching and contracting is used for size, blushing for colour or appearance. For demons being capable of transformation in these traditions see also *Treatise* p419 ll.27-28; p420 ll.20-21, 421 ll.28-30 where they are told to adopt a pleasant human form which will not upset the practitioner; cf. Delatte *Contrib.*, pp218-219.

[633] Cf. **Diad***Keph* 37 p106 on the distinction between divine and demonic dreams, which says much the same thing about their inability to maintain one form for very long; see above p89.

[634] *PD* pp165-169 ll.473-545; cf. Delatte*Ex* p104 n1, and Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp106-107. On their transformations in the standard tradition see above pp83-89. Rather similar is the account given by the *PD* of how the demons of the less material kinds communicate with men, pp155-157 ll.311-333; but cf. p171 which gives a slightly different picture, maintaining that the demons do use human language at times and continue to speak with the language of the people they normally live amongst, even when they go away; on this see also Delatte*Ex* f4 p28 and Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp103-104.

above.

Similar distinctions were also drawn between the demonic types when their role in divination and magic, and their relationship to sorcerers, magicians, and diviners was considered. Gregoras thus maintains that the demons near the earth lie since they are far from the divine wisdom and are filled with dark matter (ἀφεγγοῦς ὑλῆς ἀναπεπλησμένους);[635] the only way the truth can be obtained from them is by enchanting a greater demon who comes down and passes on the required information. This is possible because the ethereal ones are true, living far from the earth and near the divine knowledge,[636] and so apparently able to fly high enough to discover "the country that has been prepared in the sphere above for the pure and more divine nature".[637] Gregoras, who says he is following the Chaldeans here, agrees to some extent with the *Testament of Solomon*, for there Ornias explains to the king along much the same lines how it is that the demons can prognosticate with respect to what is happening or is about to happen in the world. He says they can go up to the firmament of heaven and, flying amongst the stars, hear the counsels coming out from God upon human souls; since they have no resting place there, however, they get exhausted and fall back to earth through weakness like leaves from the trees or lightning, so that men call them falling stars.[638] McCown maintains that this is dangerous for them because of the fall involved, but there seems to be little evidence

---

[635] **Gregoras***DeIns* cc540 and 599.

[636] *Ibid.*, c540.

[637] *Ibid.*, c592. Cf. *PD* p177 ll.645–648 which maintains that all demons can only prognosticate by interpreting signs and so get many things wrong, but the more engaged in matter they are the worse they are at doing this and the more careless they are about the truth. See further Gautier *PD* p176 n71; and Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp124–125. The *PD*, however, contradicts Gregoras and comes close to disagreeing with itself for, on p159 ll.387–388, it says, when arguing for the phenomenon of possession, that the possessed man may predict certain future events, having previously maintained that it is only the most material sorts that actually possesses men. For the attitude of the standard orthodox tradition to the involvement of demons in divination see above pp125–129. In general on uncertain or contradictory attitudes to their knowledge of the future see Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp122–126, but note that demons are commonly used in the divinatory practices of the alternative traditions here, see below pp293–297.

[638] *TestSol* pp62* –63*, cf. p62; also Hopfner *OZauber.*, p93.

of such danger as they are said to use the knowledge they have gained in this way to injure mankind;[639] the belief also appears in the Qu'ran.[640]

Later in the *de Insomniis* commentary, Gregoras distinguishes magic and sorcery from each other by saying that the former is performed through the "middle" demons (*ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων δαιμόνων*), both immaterial and material, but the latter is done by calling for aid from the material, unclean and evil demons (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνύλων καὶ ἀκαθάρτων καὶ κακοποιῶν δαιμόνων*).[641] He argues that these demons must have an irrational soul, composition and solidity (*ἄλογον ἔχουσι ψυχήν, καὶ σύνθεσιν καὶ πάχος*) since they can be made subject to the enchantments of sorcerers which, according to Plotinus, can affect the irrational soul alone and not the free will or the reason.[642] The alternative redaction of the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων*, which agrees for the most part with the work attributed to Psellos *On the Opinion of the Greeks about Demons*, contains a detailed distinction of magic and sorcery too, which attributes the latter to material and earthly demons (*ἐνύλους καὶ χθονίους δαίμονας*) but which treats the former as not specifically demonic, being based rather on natural affinity and interconnection. Material demons are likewise believed to lie behind means of divination referred to and, as with Gregoras, it is maintained that those responsible for lecanomancy, being earthly and ma-

---

[639] *TestSol* p44. Note that †**Anast***Erot* 125 c776a denies that, "as some foolish men say", the Devil spends time in the air overhearing God's decrees, for God does all in secret and unspoken; cf. also here Jung *Angels* p84; Joannou *Démon.*, p21; G. Scholem, "Demons, Demonology in Kabbalah", *EJ* 5 (1971), c1529.

[640] Sura 15, Dawood p242; 37 p169; 67 p73; and 72 p265.

[641] **Gregoras***DeIns* cc542–543; a similar distinction is alluded to c616.

[642] *Ibid.*, c605; he is citing Plotinus, *Enneades* IV 4.40.23–41.4. On the idea of irrational demons see also *PD* p169 and Gautier's n58 p168; further on the material demons of pseudo-Psellos see Joannou *Démon.*, p43. Cf. †**Psellos***Hel* c876 which also agrees that some demons are irrational. **Pleth***Nom* III.34 p176, however, maintains that they do have a rational soul; the *λογικὴ ψυχὴ* "divides into three kinds: the highest, that which knows all, is a legitimate son of Poseidon himself; ... the soul which does not know all but which has a sound opinion of all it does know is an illegitimate son of Poseidon, it is the soul of the race of demons ..." (the third kind is the human soul).

terial, are deliberately obscure in their responses so that their lies may not be detected.[643]

In this connection also the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* maintains that all the kinds of demons are full of effrontery and threats but that the more material ones are worse in this respect than the others. The aerial ones have more understanding (*περίνοια*), "and if someone commands them they know how to assess the commander and are not removed from the possessed person" unless the exorcist is a proper Christian. In contrast the more material ones are terrified just at hearing the names of the angels who rule them or when they are threatened with the abyss; this is because they are timid and stupid (*περιδεῆ καὶ ἀδιάκριτα*) and cannot assess the power of the person threatening them, "even if it is some old woman or some overweening old man who speaks the threats in an offhand way". Thus this kind is easily controlled by the power objects of sorcery, such as bodily wastes or lead and wax, and through "various nefarious conjurations [are made to do] terrible evils".[644]

The *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* at this point introduces a distinction similar to that in Gregoras, for the informant, Mark, maintains that intelligent men who are interested in the demons do not devote themselves to the "accursed ones" (*τοῖς ἐπαράτοις*) and abstain from the nefarious activities of sorcerers and other evil people who do; instead they sacrifice and pray to the aerial demons to keep the subterranean ones away "for if it happened that any such [demon] slunk in to cause horror, it would also stone us, for it is the habit of these demons to stone those they encounter [although] with feeble throws".[645] As Gautier points out, this stone throwing is quite a common phenomenon in the biographies of saints,[646] but more interesting is the ref-

---

[643] *PDAltRed* pp128–130; †**Psellos***Hel* cc880–881.

[644] *PD* pp171–173 ll.572–589; as Gautier notes, p172 n63, this explanation of the behaviour of the more material demons is identical to Iamblichus, *Περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Μυστηρίων* VI.5 p186. It contradicts what it says earlier, however, about these demons being very hard to extract just because they are irrational, a statement which depends on Mark 9:29. Cf. here G. de Matons *Psellos* pp344–345. On their different reactions to commands cf. Delatte*Ex* f9v p31.

[645] *PD* p173 ll.595–600.

[646] *Ibid.*, pp172–173 n66; see also Joannou *Démon.*, p17 and above

erence to it in Anna Komnena in view of the connection the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* claims to the Bogomil heresy. There it is said that, when the Bogomil heresiarch Basil retired to his cell about midnight, stones automatically fell on it in successive showers, pouring down like rain or hail but thrown by no visible person. The passage surmises that it was probably a burst of anger from Satanael's attendant demons who were annoyed because Basil had betrayed their secrets.[647] This statement may thus perhaps be seen as some sort of comment on that story.

Even the aerial demons are discredited in the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* however, and Mark says that he has abandoned their worship because of their bragging (*περιαυτολογία*), their arrogant deceit (*τύφος*), and their hollow fantasies (*φαντασία διάκενος*),[648]

> For fiery lights come to those worshippers from them, like the ones which follow shooting stars, and those deranged men think they should call them divine visions even though they contain nothing true nor permanent nor sure. For what may there be that is illuminating among the demons who are darkened? These visions are, rather, empty play-things of theirs, of the same kind as hallucinations or the things which are caused to happen by so-called wonder-workers to deceive those who watch them.

4.4 The Ability of Demons to Feel Pain and to Feed

The standard orthodox tradition allowed that the demons could be hurt or distressed in some way, as in the New Testament when they beg not to be tortured, or in the lives of saints when they flee howling before the sign of the cross, for example, but this was not seen as being due to physical causes, at least in the minds of theologians.[649] The idea that the demons could feel pain, mentioned in passing above was, however, a common

---

p78 and n256.

[647] *Alexiad* XV 8.7

[648] *PD* pp173–175 ll.602–609; cf. above p84 for debate on the same subject in the hesychast controversy.

[649] The borderline was, however, very indistinct and it is a matter for debate whether in the minds of ordinary men it was not the touch of the crucifix or holy water, for example, which was seen to cause pain in the demon, rather than its inner significance.

alternative tradition. In the *Testament of Solomon*, with its rather physical conception of the demons, they are thus pictured as not only being capable of being put to work at various manual tasks, but also of being physically beaten into submission. Asmodaeus appears bound before Solomon and, when he refuses to give him a straight answer, is ordered to be bound more carefully and flogged so that he will confess his name and what he does; this interrogation is apparently successful for the confession is given. Similarly Onoskelis is threatened with a beating from a soldier and cries out at the idea.[650]

An explanation as to quite how something physical can hurt an incorporeal, or at least subtle being is given by both Gregoras and the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* along much the same lines, although the latter is once again somewhat more elaborate. There it is said that pain is not felt by muscles or nerves, but by the "spirit" in them (*τὸ ἐν τούτοις ἐνυπάρχον πνεῦμα*). Thus,[651]

> a composite being cannot feel pain by itself, but only that which partakes of the spirit since, when it is paralysed or dead it is without sensation, being deprived of spirit. So also the demonic spirit (*τὸ δαιμόνιον πνεῦμα*), being sensible by nature throughout, sees and hears directly through all its parts and undergoes the affections of touch, and being wounded it feels pain like solid bodies. It differs from them, however, in that when those are torn apart they are made whole only with difficulty or not at all, but when *it* is broken apart it comes together again at once, just as one sees in the

---

[650] *TestSol* pp22* and 20*; it is true, however, that they have first been sealed with Solomon's ring. Cf. also the cases cited by Joannou *Démon.*, p26 from the middle Byzantine period. For a rather similar treatment of deadly sins, at least figuratively, see **JKlim** 8 cc833d-836a; *ibid.*, 14 c896d, 23 c969c-d.

[651] *PD* pp175-177 ll.617-637. On the spirit in the muscles and nerves see Gautier, *ibid.*, p174 n68 and p154 n41, where he equates this with the *πνεῦμα τῆς ψυχῆς* an expression, dependent on Proclus, which appears earlier in the work when it discusses the demons' means of communication with men and their possession of them; ll.315, 325 and 358. On their ability to feel pain see also p147 ll.216-220 (quoted above p201) and p149 ll.228-230 which argues from the Biblical premise that the demons will be punished with fire; if they were incorporeal they would have no body with which to suffer and therefore they must undergo their punishment in bodies capable by nature of suffering. Cf. here, however, Gautier *PD* p162 n54, who quotes a passage from Psellos which denies that the demons have bodies and hence that they can feel pain or be burnt.

> case of small quantities of air or water when something solid has fallen into them. However, even if this spirit comes together again quicker than can be said, it is still distressed when the breaking takes place and [the demons] thus fear and are frightened ...

It is for this reason, it continues, that they may be kept at bay by the spits or swords which sorcerers use, a practice known also to Gregoras and paralleled by the employment of other sharp objects against them in Byzantine magic.[652] Gregoras says that since they are lively spirits (ζωτικὰ πνεύματα) and they have solidity, they fear cutting and division and they feel pain when beaten; for when men are hurt it is not the flesh which endures the pain but the lively spirit, for otherwise they could still feel it when separated from the quickening soul. Commenting on *Odyssey* X.535–537, he says that those using demonic spells are accustomed to hold some kind of sword lest the demons, being forced by conjurations, suddenly attack their invoker.[653] A rather less developed explanation is also given by Gregory of Cyprus in his *Life of St. Marina*, where he maintains that the Devil must necessarily suffer and feel pain because of the materiality and bodily solidity that have come to him after the fall; it is impossible, says Gregory, for someone to be affected by bodily pleasures and not to feel passions of the body.[654]

Some alternative traditions maintained on rather similar lines that the demons were capable by nature of feeding, something that the standard tradition never really accepted although it did acknowledge the belief on a few occasions. The idea stemmed largely from the identification of the demons with the pagan gods and recollection of the sacrifices they received,

---

[652] *PD* p177 ll.637–641. This is demonstrated in the story of the Armenian exorcist, *ibid.*, p163 l.444, which originally gave rise to this comment; further on the use of such objects see below pp262.

[653] **Gregoras***DeIns* c618; cf. also Gautier, *PD* p176 n70. The black handled knife, so common in the *Treatise* and related material (see below pp255–256) will often have had a similar function, although it does have other uses in the rituals. For the use of a sword see also the story of Onoskelis in Lucian *Ἀληθῆ Διηγήματα β'* .46. The *Testament* however, may suggest that it is the iron such objects are generally made of that they really fear; see Ornias, *TestSol* p15*, and further on this point, I. Goldziher, "Eisen als Shutz gegen Dāmonen", *ARw* 10 (1907), pp41-46.

[654] **GCyp***Marina* pp231-232; the editor compares it with **GSin** *Keph* 123 although this is not really the closest parallel on this point.

and by it an explanation was offered as to why they should be thought to like these.[655]

The belief that the demons can feed is common in the *Magic Treatise* and other texts of a similar nature where quite a number of divinatory techniques make use of this ability as both a means of attracting and gaining a hold over them. It is true that one group of these conjurations only involves the entirely notional preparation of food and a feast for the demons since this takes place during the prescribed course of events which has to be seen in the vision that forms the heart of the rituals; in others, however, the feast is apparently quite physical, real food being set out and consumed by the demons. In a katoptromancy a cook thus has to be seen to appear, send his servant to collect three sheep, and kill, skin and cook them. He has also to prepare a table with silver cups, good bread and good wine, where the Lady Queen Sympilia sits, eating, drinking and making merry with her retinue before being conjured to do what the sorcerer wants.[656] On the other hand the practitioner calls up the *stoicheion* Mortze to a previously prepared table and says, "May you eat and drink from the things I have prepared"; she has to be seen to have eaten from them before the conjuration may proceed.[657]

Once again it is the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* which gives an account of the theory behind this idea, maintaining that some

---

[655] For their love of sacrifices and the like in the standard tradition see above p55 and n196. For them actually feeding, the *PD* in two manuscripts makes use of two passages from Basil's *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸν προφήτην Ἠσαΐαν*, (see above n606). The first of these, Migne*PG* 30 cc532-533a, says that they nourish their aerial bodies by the smoke and blood of sacrifices; the second, *ibid.*, cc165c-168a, goes into rather more detail on the same subject; cf. Gautier, *PD* pp144 n25 and 148 n32. This work is also cited by Nicholas of Methone in much the same way, see Gautier's Introduction, *PD* p130. In the early Christian tradition see also e.g. Justin who compares the angels feeding on manna to the demons feeding on the smoke of sacrifices; Russell *Satan* p64; cf. *ibid.*, p77 n67 (Athenagoras); p98 n62 (Tertullian); p133 (Origen). See throughout this discussion Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp114-116; and on the connection between the demonic and blood Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp54-56 and 208-213.

[656] *Treatise* p433 ll.9-21.

[657] Del*Anec* p578 ll.13-14 from B2 f346. Further on such methods see below pp254-255 and n839; also Delatte *Contribution* pp217-218; Delatte *Catoptro.*, p159.

demons feed by inhalation of vapours or smokes, and others by the absorption of moisture "in the same way as sponges or things with porous shells, drawing in the surrounding moisture from outside".[658] It attributes these methods only to the more material kinds, however, those which hate light, which are aquatic and subterranean.[659] The author goes on to say that they discharge the moisture again when it has received a "spermatic consistency", something which links with the statement a few lines earlier that some demons even produce sperm and with it give birth to worms. This is itself dependent on a passage in Proclus which is also used for the lines quoted above on their ability to feel pain and to burn, so that in some cases, it says, they may even leave ash.[660] The ability of the demons to feed is, then, closely linked to the concept of their being attracted, or kept away, by the use of incenses (many of which contain special magical substances in these traditions), for these must presumably be inhaled or absorbed to have their desired effect on the demonic powers.[661]

4.5 Ideas Concerning Demonic Possession

A connection is also drawn between the ability of the demons to feed and the concept of possession by the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* which maintains that since the demons who live in the deepest parts of the earth are filled by the bitter cold and aridity thought to exist there, they thus love damp and animal warmth, hating the heat of the sun and of fire since it is dry, but craving the body heat of animals "which is moderate and accompanied by pleasant moisture ... especially that of men which is

---

[658] *PD* pp149–151 ll.247–254.

[659] The idea of their feeding by inhalation appears in Porphyry *Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψυχων* 2.42 II p109; cf. Gautier *PD* p148 n33. The passages from Basil cited above obviously contain much the same notion.

[660] Proclus *Εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον Πλάτωνος Γ'* 142c-d II p11.10 17; cf. Gautier *PD* p146 n27, and also Hopfner *OZauber.*, p116. On Aquinas' opinion [illegible]rning the procreation of demons, which is quite different, see Cohn [illegible] p237 n26.

[661] On the use of incenses in techniques for controlling demons see below pp254 and 264–265.

particularly temperate".[662] This idea which probably reflects a somewhat similar line of thought found in some more orthodox writings,[663] thus provides an explanation for their hostility to animals which they would otherwise have no logical reason for attacking, and most obviously for the story of the Gadarene swine.[664] The liking of the demons for ditches and bath houses for similar reasons is also mentioned.[665]

Elaborating on the concept of possession, the author of the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* holds that when the demons enter a man they fill up the passages in which the "psychic spirit" (*τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ψυχικὸν*) resides; the solidity of their bodies crushes the soul and drives it back so that the bodies of the possessed are shaken, control is lost, and movement is stumbling and false.[666] John Katrones, however, using the *Corpus Hermeticum* and in accordance with the underlying theory of his dialogue, has a rather wider concept of possession, although its mechanics are much the same. He connects to this the demons who are in authority at the moment of birth, saying that these place themselves in the muscles and nerves of each person, penetrating through the veins and arteries to the brain itself and even to the bowels in their attempts to reform each soul, and controlling this earthly province through the organs of our bod-

---

[662] *PD* p157 ll.349–356.

[663] There is thus the notion in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* that "the evil spirits are like demonic tapeworms and inhabit men's bodies in order to enjoy the food, drink, and sexuality for which they themselves lack the organs", see Kelly *Baptism* pp43–44 citing *Homily* 9.10, which he quotes pp126–127. Cf. Langton *Satan* pp57–58 who notes that Eusebios of Caesarea, following Porphyry *Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψυχων*, maintains that men's bodies are full of demons which enter into those who make use of impure meats and blood in order to enjoy these. Compare to these passages at a much later date Theoph*Mark* 1.23–28 who holds that one of the reasons why the demons are loth to leave men they are possessing is because they are accustomed to feed on the material vapours in men and so are afraid of starving when cast out.

[664] Cf. Joannou *Démon.*, p44

[665] See Gautier *PD* p156 n45, C. Bonner, "Demons of the Bath", *Studies Presented to F.Ll. Griffith*, (London: 1932), pp203–208, and Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp96–97. See also †Bas*Ex* pp580 and 583; *TestSol* pp54* –55* on the 17th *decan*; cf. Delatte*Ex* f16v p36; Strittmatter*ExI* pp176–177; Strittmatter*ExII* p130; Pradel *Gebete* pp272 and 349–350.

[666] *PD* p157 ll.357–362. On the psychic spirit see above n651, and for the not dissimilar standard view above pp92–93.

ies.[667]

In a further elaboration, the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* makes a distinction here between the effects of the subterranean demon, which shakes the possessed and speaks through them, and the light-hating demon (the worst kind) which causes paralysis and dumbness. This is because, being "more earthly and extremely cold and dry, it blunts and dims the psychic power in whatever it secretly enters", and, being irrational, is very difficult to extract.[668] Elsewhere this work singles out these two types, saying that they get themselves into the entrails and, grasping those of whom they have got hold, make them into epileptics and madmen (*ἐπιλήπτους καὶ ἔκφρονας*); it also extends their sphere of operation to animals, while citing the common fate of epileptics falling into fires or water and the action of the demons in causing people to fall over cliffs.[669]

It is interesting that following this description of the demonic power of possession, the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* then discusses, but rejects, the theory of the "doctors" (*ἰατρῶν παῖδες*), who are said to hold that illnesses with the symptoms of possession are not caused by demons; instead these are entirely due to natural causes – humours, dryness, or the poor condition of the soul for example – and are thus to be treated with medicines and diets, not enchantments and purifications (*ἐπῳδαῖς καὶ καθαρμοῖς*).[670] This passage, which gives an unusual insight into the state of belief at the time, perhaps provides a timely

---

[667] **Katrones***Herm* p26 ll.15–21; *CorpHerm* 16.14–15 p236. For a rather different idea of the mechanics of possession see *TestSol* p36* and the account there of how the headless demon Phonos makes men mute; see above pp180-188.

[668] *PD* pp157–159 ll.362–374; cf. G. de Matons *Psellos* p343. The coldness that has become characteristic of the demons by their fall is said to harm men in a rather different way by **GSin***Keph4* pp700.17–702.20; "The demon then ... fastens onto the man and chills him with lascivious moistness, arousing his desires and making pleasure seductive ...".

[669] *PD* pp153–154 ll.295–300; and p157 ll.333–342. In the standard tradition see above p82.

[670] *PD* p159 ll.375–395 and cf. **Kok***Acta* pp544–545 for the opposition of ordinary doctors to demonic medicine. See also Delatte*Ex* f8 p30 and his comments pp130 and 134; and M. Dols, "Insanity in Byzantine and Islamic Medicine", *DOP* 38 (1984), especially pp143ff. On the phrase "*ἰατρῶν παῖδες*" see V. Nutton, "From Galen to Alexander, Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity", *DOP* 38 (1984), p12

reminder that many men in the late Byzantine period did not think of the demons as the sole causes of illness, madness or general misfortune, even though, as will be seen below, some alternative traditions came close to this position.

and n108. On the denial of a demonic origin for other forms of illness see above p94.

5. Categorisations and Individual Powers

In the material presented immediately above a central theme has been the way in which some of these alternative traditions divided up the demons into smaller groups in accordance with the degree of materiality they were believed to possess. Although none appeared with such regularity, other systematic divisions made along different lines and sometimes with much finer subdivisions were common in these traditions. This was especially so in those which held that it was possible to put the demons to practical use, for it was a general principle of demonic sorcery and divination that certain demons were of more use than others in different circumstances and for different purposes; it was therefore important for practitioners to be able to identify and name the demons they needed with accuracy. As a result there had arisen detailed and complicated hierarchies and systems of categorisation, both of groups and individual demons. These were influenced in their development by polytheistic systems of divinities, by various pagan and heretical philosophies, and by the idea of an angelic and a demonic hierarchy which appears to some extent in the standard orthodox tradition.[671] Such systems thus had the practical function when presented with care and when available in a reasonably complete form, of enabling the practitioner of these arts to know exactly which demons should be evoked in any given situation.

The systems of categorising demons had, however, been undergoing a process of development for centuries before the late Byzantine period; they had been added to and altered time after time and, furthermore, no one system was regarded as being definitive. There thus existed quite different traditions as to how these finer classifications should be made; in addition there were different versions of the same type of system in circulation, originating from different cultural and religious backgrounds, and at the same time individual systems were particularly subject to alteration in manuscript because of their complex nature and the fact that they often contained large numbers of foreign or

[671] See above p18-19 and cf. pp97-99.

strange names and terms.[672] As a result of such changes wide discrepancies arose, even between different texts of the same system of categorisation; errors were made, sections were lost, fragments were interchanged or major revisions were implemented by individual sorcerers who were attempting to provide a new standard of their own or who had been forced to make such alterations by changes in ideological climate. The hierarchies, groupings and systematic divisions of the demons found in the sources for alternative traditions of this period are thus generally fragmentary, confused and jumbled with little continuity from text to text or even from passage to passage within the same text.

5.1 Astrological Categorisations

This is certainly the case with one system of categorisation that has already been mentioned in passing; that which was made along astrological lines. The framework of this system is present or implied by most of the sources being used here, but none completely fills the spaces within that framework and the detail that is supplied by the one or two fairly developed passages varies widely from manuscript to manuscript; the passages themselves bear scant relationship to each other, except in terms of their general content.

The list of the thirty-six *decans* in the *Testament of Solomon*, represents a sizeable fragment of one such astrological system;[673] based on the zodiac, this list further characterises the individual demons who make up its number not only by naming them, but also by attributing to them the cause of various specific diseases, misfortunes and the like. The actual names given to these *decans* and some of the details about them vary from one recension to another as well as in the different manuscripts however, and this "one" system in fact appears to contain elements from at least two older ones, since it is probably dependant on a Jewish version of an Egyptian original which existed

[672] Such manuscript variation is clearly illustrated by, for example, the lists of demons presented in Table VII.

[673] *TestSol* pp51* -59*.

before it came into the Greek of the *Testament*.[674] For a comparative list of the names of the *decans* in these sources see Table V.[675]

Other groups and individuals also appear in the *Testament*, placed loosely in an astrological framework although apparently unconnected with the more coherent section on the *decans*. Ornias, for example, is thus said to stand in the sign of Aquarius, Onoskelis goes abroad under the full moon, and Asmodaeus' star is the Plough or "Dragon's Foot".[676] Simi-

---

[674] McCown, *TestSol* pp47–48 and 57–59, suggests that the presence of more angel names among those of who or what controls them at the start of the list than at the end may be due to the Jewish editor growing tired of replacing "heathen" elements in the distinctively Egyptian original. He also argues that the presence of *ῥὺξ* or *ῥὶξ* before the last sixteen names in Recension A shows that the Greek is definitely translated from a Semitic original, *ibid.*, p42. Further on this title see Gundel *Dekane* pp49–50; Gundel agrees with McCown's theory of a Jewish editor of the original Hebrew text who was familiar with Egyptian speculation, and of a later Greek translator who was not; cf. e.g., his comment on the 22nd *decan Αὐδαμεώθ*, p53. Cf. here Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp377–379.

[675] The lists in Table V are drawn from *TestSol* pp51* –59* and 119–120; Migne*PG* 122, cc1341–1347; Del*Anec* pp236–238; and Delatte*Ex* pp93–94. Thus, to McCown's text are compared the text of Fleck/Migne (based on McCown's manuscript P); the variants which appear in McCown's manuscripts P, N, H and L (note that his L = my H); a list which is given in the exorcism attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria which appears in *Parisinus Gr. 825* (of 1710) ff11–12v; and that in the "Byzantine" exorcism published by Louis Delatte (ff103v–104v). Note that *Κήριξ* in Ms. N is applied to Solomon and not to the *decan*, apparently as a version of *Κύριε*, but it is significant that it only begins to be used at about the same time as *Ῥὺξ* appears before the *decans*' names and that it has a very similar form to some versions of that.

Further on the activities ascribed to these demons see below pp237–238. On the *decans* in the *Testament* cf. Preisendanz *Salo.*, cc686–687. On the history of the concept in general see Gundel *Dekane*, who discusses this list on pp49–56 particularly with regard to the Greek and Egyptian elements in the names; for his comparative lists see *ibid.*, pp77–81. For the *decans* in the magic papyri see H–G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Munich: 1968), pp17–24; also Pingree *Ghāya* pp6–7; and in Jewish charms, Goodenough *Symbols* II pp166–168, 172, 181, and 193.

[676] *TestSol* pp13*, 20* (*πανσελήνῳ* McCown's P adds *ἀστρῳ*), 22* (*αὐτο ἄνθρωποι λέγουσιν ἅμαξαν, οἱ δὲ τὸν δρακοντόποδα* – *παιδα* LP); cf. p27* where Beelzeboul's star is said to be that called by men *Ἑσπερία*; p30* where Lix Tetrax is said to be under the star that is in the tip of the moon's horn in the South; p38* where Rhabdos is said to harm men who follow his star; and p46* where Enepsigos is said to dwell near the moon. This last is directly contradicted by the *PD* p153 ll.287–288.

larly the seven Evil Sisters or Vices who appear to the king are described in the same way as the *decans* as "elemental world-rulers of darkness";[677] the pattern in the more detailed second list of these seven sisters, who are named *Ἀπάτη* (deceit), *Ἔρις* (strife), *Κλωθώ* (war, and one of the three Fates), *Ζάλη* (jealousy), *Πλάνη* (error), *Δύναμις* (power), and *Κακίστη* (apparently lust), is the same as that of the *decans* but no attempt is made to fit them into the longer series. Indeed, the type of name they have is unlike those and their stars are said to be seven small ones which remain grouped together.[678] McCown notes that they are based on exactly the same conception as the seven vices in the *Testament of Reuben* III:3–6, although the lists do not agree;[679] it is also true that they are like the seven or eight deadly sins of orthodox Christian theology.[680]

One of the most important and consistent classifications of the demons that appears in the *Magical Treatise* is also made in astrological terms but, unlike the *Testament of Solomon*, the details of this system are related to the planets. Much of the magic and divination in the *Treatise* depends on the sorcerer invoking the correct angels or demons that are believed to be connected with the particular planet which is in the ascendancy at the crucial moment of his rite, which has that day or hour as its own, or which is regarded as being most favourable at a certain time for what he wants to accomplish, and there are thus two lists of angels and demons of each planet or day

which maintains that demons are kept away from the places near the moon because of their impurity. See also McCown's Introduction, *TestSol* p46.

[677] *TestSol* p31*; McCown's P in fact numbers them among the 33 (*sic*) *stoicheia* of the world ruler of darkness.

[678] *TestSol* pp32* –34*.

[679] McCown, *ibid.*, p60. Cf. here I Enoch 21:1ff and Langton *Essentials* pp109–110.

[680] On the seven/eight deadly sins see above p97f; on the seven spirits of wickedness above p20. These seven reappear as the "seven spirits of darkness" in Delatte*Ex* ff102v–103 p93, although there the author only seems to know the first two by the names they have in the *Testament*, replacing *Κλωθώ* by *Μάχη* and the last four by *Ἀπάτη*. The presence of other demons from the *Testament* there helps to confirm that it is they who are meant, while a more complete list in the exorcism attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria, Del*Anec* p234, puts this beyond doubt. Cf. *CCAG* XII p155 from P3 f106v which also lists their seven ruling angels. See further Eitrem *Notes* p72; Provatake *Diavolos* p117.

provided to help him. The first of these lists is, however, relatively short in its present form, being part of the introduction or preliminaries to the main rite; small and irregular numbers of demons and angels are given for each planet, but the list grows steadily more abbreviated until it reaches the point where the scribe of manuscript H appears to have been at a loss to find even one angel for the last planet, Saturn.[681] For a comparative list of these see Table VI.[682]

The second list is, in contrast, extremely lengthy. It contains in its framework, which is practically complete, twenty-four angels and twenty-four demons for each planet or day, and there is thus one individually named angel and demon for every hour of the week. For the names of the demons in different versions of this list see Table VII.[683] This system is obviously of much more practical use to the sorcerer than that of the first list, but in fact, on closer examination, it seems that they bear a distant relationship to each other, the first being now but a fragment of a categorisation which was similar in content as well as method and so probably equally extensive at one time. This relationship cannot be established through the names of the demons since none from the first, shorter list reappears in the same day in the second, and only two, *Ταρταρουέλ* and *Ὀρνιάς*, seem to feature there at all, the former as the 21st of Sunday.[684] There would, however, seem to be some distant link in the angel names, as can be demonstrated by a comparison of

---

[681] *Treatise* pp403–404.

[682] Note that G begins its list with Saturday/Kronos, whereas the others end with this. The lists are to be found as follows; H, *Treatise* pp403–404; P, Del*Anec* p472; G, Delatte *Gennadianus* pp285–288; M2, Del*Anec* p633; P2, Delatte *Plantes* p164; B, *CCAG* X pp81–82 ff5–5v; cf. A, *CCAG* X p80 f9v. There is another version in P4 f63, cf. Delatte *Plantes* p150. Note also that the list in P2 appears in the "Prayer of Kronos" and apparently looks to the longer list although only the short one follows. Cf. here the names of the twelve hours of the days and nights in *BibSoph* Del*Anec* pp601–602; *CCAG* VII pp174–181; cf. P ff247–248.

[683] The lists appear at H, ff41v–43, *Treatise* pp434–438; M, ff234v–246, *CCAG* VIII.2 pp149–154; G, ff18v–20v, edited here for the first time, cf. Delatte *Gennadianus* p295; A, ff28v–32, Del*Anec* pp69–73. There is another unedited version in P4 f40, cf. Delatte *Plantes* p150, and another again in *Atheniensis Bibliothecae Societatis Christianae 161*, cf. *CCAG* X p53.

[684] Also the 5th of Tuesday in MSS M and G.

those of Sunday, Monday, Thursday and Friday:[685]

Sunday		Monday	
Short List	**Long List**	**Short List**	**Long List**
Μιχαήλ	Μιχαήλ (1)	Γαυριήλ	Γαβριήλ (1)
Ἀριήλ	Ἀρφαναΐ (2)	Σαλουήλ	—
Φυλουέλ	Πελουήλ (3)	Χαριέλ	Καριήλ (6)
Σαυριήλ	Σαραήλ (14)	Ἐμφιλοήλ	[Φιλοήλ Friday 3]
Δουνιέλ	—	Σπενδονίμ	—
		Περδικοίμ	[Σερπιδῶν (18)]
		Οὐγαριέλ	Ὀοργαήλ (16)

Thursday		Friday	
Short List	**Long List**	**Short List**	**Long List**
Σερπεφεήλ	Περιφρέλ (2)	Ἀναέλ	Ἀνιέλ (7)
Ῥαφαήλ	Ῥαφαήλ (1)	Γαθουέλ	Ἀγαθοήλ (1)
		Πηλακουέλ	—
		Κυρσοέλ	—

Although one or two of the demons which are given astrological associations in the *Testament of Solomon* do reappear among all the demons classified in this way in the *Magic Treatise*, there seems to be little or no real contact between the two sources at this point. Ornias[686] is probably to be identified with Ὀρνιέλ, a demon of Thursday in the short list of the *Treatise*, and with Ὀρναΐ, the second demon of Sunday in MSS H,M and G. Asmodaeus[687] is similar to the first demon of Sunday, particularly in MS M (Ἀσμοδαί), and to the 13th of Thursday, particularly in MSS M and G (Ἀσμωδάς, Ἀσμοδρί). Τέφρα,[688] a variant of the name Lix Tetrax in the *Testament*, also ap-

[685] Manuscript H is used here; for variants see Table VI. Further on some of these names see J. Michl, "Engel", *RAC* 5 (1962): on Michael, VII.cc243–251; on Gabriel, VI.cc239–243; on Raphael, VIII.cc252–254; on Ariel, V (Engelnamen), no.21 c204; on Peliel (compare Pelouel), no.164 cc225–226; on Sarael, no.199 c232; on Anael, no.15 c203, cf. Ananael, no.16 cc203–204 and Anijel, no.18 c204. Other names here may be distantly related to angels in Michl's list.

[686] *TestSol* pp6* –8*, 11* –16*, 61* –63*.

[687] *Ibid.*, 21* –25*. Further on Asmodaeus see below.

[688] *Ibid.* 28* –31*; cf. above p179–180.

parently recurs here as the 20th demon of Tuesday *Τεφραήλ* (H), *Τεφρά* (M), *Τεφρᾶ* (G); and the 7th *decan* *Σφανδῶρ*[689] seems to have a definite relationship to the 3rd demon of Saturday *Σπονδῶρ* (H), *Σπινδῶρ* (M). *Ἐφιππᾶς*[690] who is not given an astrological connection in the *Testament* appears here as the 19th demon of Wednesday, *Ἐφιπάς* (H), *Ἐφιππᾶς* (M), *Ἐφιπᾶς* (G), as does *Κυνόπηγος*[691] as the 19th of Sunday, *Συνοπιγός* (H), *Κινόπιγος* (M), *Πινοπυγός* (A).[692]

There is, however, a close connection between the demons of Friday and Saturday in the short list and the *πρωτοθρόνοι* and *ἀρχηγοί* of the *stoicheia* summoned in the "pibaktromancy" of the *Magic Treatise*,[693] thus:

	Short List (H)	Pibaktromancy (H)
Friday (Venus)	*Βαβέτ*	*Βαβέτ*
	Βαλτασάρ	*Βαλτάσαρ*
	Προτιςηκάτουρ	*Παλτάσαρ*
Saturday (Saturn)	(*Βεέλ*) *Ζεβούλ*	*Βεελςεβούλ*
		Σιεχαπόν

5.2 Geographical Categorisations

Another detailed system of categorisation of the dem-

---

689 *Ibid.*, 53*.4–7; cf. Gundel *Dekane* p51.

690 *TestSol* pp65* –71*; cf. above p179.

691 *Ibid.*, pp48* –49*.

692 In addition to these, the 16th *decan* *Κατράξ*/*Ἀτράξ*, (cf. Gundel *Dekane* p52), may possibly be linked to *Ἀράξ*, the 16th of Sunday in M and A (*Ὀράξ* H, *Ἄρας* G); and the 28th *decan* *Ῥὺξ Ἀπάξ*/*Ἄρπαξ*/*Ἅρπαξ*, (cf. Gundel p54), may be connected to this same demon or again to the 13th of Tuesday *Ἀπρώξ* M, *Ἀπροώς* G, *Ἀπριξόν* A. The 20th *decan* *Ῥὺξ Ναθώθω*/*Ναθὼθ* etc., bears some resemblance to the 3rd demon of Tuesday *Μαιθώθ* H, *Μαϊλώθ* MGA.

In general on such astrological classifications see Delatte *Contrib.*, pp224f. For demons of morning, noon, midnight, dawn and other "untimely hours" see †**Bas***Ex* pp580 and 583; cf. Strittmatter*ExI* pp176–177; Delatte*Ex* f16 p36; Koukoules *Vios* pp150–153. Note also the midday demon of Psalm 90:6 and the standard tradition. On the demons of the hours and days in Jewish tradition see here Pingree *Ghâya* p10 and G. Scholem, "Demons, Demonology in Kabbalah", *EJ* 5 (1971), c1531.

693 *Treatise* p431 ll.3–4; cf. Del*Anec* pp37–38. For variants see Table VI.

ons which appears in the *Magic Treatise* is that which lists demons of the Four Quarters. Although linked to astrological notions by its use of the four cardinal points, this system is perhaps more closely connected to less subtle geographical classifications, which are discussed below, and also to the previously mentioned division of the demons according to their relative materiality through the identification of these with aerial and wind demons.[694] Long lists of the demons of the four quarters are given in the second version of the main rite of the *Magic Treatise* in manuscript H; these are reproduced with variants in Table VIII.[695] The first version of the rite is apparently also aware of this classification since the practitioner at the start of the conjuration is told to face East, and then to face the four quarters in turn,[696] where he will see the demons rising up like clouds.[697] Furthermore, during the second part of this first conjuration, which is to be spoken if the demons delay in approaching, the practitioner conjures *Λουτςιφέρ*, *Ἀσταρώθ*, *Βεελςεβούλ* and *Ἀσμεδαί*, "*ὑμεῖς οἱ πρωτόθρονοι τῶν δαιμόνων, ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ κόσμου*", thus agreeing with the longer lists in making these four the rulers of the four quarters.[698]

---

[694] MS G f24v, Delatte *Gennadianus* p299, describes the rulers of the quarters (see below) as aerial spirits, and a link is thus probably made between these demons and those of the winds of the four quarters known from Delatte*Ex* and from the prayers of the four winds in the fifteenth-century manuscript *Holkhamicus 290*, (see below pp230–231 nn710–711). On aerial demons see above especially p206 n629.

[695] The lists appear at: H, *Treatise* pp426.16–427.24; G, Delatte *Gennadianus* pp303–304 (those of East and North are absent); A and B, Del*Anec* pp33–35.

[696] *Treatise* p418.18 and p420.14–15. The entrance to the circle must also face South, *ibid.*, p417.23. Further on the directional movement involved at this point in the ritual see below p299 n1037.

[697] Cf. here Anon*Diavol* p51 ll.51–52; also the episode in the Slavonic version of Kallistos' *Life of Gregory of Sinai* where an "innumerable multitude of demons" suddenly cover the dying saint's lonely cell "like a cloud"; text in Pomialovski's Greek edition of the life and English translation in D. Balfour, "St. Gregory of Sinai's Life Story and Spiritual Profile", *Θεολ. ΝΓ΄* (1) (1982), pp60–62. *Νέφος* is also used in JRhak*Stich*.

[698] *Treatise* p421.20–24. In the long lists Loutzipher rules the demons of the East, Asmodai those of the North, Astaroth those of the West, and Berzeboul those of the South. There is also a list of seven emperors of the East in Del*Anec* p460.27–29 from P f147 who are apparently demonic although their names seem to have no connection with any others that

The lists have a framework which seems to consist of thirty named demons for each quarter, or one for every three degrees of the compass, a finer division than the *decans* who are only one for every ten degrees. Those of the North and South are, however, incomplete in their present form, and there are occasional repetitions.[699] Once again there is little consistent connection with other lists in the same work or in the other sources, although two groups here are linked to the *decans* and one, apparently, to the seven Evil Sisters of the *Testament of Solomon*. The clearest connection emerges from a comparison between five of the first six demons of the West and *decans* 8–13, thus:[700]

---

appear in these sources. Further compare Delatte *Contrib.*, p223.

Loutzipher is, of course, the Hellenised form of the Latin translation of *Ἑωσφόρος*, see above p9. Asmodaeus appears in Tobit in the *LXX* where he is said to strangle the husbands of Sarah before her marriage can be consummated and to be bound by the angel Raphael after being exorcised by smoke from the liver and gall of a fish (Tobit 3:8,17: 6:6, 15–17: 8:2–3). For Asmodaeus as a king of the demons in Jewish Talmudic thought see L.I. Rabinowitz, "Demons, Demonology in the Talmud", *EJ* 5 (1971), cc1527–1528; see also A. Rothkoff, "Solomon in the Aggadah", *EJ* 15 c107; and the editors, "Asmodeus (Ashmedai)", *EJ* 3 cc754–755. His name probably derives from the Persian "aesma daeva" or "aesmadiv", i.e. "spirit of anger", which accompanies the god of evil; he is, however, not particularly evil in Jewish folklore. See especially here Jung *Angels* pp81–90; cf. Barton *Names* pp161–163; Langton *Essentials* pp120-127; and in general, Rudwin *Devil* pp86–93. On Astaroth, related to the ancient deity Astarte, see e.g. F. Nötscher and Th. Klauser, "Astarte", *RAC* I (1950), pp806–810; T.S. Frymer, "Ashtoreth", *EJ* 3 (1971) cc738–739.

[699] The three missing from those of the North seem to be omitted after the 22nd for reasons apparent in Table VIII, which see for further omissions and variations.

[700] On these *decans* see Gundel *Dekane* pp51–52. It is also possible that the 9th demon of the West, *Μουβεσουήλ* H, may be related to the 15th *decan* *Σουβελτὶ* (McCown), (cf. Gundel *Dekane* p56); the 29th of the West *Φθικέρ* H, *Φησιικερ* B, to the 30th *decan* *Ῥὺξ Φυσικορέθ* (McCown – the 31st *Φησικιρέθ* McCown's MS P), (cf. Gundel p56); the 31st of the West *Ἀχθιόβ* H, to the 32nd *decan* *Ῥὺξ Ἰχθύον*. This last is however also to be connected to the epithet *ῥηξίχθων* (*ῥησίχθων*) "the land breaker" which is applied in various earlier magic spells and the like to a variety of chthonian powers; see A.B. Cook, *Zeus* III (Cambridge: 1940), pp4–5; cf. Bonner *Amulets* p170; Gundel *Dekane* p50 concentrates more on the obvious connection to the fish and Pisces.

Decans	Demons of the West			
McCown's Text	H	G	A	B
8. Βελβέλ	2. Βελβεέ	Βελβίε	Βελβιέ	Βελβης
9. Κουρταήλ	3. Κιτωήλ	Κωπακίλ	Κουταέλ	Κουταελ
10. Μεταθίαξ				
11. Κατανικοταήλ	4. Νικοτέ	Νικοτέ	Νικοτέ	Νηκοτε
12. Σαφθοραήλ	5. Πθορά	Σατορά	Σαππώρά	Σαπτορα
13. Φοβοθήλ	6. Φοβοκίλ	Φοβοκίλ	Φβοκίλ	Φβοκηλ

The second series linked to the *decans* occurs in the demons of the North, thus:

Decans	Demons of the North		
McCown's Text	H	A	B
2. Βαρσαφαήλ	19. Βαρσεφιάλ	Βαρσεφιάλ	Βαρσαφηαλα
3. Ἀρτοσαήλ	20. Ἀργουσουλ	Ἀρτισούλ	Ἀρτισουλ
4. Ὀροπέλ			
5. Καιρωξανουδάλου Ἰουδάλ (Migne *PG*/manuscript P)	24. —	Ῥιξγιουδάν	Ῥηξηουδα
6. Σφενδοναήλ			
7. Σφανδῶρ	30. Σφανδωραπο	Σφενδαράπ	Σφινδοραπ

It is interesting that the readings of manuscripts A and B, (unfortunately H and G are missing), would seem to explain variations in the name of the *Testament's* fifth *decan*, McCown's reading having elided *καὶ ῥῶξ* (*ῥὺξ*) with the actual name which may thus be more accurately preserved in the manuscript (McCown's P) that was used by Fleck and was thence reproduced in Migne's *Patrologia*.[701] It is also to be noted that the third demon of the South, *Ἀχωνιώθ* (H), would seem to be

[701] This is supported by McCown's manuscript N which has *κηριξουδάλ*. Gundel *Dekane* p51, does not consider this explanation of the name, which he describes as a galimatias, seeing here a possible combination of the Greek words *καιρόω*, *ξαίνω* and *δαλός*. One should perhaps not be tempted here into seeing a derivation from *Ῥὴξ Ἰουδῶν*. Two other demons of the North appear to come from the same source, the 8th *Αἰνώθ* H, *Αἰνάθ* A, *Ἐναθ* B, resembling *decan* 26 *Ῥὺξ Ἐναυθά* (McCown) or *Ἐνενουθ* (McCown's MS P), (cf. Gundel *Dekane* p54); and the 28th, *Ἀβιςουθ* H, *Ἀςιβούθ* A, *Ἀβηςουθ* B, resembling *decan* 27 *Ῥὺξ Ἀςησβύθ* (McCown). This latter is obviously connected to Obyzouth and Abezethibou of the *Testament* and to one of the commoner names of Gylou, see above p186; indeed the preceding 27th demon of the North *Ἀςεβοῦ* would also appear to be related. Gundel *Dekane* p54 appears to support this link in his notes on the elements of the name, although he does not make it directly himself.

identical with the 33rd *decan* 'Ρὺξ 'Αχωνεώθ.[702]

The link to the seven Evil Sisters occurs in the names of the 19th to 21st demons of the East, Κακιστή, Καιμπλαν-ές and 'Ριεριδῶν (H) which can be interpreted as representing Κακιστή, Πλάνη and Ἔρις.[703] In addition to the above sequences there are also a few individuals included in the lists who appear elsewhere, either in the *Testament*, like Ornias or Onoskelis,[704] or in other lists in the *Treatise*.[705]

The long list of demons in Recension C of the *Testament of Solomon*, (see Table IX),[706] two texts of which appear in manuscripts also containing the *Magic Treatise*,[707] seems to know this system of classification too. It thus names the rulers of the "five hundred" spirits of East, North and West, although these do not correspond to those given above, being

---

[702] On this *decan* see Gundel *Dekane* p55. It would seem to introduce another series dependent on the *decans* and the *Testament* in general. Demon 4, at least in its form in G (ῥιξθεούλ), has the appearance of one of the 'Ρὺξ *decans* though it cannot be linked to any particular one. The following demon in G, (Οἰφαλμιανέθι), bears a resemblance to *decan* 36 'Ρὺξ Μιανέθ (it is absent in H); and the 7th demon, 'Εφιπτά (HG) is definitely 'Εφιπτᾶς (*TestSol* pp65* -71*).

[703] For the Sisters see above p222. This identification involves dropping the prefixes και- and 'Ρι- (perhaps 'Ρὺξ or Κι') from the last two names and seeing their terminations as genitives; so "[The] Evilest [demon], and [the demon] of Error, and [the demon] of Strifes".

[704] Ornias is the 10th demon of the East here, 'Ορνιᾶ H, 'Ορνιάς A; and Onoskelis the 16th, 'Ονισκελιά H, 'Ονος κελιδ A. The 18th demon of the East Πληξτεφῶ H, Πλιξτεφρά A, would also seem to be equivalent to Lix Tetrax or Tephra. Another individual connection to the *Testament* may be detected in Λεοντοφ (North 2, HA) and Λεοντοφόρον (*TestSol* pp39* -41*).

[705] For example Μεντιφρόν H, (East 29) and Μεξιφρῶν H, (Monday 11 in the Long List of demons of the hours), also Μελπιφρόν H, Μελτιφρών M, (Thursday 1); Ταρταρῶνι H, Ταρταρουΐλ A, Ταρταρουηλ B (North 13) and Ταρταρρήλ H (Sunday 21), Ταρταρουήλ M (Tuesday 5) and also Ταρταρουέλ under Monday in the Short List of demons of the days or the planets; 'Αβλικόν H (North 15) and 'Αβλυχός M (Wednesday 15).

[706] The list is at *TestSol* pp78* -82*. On Recension C see McCown's Introduction 1-5, pp1-43 and, on the list in particular, 7.12 pp83-85.

[707] It appears in H (McCown's T here) ff39v-41v immediately preceding the list of the demons of the days and following the conjuration of Sympilia; the signs which accompany each name there unfortunately remain unpublished. It is also in P (McCown's W) ff266v-270v although separated from the *Treatise* there.

listed as *'Οριένς* (15), "who rules the five-hundred spirits of the East and is able to do whatever they can", *'Ελτςήν* (17), who likewise rules those of the North, and *Βούλ* (19) the West; a fourth, *'Αμεμῶν* (16), rules the five-hundred spirits of midday and may perhaps be assumed to rule the South.[708] This same list does, however, appear to include three of the four rulers of the *Magic Treatise*' list elsewhere, Asmodai (*'Ασμοδεῶ* 7), Loutzipher (*Λάτςηφερ* 25), and Astaroth (*'Ασταρώθ* 21; *'Αστερώθ* 24): Berzeboul is missing unless *Βούλ* (19) is a variant. Apart from these familiar names very few appear to be related to others in these sources.[709] Attention may also be drawn at this point to the lists of demons of the winds of the four quarters in the exorcism edited by Louis Delatte;[710] there a king of each quarter is named, together with three servants and the angels controlling them, but these demons appear to have no relation to others mentioned in the basic source material being used here.[711]

---

[708] On the sequence *'Οριένς* (15), *'Αμεμῶν* (16), *'Ελτςήν* (17), and *Πανῶν* (18), see S. Weinstock *CCAG* IX.2 p167, on *Holkhamicus 290* of the fifteenth century and the *προσευχαὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων* on f16 there, (although note that Boul (19) not Panon (18) is described by the *Testament* as the ruler of the Western quarter). How widespread this particular tradition seems to have been may be seen from the fact that a very similar sequence appears in the commentary of Cecco d'Ascoli, who says that Zoroaster discovered "those four spirits of great virtue who stand *in cruciatis locis*, that is in east, west, south, and north, whose names are as follows: Oriens, Amaymon, Paymon and Egim, who are spirits of the major hierarchy and who have under them twenty-five legions of spirits each ...", Joannes de Sacro Bosco, *Sphera, cum commentis*, cap.III (Venice: 1518), f21, quoted by Cohn *Demons* p165 and n5. See also Delatte*Ex* p123.

[709] *'Αμπατςούτ* (20) would however seem to be a version of *'Αβιςούθ* (see above n701); *Σαταήλ* (50) to be related to *Σαταναήλ*; *Μαχουμέτ* (3) to *Μαχουμεθού* (North 25 in A); *Παλτάφωτε/-φάτε* (46) to *Πελτςαφατάϊ* (East 2 in H): *'Οριένς* (15) to *'Οριάν* (Tuesday 17); *Τςιανφιέλ* (1) to *Τςιςανιέλ* (one of the demons summoned to the circle, *Treatise* p419.28-29); *Φαράν* to *Φαραί* (Wednesday 22 H); and *Ναπούρ* (4) to *Σαππώρα* (West 5 A, cf. *Σαππουρ* the West wind of Summer in *BibSoph*, *CCAG* VII p'81.2, cf. p180.31). Further on this list see McCown, *TestSol* pp84-85.

[710] Delatte*Ex* ff98v-101v pp89-92, cf. pp121-123.

[711] Modiath, King of the South Wind could perhaps be taken as a version of Asmodai, or *'Αβουςάμπα*, the 3rd servant of the West Wind, as a version of Abezethibou. Elsewhere in these exorcisms the lists of the demons of North, West and South reappear as aerial spirits without specific location; the West ff15 and 36; the North ff27 and 36v; the South ff27 and 36v. In addition to these three other lists of aerial demons organised on

There were also alternative traditions which contained traces of a more widespread though less structured geographical classification made in terms of places the demons were believed to inhabit or frequent. This obviously had some links with the loose elemental system discussed at some length above, but it was, nevertheless, apparently independent of it; on a general level it was also connected to the notion of *stoicheia* of particular places. In the main rite of the *Magic Treatise* then, the demons who are in mountains, hills, plains, groves, caves, rivers, harbours, seas, and ocean are summoned.[712] One may also think here of *Καλῆ* of the mountains, who was mentioned above in connection with female demons,[713] and of the demons believed to be active in graveyards,[714] as well as those associated with

---

the same lines and perhaps once part of a similar system appear on ff27v–28 and f37. With the winds of ff98v–100 are also listed rulers of these in, respectively, the fourth, first, fifth and second heavens, generally five or six to each quarter; it is, however, difficult to be certain if these represent angels or demons, cf. Delatte*Ex* p122.

The spirits (*πνεύματα*) and *στοιχεῖα* which are present or rule in the areas of the winds of the four quarters are also referred to in prayers "of the four winds" in the fifteenth-century manuscript *Holkhamicus 290* f16, ed., S. Weinstock, *CCAG* IX.2 pp167–169. With them are given lists of apparently angelic or at least holy names by which they are submitted to the conjurer praying to God (cf. Pingree *Ghāya* p9), but these do not correspond to Delatte's in any way. On the relation of demons to winds in Greek belief see Barb *Antaura* p3; cf. Janiewitsch, *Aura* p628, and on *ἀέρικα* above n629. On the relationship between the demonic and particular directions in the general background see Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp79–80.

[712] *Treatise* pp419.16–18 and 420.2–7. Compare to these the places listed in Delatte*Ex* ff16–16v p36, f33 p47, cf. p124; also †Bas*Ex* pp580 and 583. Cf. Strittmatter*ExI* pp176–177; Strittmatter*ExII* pp129–130; Pradel *Gebete* pp272–273. Note here too the passage from EuZig*Pan* 27.7 c1300a, on the Bogomil myth quoted above n620. Further on water demons see immediately below especially n723. For their association with trees cf. also Eph*DeutPar* p196 who refers to divination in relation to trees; and for use of rituals involving sacrifice at a tree cf. the heretical monk Theodoret in Kall*Theod* 18 pp86–87; divination involving a sapling has been mentioned above, see also below p263. On demons and palm trees in Jewish Talmudic thought see L.I. Rabinowitz, "Demons, Demonology in the Talmud", *EJ* 5 (1971), cc1527–1528.

[713] Del*Anec* p600 from B2 f357; see above p189. Cf. also Anon*Dyst* pp264–265.

[714] During the fourth hour of the night in the *BibSoph*, P ff247v–248, *CCAG* VII p178; B2 Del*Anec* p62. Cf. Pradel *Gebete* p272.16; and also the incident from the *Life of Theodore of Sykeion* quoted by Mango *Byzantium* pp161–162. On the background see Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp72–73.

crossroads.[715] The *Testament of Solomon* likewise attributes specific dwelling places to the demons as individuals; Onoskelis, for example, is associated with caves,[716] the 33rd *decan* Ῥὺξ Ἀχωνεώθ lurks in ravines,[717] and the 24th and 27th demons in the Recension C list, Ἀστερώθ and Καρράπ, are both said to be active in cities, towns, castles, buildings and other such places.[718] In much the same way Πανῶν the 18th in that list is said to rule the six-hundred spirits of the sea,[719] a role rather like that attributed to the 37th, Σανσωνιέλ, who is described as being active in making great waves and strong winds,[720] and to the dangerous sea-spirit Kynopegos who appears earlier in the work.[721] The *Testament* also knows a demon of the Red Sea,[722] and elsewhere there is king Philvan, who is said to be king of the seas and of all water, with legions under his control.[723] An-

[715] Note the example cited by G. de Matons *Psellos* p344 from Leontios of Neapolis' *Life of St. Symeon Salos*. For examples of the connection of crossroads with demonic sorcery see those cited below pp259–260. This is a very ancient conception related in particular to aspects of Hecate in classical belief; see e.g. J. Heckenbach, "Hekate", *RE* VII.2 (1912), c2775. On these geographical distinctions in general see Delatte *Contrib.*, pp223–224; and Blum & Blum *Hour* pp341–342.

[716] *TestSol* p18⋆; cf. p83⋆.

[717] *Ibid.*, p58⋆.

[718] *Ibid.*, p80⋆; the former is said to be active in kingdoms, cities, castles, towers and buildings, the latter in towns, castles and houses; cf. p79⋆ Πελών, who is said to be active in the betrayal of castles, towns, and countries.

[719] *Ibid* pp79⋆ –80⋆ where he is also said to have power over winds and ships.

[720] *Ibid.*, p81⋆.

[721] *Ibid.*, pp48⋆ –49⋆. He is also mentioned in Delatte*Ex* f103v p93.

[722] *TestSol* pp69⋆ –72⋆. The demon of the Red Sea is identified as Abezethibou, and it is also mentioned pp25⋆ –26⋆ by Beelzeboul.

[723] Del*Anec* pp460–461 ed. from P ff146v–147, where his name is used to conjure queen Anerada to come from the Red Sea with her galleys; Philvan is in turn conjured by the seven emperors of the East, see above n698. Note the possible link here between Anerada (who is closely connected with the *Nereides*), Abezethibou (who connects with Gylou), and the characteristics of female, water and wind mentioned above. To these storm and sea demons is to be compared the believed ability of demonic sorcery to cause harm by floods mentioned in the *PDAltRed* p128 and †**Psellos***Hel* c880; the former also attributes storms at sea which cause shipwrecks to the fourth type of demon in its elemental division, the aquatic and marine. The *PD* p153 ll.297–298 also mentions that aquatic demons drown those who stray into water and †**Psellos***Hel* c881a also mentions the Greek belief

other rather similar system mentioned by the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων*, which attributes a particular demon to every country receives no real development in these sources.[724] In fact, there is little to choose at this point between alternative and standard traditions, which also knew demons in many of these places,[725] except for the attribution of particular kinds of demons or individuals to them, or the implication of their specialisation. The association of demons with wild or deserted places was fairly common in the orthodox tradition, and they were, for example, sent to these in some exorcisms;[726] one may note that in such cases they were located outside the community.[727]

5.3 Individual Powers

Other categorisations existed in these traditions which were not based on any such natural means of classification as those above, but which instead simply attributed power to various named individuals. The demonic names actually mentioned

that the loss of swimmers was not due to the water but to evil demons in it; an interesting parallel to this is found in Tertullian *de Baptismo* 5.4; "... unclean spirits do settle upon waters ... as witness shady springs and all sorts of unfrequented streams, pools in bathing-places, and channels or storage tanks in houses, and those wells called snatching-wells – obviously they snatch by the violent action of a malignant spirit ...", E. Evans, *Tertullian's Homily on Baptism* (London: 1964), pp12 (text) and 13 (translation); the passage is also quoted by Kelly *Baptism* p108. See above n625 p216 on the closely related connection of demons with bath-houses.

[724] *PD* p171 ll.560–561; cf. Gautier, *ibid.*, p170 n62 who mentions this idea appearing in Iamblichus *Περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Μυστηρίων*. It is probably also connected with the Biblical tradition that there were gods or angels of each nation. Cf. here the 8th demon in the Recension C list, *TestSol* p79*, *Μπηλέτ*, who is said to be able to do anything he wants in Palestine; and Ephippas, *ibid.*, pp 65* –71* who is said to be associated with Arabia. For further examples from the saints' lives see Mango *Byzantium* p162. On their speaking the language of particular countries see above p207 n634.

[725] See e.g. those mentioned by Joannou *Démon.*, p11; and G. de Matons *Psellos* p344.

[726] There are many examples in Delatte*Ex*; cf. also Janiewitsch *Aura* p629. For the standard orthodox tradition see above p57 n202 and also p144 n471.

[727] See below II.7 pp298–302 on inside/outside symbolism in the sorcerer's conjuration, and cf. du Boulay *Portrait* pp13 and 54; Blum & Blum *Hour* pp37 (37), 41 (48), and 330; also cf. n258 above.

in the Scriptures tended to be among the most prominent for these leading demons; the *Testament of Solomon* thus describes Beelzeboul as the ruler of the demons (*τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν δαιμόνων*), as their *exarch* (*τῶν δαιμονίων ὁ ἔξαρχος*), and as their sole commander (*μόνος ἄρχων τῶν δαιμόνων*), and gives as the reason for his power the fact that he was once first angel in the first heaven.[728] In general, however, he is not seen as the *sole* ruler, for the standard orthodox idea of the Devil as the all embracing leader of evil does not appear here. There is no notion of a Devil who is active through all the demons and is thus in some way identical with each of them so that whenever something is blamed on or attributed to a demon it is also regarded as being the Devil's responsibility. The term *διάβολος* is thus absent, as is the figure of Satan, except in the form Satanael which occurs only in the criticism of the heretics described by the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων*[729] and in Bogomil belief; the other Biblical names Beelzeboul, Loutzipher (*sic*) and Asmodaeus, on the other hand, appear together referring to *separate* figures in, for example, the lists of the demons of the days and among those summoned to the magic circle in the *Treatise*.[730] In contrast to orthodox views, these alternative traditions are primarily concerned with lesser but more easily identifiable and so controllable powers rather than with general concepts of evil. Power is thus usually shared between a group of demonic leaders, like the rulers of the four cardinal points mentioned above, or else it is ascribed to a wide variety of different individuals who have no systematic links with each other at all.

The *Magic Treatise* speaks of seven emperors of the *stoicheia*, a king (*ῥῆγας*),[731] and five other named rulers (*πρωτό-*

---

[728] *TestSol* pp16* (McCown's MS P); 17*, where he is also said to be *τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν δαιμονίων*; and 25*, *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤμην ἐν πρώτοις οὐράνιος ἄγγελος ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Βεελζεβούλ* (McCown); *ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ οὐρανῷ πρῶτος ἄγγελος* (P).

[729] *PD* pp135.49 and 137.58.

[730] See above pp224–227 and n698. The exorcism published by Louis Delatte shows here, as in many other respects, how standard and alternative traditions could overlap, for in his text such names appear at times to refer to individuals, at others to the single Devil of orthodox thought.

[731] *Treatise* p430.20 and 24–25.

θρονοι καὶ ἀρχηγοί),[732] and elsewhere in material related to this work several other rulers are mentioned: *Παργέςορε, βασιλέα τῶν δαιμόνων* and *Βελςέα*, chief prince of their kind,[733] *Τοδεδιδή, πρίγκιπα καὶ μέγας ῥῆγα*, [734] Philvan and Anerada,[735]and *Συμπίλια*.[736] In much the same way the *Testament of Solomon*, despite its statements about Beelzeboul, portrays only one demon as actually acknowledging his power; Kynopegos says that he like the others is ruled by him and that he occasionally comes to consult him.[737] Instead of a systematic hierarchy ranked below Beelzeboul, then, the *Testament* contains traces of other inconsistent power structures of this type in which he plays no part at all. Leontophoron is described as having a legion serving under him at one point[738] and, much more importantly perhaps, each of the fifty (-two) demons named in the list in Recension C is said to have a specific number of others beneath it.[739]

This list which, as has been mentioned above, is closely linked to the *Treatise*, varies from manuscript to manuscript in the numbers of demons it gives, and if it ever possessed a

---

[732] *Ibid.*, p431.3–4; cf. above p225.

[733] Del*Anec* p456.7 and 11–12, from P ff144–144v; Loutzipher is perhaps also included in the latter title.

[734] *Ibid* p459.27–28 from P f145; cf. *Τοδιδεδός*, H, the 19th demon of Tuesday.

[735] Del*Anec* pp460–461 and 466 ed. from P.

[736] *Treatise* p433; Del*Anec* pp593–594 from B2. She is also called *κύρα/κερὰ βασίλισσα*. There is another unnamed *βασιλέα* cited in an onychomancy, Del*Anec* p580 from B2 f346, and a variant on Beelzeboul, *Μπελτςαμπύλ* (*-ήλ*) *ὁ πρῶτος τῶν δαιμόνων* appears in B2 f347, *ibid.*, p584. Further see Delatte *Contrib.*, pp226–227; and cf. the rulers of the aerial spirits and their servants in Delatte*Ex* ff15, 25v–28 and 36v–37v, as well as Primak, f26v there.

[737] *TestSol* p48*. Note also the relationship Beelzeboul claims to the demon in the Red Sea, *ibid.*, pp25* –26* who is identified as Abezethibou. This demon is, however, subordinated in practice to Ephippas (pp70* -72*) who, p69* in Recension B, says the Devil is his father; the passage is clearly influenced by orthodox thought and the phrase is a standard one in that tradition so too much should not be made of it except as an illustration once more of the overlap between the traditions. Cf. McCown pp44–45.

[738] *Ibid.*, p40*; he is connected to the "legion" story of the New Testament and reappears in Delatte*Ex* f103 p93 along with a number of others drawn from this source.

[739] *TestSol* pp78* –82*; cf. above pp229–230 and Table IX.

detailed numerical scheme or significance it would seem to have been lost in the course of transmission.[740] The text as it appears in McCown's edition apparently numbers 2,342,633 demons if those named are included in the total; manuscript P (McCown's W), however, has slightly more than this whereas manuscript H (McCown's T) appears to have the much more conservative total of 123,214. Neither of these figures, which do not claim to be a complete tally of the demons, agrees with another total given in the anonymous *Διάλεξις κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου ... μετὰ τοῦ γαρδιναρίου Εὐφροσύνου*;[741] this maintains that there are 1,440,000 demons since one rank (*τάγμα*) of angels fell and each rank consisted of twelve legions, each made up of twelve *μυριάδες*.[742] Another anonymous dialogue, *Περὶ τῆς ἀντιλογίας τοῦ Διαβόλου*, speaks of the Devil summoning his forty-eight myriads of demons (i.e. 480,000),[743] while the exorcism edited by Louis Delatte apparently suggests that there are nine *tagmata* of fallen angels.[744] Most sources would, however, seem to agree in making the myriad or 10,000 the basic large numerical unit, since the *Testament* also gives that as the number of one tribe (*φυλή*) of demons.[745]

5.4 The Abilities and Uses of Individuals

One other important method of dividing up the demons known to these alternative traditions was that which attributed

---

[740] Individual numbers in McCown's text range from 1 (number 24) to two-million (*σ̄*) (number 29) although this last is so large that it must be considered dubious; MS H (McCown's T) has 200 (*σ´*) here. Breaking the figures down, one demon is said to rule one other demon, three are said to rule five, 1—20, 1—25, 2—30, 1—40, 3—50, 3—60, 3—100, 1—140, 1—150, 5—200, 2—300, 1—400, 4—500, 2—600, 5—1000, 1—2000, 2—3000, 1—4000, 1—5000, 1—7000, 1—7300, 1—10,000, 1—20,000, 1—70,000, 2—100,000, and 1—2,000,000.

[741] **Anon***Dialexis* p317.

[742] On this reckoning there are also 12,960,000 angels. **Palam***Hom* 50 p103 is more conservative in numbering a legion at 6,000.

[743] **Anon***Diavol* p51 ll.45–46.

[744] **Delatte***Ex* p126 interpreting f26v p43.

[745] *TestSol* p80* number 28 *Οὔλεος*. For further numbers of demons see Pradel *Gebete* p273 and his commentary pp330–331; Delatte *Contrib.* p226; and cf. Budwin *Devil* p25.

specific effects and functions to individuals. Such divisions seldom contained any idea of hierarchy and frequently ignored or overlapped the boundaries of other systems of categorisation, but the concept of specific, individual demons being responsible for specific things was important to these traditions and was deeply rooted; it assisted the practitioner of sorcery or divination in choosing the right subject for his arts and the ordinary man in explaining and attempting to control disease and misfortune in everyday life. Once again this was an idea known in the standard tradition,[746] but one which is considerably elaborated, especially by the *Testament of Solomon*.

The most common association was between individual demons and particular illnesses, and here the list of the *decans* in the *Testament* is the richest source for examples. This is not surprising when it is remembered that ancient Egyptian religion related the various parts of the body to the *decans*, a belief reflected in Origen,[747] while Solomon was believed in some traditions to have learnt how to cure all diseases from the demons.[748]

Three quarters of the thirty-six *decans* are thus linked to particular medical problems. The 3rd, *Ἀρτοσαήλ*, is said to cause blindness, the 5th *Καιρωξανονδάλον* deafness,[749] the 9th *Κουρταήλ* colic,[750] and the 16th *Κατράξ* fever.[751] Nervous disorders are apparently among the most common which are attributed to these demons: *Μεταθίαξ* (10) makes the nerves ache, *Φοβοθήλ* (13) causes nervous contractions, *Ἱερόπά* (17) causes convulsions,[752] *Ῥὺξ Αὐδαμεώθ* (22) causes

---

[746] So, for instance the demons of particular passions, to which the closest here are the seven Evil Sisters, *TestSol* pp31* -35*.

[747] Origen *contra Celsum* VIII.58, cf. MacDermot *Cult* pp156-157. On the connection between *decans* and the body see also Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp374-380.

[748] See above p158-159 n495 and below p273 n936.

[749] *TestSol* p52*.

[750] *Ibid.*, p53*; to Kourtael compare *Σουβελτί* (*Ροηλήδ*) (15) who causes stomach pain and cold in the throat, and *Ῥὺξ Ἀνατρέθ* (25) who causes fevers and burning in the bowels.

[751] *Ibid.*, p55*; to Katrax compare the last demon mentioned and also *Ῥὺξ Ναθώθω* (20) who sends incurable fever.

[752] *Ibid.*, pp54* 55*; this demon is here associated with baths, see

nervous pains as well as retention of urine, (compare *Ῥὺξ Ἀνοστήρ* (29) who sends hysteria and bladder pain), *Ῥὺξ Ἰχθύον* (32) paralyses and destroys the nerves,[753] and *Σφανδῶρ* (7) is said to take the strength from the shoulders, paralyse the nerves of the hands and waste the bones of the feet.[754] This last demon is also believed to suck out brains, a function similar to that attributed to the first *decan* *Ῥύαξ*[755] and *Ῥὺξ ὁ Ἐναυθά* (26),[756] while *Βαρσαφαήλ* (2) apparently causes migraine.[757] Other demons of illness in this list are *Σφενδουαήλ* (6) who causes tumours of the parotid gland, tonsilitis and tetanus,[758] *Λερωήλ* (14) responsible for fright and stiffness, *Μαρδέρω* (19) thought to cause knee complaints,[759] *Ῥὺξ Ἀλάθ* (21) who brings coughs and breathing difficulties, *Ῥὺξ Ἀκτουμέ* (24) who causes pains in ribs and loins, *Ῥὺξ Ἀξησβύθ* (27) responsible for wasting and bleeding, *Ῥὺξ Ἀπάξ* (28) blamed for insomnia, *Ῥὺξ Φυσικορέθ* (30) who is connected with bones stuck in the throat, and *Ῥὺξ Ἀλευρήθ* (31) who is said simply to cause long illnesses.[760] Finally, *Ῥὺξ Φθηνεώθ* (35) and *Ῥὺξ Μιανέθ* (36) apparently destroy by envy and are thus connected with belief in the power of the evil eye.[761]

---

above n665 p216.

[753] *Ibid.*, pp56* -58*.

[754] *Ibid.*, p53*.

[755] *Ibid.*, p52*.

[756] *Ibid.*, p57*.

[757] *Ibid.*, p52*.

[758] *Ibid.*, p53*.

[759] *Ibid.*, pp54*, 56*.

[760] *Ibid.*, pp56* -58*.

[761] *Ibid.*, pp58* -59*. On *Φθηνεώθ* see Bonner *Amulets* p97 (cf. pp96-99 and 211-212); Goodenough *Symbols* II p238; Provatake *Diavolos* p292; and J. Russell, "The Evil Eye in Early Byzantine society - the Archaeological Evidence from Anemurium in Isauria", *JÖB* 32/3 (1982), pp539-548. On treatment of the concept of the evil eye in the standard tradition and the explanation given there for it in terms of the deceit of demons using man's own envy, see above pp112-113. On popular belief in the Evil Eye in Greek thought in general see especially R. Walcott, *Envy and the Greeks, a Study of Human Behaviour* (Warminster: 1978), which traces the concept from Classical to patristic times and includes a detailed bibliography; and also M. Herzfeld, "Meaning and Morality: a Semiotic Approach to Evil Eye Accusations in a Greek Village", *American Ethnologist* 8 no3 (1981), pp560-574. This article contains further bibliography although

These demons are to be compared to others which appear both elsewhere in the *Testament* and in other sources. There is thus Lix Tetrax who is associated with semi-tertian fever,[762] the headless Phonos who causes dumbness, serious disabilities of the feet and ulcers,[763] Leontophoron who makes the sick hard to heal,[764] Kynopegos who causes nausea,[765] and the Koryphe Drakonton who is said to blind children in the womb, make them deaf and dumb, and cause epilepsy.[766] This latter obviously has connections with those demons believed to attack women and their babies around the time of childbirth which have been examined above[767] and who are exemplified in the *Testament* by Obyzouth.[768] The *Kyranides* know a demon of quartan fever, significantly sent by the first decan of Capricorn,[769] and in material related to the *Treatise* there is a cure for deafness and bleeding from the ears apparently caused by a demon,[770] while others which cause migraine and headaches are also mentioned.[771]

---

neither he nor Walcott knows L. Arnaud, "La Baskania ou le mauvais oeil chez les Grecs modernes", *EO* 15 (1912), pp385–394 and 510–524. See also here Koukoules *Vios* pp244–248; Blum & Blum *Hour* especially pp143–149, 221–222 and 309–310; and their *Health and Healing in Rural Greece* (Stanford: 1965), pp131–132; also Campbell *Honour* pp337–340; and Provatake *Diavolos* pp289–295.

[762] *TestSol* p30*.

[763] *Ibid.*, p36*.

[764] *Ibid.*, p40*.

[765] *Ibid.*, p49*.

[766] *Ibid.*, pp41* –42*; cf. Eitrem *Notes* pp17–18.

[767] Cf. also Kynopegos here. For modern Greek belief about demonic attacks on infants and their results see e.g. Blum & Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece*, pp73–74.

[768] *TestSol* pp43* –44*, cf. Koukoules *Katades.*, p55. McCown, *ibid.*, p47 maintains that the primary interest of the writer of the *Testament* was medical, helping men by means of his "wretched recipies" (*ibid.*, p50). This does not perhaps do justice to the simple "amazing story" aspect of the work which often seems to be the major motivation, although it is true that a fair proportion is devoted to "medical" material.

[769] *Kyran* I.1 p30 ll.152–155; cf. *ibid.*, I.24 ll.37–43, where a potion is mentioned which cures not only tertian, quartan, and quotidien fevers, but also lunatics and demoniacs.

[770] Del*Anec* pp484–485 from P f264v.

[771] Legrand*Ex* pp17–19 from *Parisinus Gr. 2316* ff319–20; Delatte*Ex* f26v e.g., where several named demons are apparently spirits of disease; De-

The concept of disease demons, which has an extremely long history and which is common to many religious systems, is obviously closely linked at this point to that of demon possession, and a division between the two is often rather artificial, as in the case of some of the nervous disorders cited above. In the alternative traditions, however, diseases tended to be linked to individual demons whereas in the standard tradition all demons were thought capable of possessing men and causing the symptoms that accompanied possession such as insanity, epilepsy, convulsions, katatonia and so on.[772]

Other demons were held responsible for more general misfortunes such as matrimonial and sexual problems, rebellions, wars, or storms. The former are associated by the *Testament of Solomon* with Asmodaeus in particular, who says that his work is to prevent marriages being consummated, (apparently a reference to Tobit), to tarnish the beauty of virgins, to change men's hearts,[773] and to lead them into lust and adultery.[774] Also in the *Testament* Beelzeboul is said to cause, among other things, homosexuality,[775] and Pterodrakon creates lust in women.[776] The 18th *decan Μοδεβήλ* separates husband and wife, and the 11th *Κατανικοταήλ* causes domestic con-

latte *Contrib.*, pp229–230; and the demons of various diseases and illnesses which are mentioned but not named in the exorcism published by Pradel *Gebete* pp262–263. For midday demons and disease see Caillois *Démons* II pp80–83.

[772] Cf. however the opinion of the *PD* cited above which distinguishes between different types of demon which possess men and their various effects. In the *Testament* the 17th *decan*, *Ἱεροπά*, is specifically connected with epilepsy, and the 35th demon of the Recension C list, *Σαραιέλ*, is described as being active in lunatics; cf. also Rhabdos, *ibid.*, p38*, and the cave spirit, p50*. On causing possession by demonic magic see below p247 n808. For the general background to the relation of demons and disease see e.g. Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp152–156; Langton *Essentials* pp22 and 82. For later parallels see Blum & Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece*, pp124–125. For opposition to belief in demonic illness see above p94 n315 and p217 n670.

[773] Cf. the 26th *decan Ῥὺξ ὁ Ἐναυθά*, *TestSol* p57*, and see Koukoules *Katades.*, p62.

[774] *Ibid.*, p23*. The text in Migne (McCown's MS P) is slightly more elaborate at this point.

[775] *Ibid.*, p26* (McCown's MS P).

[776] *Ibid.*, p45*.

flicts.[777] Ornias and Onoskelis are simply associated with sexuality and not with particular problems, although both use it to kill people, while in the list of fifty demons in Recension C *Τουγέλ* (30) is said to cause love between men and women and *Λένελ* (34) apparently provides women for men without their being observed.[778] Elsewhere a conjuration for love in the *Magic Treatise* calls upon "*ὦ ὑμεῖς, δαίμονες οἱ οἰκοῦντες τὴν πορνείαν καὶ οἱ διανοούμενοι ἀγάπην ἀνδρὸς πρὸς φιλίαν τῶν γυναικῶν ...*"[779] and a related rite also knows of specific demons of sex and love, *Τοδεδιδή ὅπιος εἶσαι ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν πορνείαν* and his assistants (*συντρόφοι*), *Φανγκώθ* (or *Ἀφανγγώθ*), *Ἀρών*, *Θετςέλ*, *Βουτόν/Κουτόν*, and *Φανταί* who are used to force a woman to fall in love with a man;[780] Anerada is also used in a love charm where her picture is drawn on a loaf of bread.[781]

Rebellions and wars are linked to Beelzeboul by the *Testament*, where he is said to destroy emperors, side with foreign tyrants, and cause religious strife.[782] To be compared are the *decans Σαφθοραήλ* (12)[783] who sends dissension to men and *Ῥὺξ Αὐτώθ* (34)[784] who causes jealousies and conflicts between friends. Among the demons of the list in Recension C *Λασαράκ* (9) is active in all things to do with war, good and bad, *Πελών* (13) works in the betrayal of castles, cities and countries, *Σουπιέλ* (14) causes rebellions and coups d'état as well as freeing prisoners,[785] and *Μυρατςιέλ* (36) is said to be active in armies, sieges and the capture of cities.[786] As far as individual storm demons go, there are the whirlwinds Lix Tetrax

---

[777] *Ibid.*, pp55* -56*, 53*; cf. *Ζάλη* p33*.

[778] *Ibid.*, pp80* -81*.

[779] *Treatise* p423.

[780] Del*Anec* pp459-460 from P.

[781] *Ibid.*, from P f199.

[782] *TestSol* p26* (McCown's MS P).

[783] *Ibid.*, p54*.

[784] *Ibid.*, p58*.

[785] *Ibid.*, p79*.

[786] *Ibid.*, p81*

and Ephippas,[787] and the sea-spirits already mentioned.[788]

It was not just to prevent or get rid of the sort of things referred to above that Byzantine sorcery thought it necessary or useful to know precisely which demons were involved with specific areas of operation; this was also important in order to be able to bring about desired effects and direct these demons at particular targets. Furthermore, they were not only used for harm and for evil ends since it was believed that some demons could also be employed, when under a practitioner's control, to bring benefit to himself and others. Most important here is the list of fifty demons in Recension C of the *Testament* which was composed with the use of individual demons in mind and which thus provides the names of those the practitioner might need in almost any eventuality, good or ill, together with details of their particular spheres of influence. When a number of other examples and references are added to this list, some idea may be obtained of the main areas in which it was believed the demons could be used, and the rationale of dividing up the demons in this way may become more intelligible.

Demons seem, then, to have been commonly employed for acquiring knowledge and information that was normally inaccessible to men or hard to obtain. They might be used to increase the practitioner's general wisdom, as is the case with, *Ἄνετ*, *Παλτάφωτε*, *Σαπαρατζήλ*, *Ταρσεύς*, and *Ναβέλ* (45–49) in the list in the *Testament*, who are respectively said to make known the kinds and powers of the rocks, plants, birds, trees, and animals.[789] In the same place *Ῥοάπτ*(5) has the power of making men wise and expanding their minds, *Ἀμπατζούτ* (20) is said to be active in all skill, learning, thought and writing, and *Ἀτανιανούς* (42) is likewise said to be able to give every art, knowledge and understanding to men,[790] while *Μαχουμέτ* (3) can give animals human speech and *Τζερεπόνες* (11) can make pictures and images speak as well as enabling people

---

[787] *Ibid.*, pp28* –30*; 65* –72*.

[788] See above pp232.

[789] *TestSol* p82*; note that the division is very similar to that of the books of the *Kyranides*.

[790] *TestSol* pp78*, 80*, and 82*.

to hear the voices of birds.[791]

Other demons were thought to be good for helping the practitioner to divine the future in a simple way, either for his own benefit or that of a client,[792] but more often the information sought from them was more specific. The *Treatise* thus tells how a man may learn of secret places in which treasure is hidden in order to enrich himself, or how he may learn what has happened to stolen or lost property.[793] One is reminded here of the demon Rhabdos leading Solomon's servant to the green stone, and Koryphe Drakonton revealing the gold hidden in the temple in the *Testament*.[794] Such stories as these, however, were simply legendary confirmations of what it was believed the practitioner was capable of making demons do in ordinary life; a case that came before the Patriarchal Court in this period thus concerned a presbyter, Steilianos Kleidas, who used demonic magic in an attempt to discover the identity of a thief for his client, a monk called Droungarios.[795] In a somewhat similar way the demons might be used to learn about someone who was on a journey, whether they were safe and what they were doing, or about the fate of someone who was ill.[796]

In addition to such divinatory assistance, the sorcerer might receive or cause material benefit through his ability to control the demons. Instead of simply finding out where trea-

---

[791] *Ibid.*, pp78* and 79*.

[792] See e.g. *Treatise* p431.17-22; *TestSol* *Τζιανφιέλ* (1) p78*, and *Ῥααμέτ* (10) p79*; cf Theodore Balsamon's definition of *μάντεις* as those who foretell future things and reveal unknown things by invoking demons, commenting on **GNyssKan** 3 p307; also **BryKeph** 25 pp76-77.

[793] So *Treatise* p402.6-7; cf. *ibid.*, pp397.24-25, 398.22, 432.1-4; Del*Anec* p467.17-25 from P f199; *ibid.*, pp507.18-509.17 from P f341v, a long and detailed procedure apparently done by angel names in its present form although they look more demonic than angelic; *ibid.*, p594.13 from B2 f350; cf. also K. Preisendanz, "Zwei griechische Schatzzauber aus Kodex Parisinus 2419", *BnJbb* III (1922), pp273-281.

[794] *TestSol* pp38*, 42*; cf. the demons *Ἀσταρώθ* (21) *ibid.*, p80*, and *Σεταριέλ* (31) and *Ἀσιέλ* (38) p81*.

[795] **KokActa** p595. For Kleidas see *ibid.*, p560; cf. here *Treatise* p431.5-11; Del*Anec* pp497.16-498.2 from P f271v; *ibid.*, pp608-611 from B2 f361v.

[796] *Treatise* p431.12-16 and 23-27; *ibid.*, p432.5-9; cf. Delatte *Contrib.*, p230.

sure was hidden and having to fetch it himself, he might thus, perhaps rather optimistically, have the demons enrich him on the spot or provide him with whatever else he required; *Καπούρ* (4) in the list in the *Testament* can apparently produce in one hour enough gold and silver for a man and his family to live on for life.[797] Again specific demons might be useful to the practitioner in the various sidelines and conjuring tricks connected, in the popular imagination, with his art, such as making people or things vanish, levitate, or seem noble or rich.[798]

Perhaps the most common use of the demons, however, was to cause a woman to fall in love either with the sorcerer himself or a client. In a major trial which came before the Patriarchal Court in May 1371, there is an example of this (although reversed in that the practitioner was employed to find a man for a woman) when the wealthy Exotrochina was said to have used first one and then another sorcerer to secure the hand of a nobleman.[799] Other benefits for which the demons could be employed were to ensure potency in men and animals or fer-

---

[797] *TestSol* p78*; cf *'Ρααμέτ* (10) p79*, *'Απολήν* (23) p80*, and *Λένελ* (34) p81*. See also *Treatise* p424.6–21 and cf. *PD* p139 ll.91–92 where the demons are said to promise gold and silver.

[798] See *TestSol Φαράν* (2) and *Μαχουμέτ* (3) p78*, *Νταρωγάν* (12) p79*, and *Οὔλεος* (28) p80*; also *Σεταριέλ* (31) p81* and *Ποτσέτιες* (44) p82*. For examples of disappearing sorcerers see Joannou *Démon.*, p25 nn504–506.

[799] **Kok***Acta* pp549–550; cf. *ibid.*, p543 on Phoudoulis' apparent demonic seductions, and Cupane's comment, *Magia* p259. She claims that the erotic incantation was the commonest type of magic at this time, although this is difficult to substantiate only from the cases in the Patriarchal Acts. In the *Treatise* and other material published in Del*Anec* it is, however, one of the more common uses of demons. See especially here *Treatise* pp422.13–424; cf. pp399.7–12, 401.15–18, 402.29–31; also Del*Anec* pp456.1–14, 456.23–457.6, 459.10–460.14, 461.4–29, 466.1–467.16, 501.1–28, and 575.9–14. Cf. also *TestSol Τουγέλ* (30) and *Λένελ* (34) p81*; and the story of the boy in †**Amph***Bas* for which and the comparable episodes of Cyprian and Justina and Anthemios see Radermacher *Faust*. Cf. again Theodore Balsamon's statement that sorcerers work for apparent good, loves, friendship and good fortune by the invocation of demons, Commentary on **GNyss***Kan* 3 p307; and **Gregoras***Hist* II 7.3 p45. See too Joannou *Démon.*, p21; Rouse *Folklore* pp169–170; and, on love amulets, Bonner *Amulets* pp115–125.

tility in crops,[800] and to avoid possible mishaps or illnesses.[801] They were also quite commonly used for gaining the favour of the powerful in society such as rulers or judges, in order to obtain advancement, the granting of a request, or the favourable outcome of a trial;[802] this is precisely the accusation levelled at one Kappadokes in another trial before the Patriarchal Court, when he is said to have tried to help a monk become a bishop through demonic sorcery.[803]

By much the same means that the demons could be used for causing love, it was also believed that they could destroy it, turning friends into enemies and making husbands and wives or lovers hate each other.[804] This is something that falls into the last general area in which the practitioner may be seen to have operated with demons, that of hurting or causing harm to others. The belief that sorcerers *could* cause harm seems to have been common in the alternative traditions of this period and, although very few actual examples of such techniques survive in the sources on which this study is based, there are quite a number of references to such men being able to cause sickness,

---

[800] For fertility, increase etc., see *Treatise* pp398.7–8, 402.19–21; **Bry** *Keph* 47 p228 who maintains that "for fertility of the fields, for the increase and health of the herds, for success in hunting and for a good grape harvest we take refuge in incantations", cf. *ibid.*, 25 pp76–77; and *TestSol* p82* *Μακατάκ* (52) who increases flocks and herds, and *Παρέλ* (6), *ibid.*, p78*, who can make trees flower out of season and plants grow in dry wood. Compare also here those who control the weather such as the storm demons mentioned above or *Ἀσμοδεῶ* (7) who is said to be able to cause rain and snow in summer and cherries to appear in winter, and *Φαράν* (2) who can bring down water from heaven as well as showing the stars, *ibid.*, pp78* –79*. Others too can affect the heavens like *Σαρατιέλ* (35) who can make the moon seem to descend, and *Ναπαλαικόν* (51) who is able to make the day night and the night day, while *Μυραγκούς* (43) is apparently able to cause solar eclipses or at least stop the sun from shining, *ibid.*, pp81* –82*.

[801] See *Treatise* p398.8–9, 401.1–3, 402.1–2 and 9–13, 16; **Bry***Keph* 47 p228; and see also *TestSol* p79* (12) and 81* (39).

[802] See *Treatise* pp398.13–14, 21–22, 28; 399.2; 401.11–14, 21–22; 402.2–3, 17–18, 27; 403.1–3; 468.1–6; and cf. *PDAltRed* p128, †**Psellos***Hel* c880 for causing favour by demonic sorcery.

[803] **Kok***Acta* pp343–344; cf. *ibid.*, p547 and the case of Syropoulos trying to help secure the pardon of a priest. On the former case cf. Koukoules *Katades.*, p56; see also Joannou *Démon* p21 n393 for examples of people visiting demonic sorcerers to become nuns.

[804] See *Treatise* p402.25–28; **Del***Anec* p467.9–16 from p f199; cf. p456 ll.15–22; and p625 from *Laurentianus R6.14* ff27v–28.

incapacity, or death among humans and to damage or kill animals and crops. Often this was thought to take place by means of "binding" the victim, a process which was so identified with the practices of magicians and sorcerers in the tradition from the Classical period on that such words as the verb *δέω* or the nouns *δεσμός* and *δέσμιος* together with some of their compounds, particularly those formed with *κατα-*, could simply mean to enchant or could refer to a spell without need of further qualification;[805] not surprisingly perhaps, it was especially associated with blindness, dumbness, paralysis and impotence. Theodore Balsamon thus says that sorcerers, by certain magic chants, can bind (*καταδεσμεύω*) animals or do things for the harm of men, inducing sickness, derangements, or debilitations by the invocation of demons,[806] and Joseph Bryennios complains that "through sorcery we sometimes release, sometimes bind animals and men" (*δεσμεύω*).[807] George Pachymeres reports

[805] An obvious early example is found in Theocritos' well known *Second Idyll*, the *Φαρμακεύτρια*, where reference is made amongst other things to the magical practice of binding (*καταδέομαι*) for love. See A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus* II (Cambridge: 1952), pp33–63 in general, p37 on binding.

[806] **TBals***Kan* commenting on **GNyss***Kan* 3 p307; cf. his story of the wife of a grandson of Alexios Komnenos who was apparently killed by demonic sorcery, see below p265.

[807] **Bry***Keph* 47 p228. In general on binding in Byzantine magic and belief see Koukoules *Katades.*, *B′* pp52–73. In particular here see *PDAltRed* pp128f which maintains that sorcery using demons can cause harm by floods or loose bonds, perhaps caused by the same means, and that magic can likewise cause sickness; cf. †**Psellos***Hel* c880b. *PDAltRed* also maintains that the power of sorcery lies in knots (*ἄμμασι*) and enchantments, substituting the former word for *ἄσμασι* which appears in the equivalent passage in †**Psellos***Hel*. The *Treatise* p402.14–16 mentions destroying enemies, binding and loosing by sorcery, and Legrand *Ex* pp.xviii-xix from *Parisinus Gr. 2316* ff435a–436b has a long prayer for releasing a house from demonic sorcery if someone has bound (*ἔδησεν*) or otherwise affected it. Cf. the release of a bound man in Del*Anec* pp551–552 from the same manuscript which does not however mention the demons except that Christ is asked to release the man as he broke the power of Hades, thus suggesting that they may have been believed to be involved; also *ibid.*, p582 from B2 f347 and p612 f362v, where the binding apparently involves impotence. **Pach***Michael* I pp33–34 reports that the bridegroom of one of Michael Palaeologos' nieces blamed his impotence on magic, an accusation believed by Theodore II Laskaris. Compare also here Delatte*Ex* f3v p27, ff43–43v pp54–55, ff59–59v pp64–65, and pp131–133 on binding and other harm caused by magic; Delatte *Contrib.*, p230. For mentions of binding in the inherited tradition see e.g. **GNaz***Carm50* l.63 c1390; and **Theoph***Matt* 9.32 33 c233. For binding in post-Byzantine Greek thought and practice see especially Kouk-

that the emperor Theodore II Laskaris believed the onset of his epilepsy was due to "a demon from magic" (ἐκ μαγγανείας δαιμόνιον),[808] and Nikephoros Gregoras maintains that the Patriarch John Kalekas promised eternal rewards to anyone who should destroy Kantakouzenos by poisonous medicines or certain deceitful exorcisms and demonic sorceries during the civil war.[809] Gregoras also appears to share the belief that demons called up in necromancy will go and harm men if ordered to do so,[810] while the author of the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* maintains that the more stupid demons are made to work terrible evils by sorcerers.[811] Both the *Testament* and the *Treatise* also imply that such men can cause harm by their manipulation of demons; the latter, for example, provides information about the times that are useful for harming men and opposing enemies,[812] for destroying enemies,[813] for terrifying and causing dreams,[814] and for destroying enemies and their houses.[815] Furthermore, many if not most of the demons mentioned immediately above, and especially those from the list in Recension C of the *Testament*, whose effects are harmful, appear to have been named and described as much to enable the sorcerer to employ them as to hinder or counter them, and it is certainly true that in the clear

oules *Katades.*, *B'* pp73–108; also Rouse *Folklore* pp152–154 and 156–164 for various uses of binding but particularly of married couples and animals; Blum & Blum *Hour*, examples cited under "binding" and "curse" p396; and Lawson *Folklore* pp19–20.

[808] Pach*Michael* I p32. For sorcery causing madness or possession see also GCyp*George* c325c-d where potions are prepared by a demonic sorcerer/medicine-man which are intended to derange and kill; *Treatise* p401.25; cf. Del*Anec* p468.1–11 where a love spell makes a girl *appear* possessed unless she lives with the man; Delatte*Ex* pp131–133; Jacob *Exorcisme* 3 p245; Strittmatter*ExII* pp141–142; and Abrahamse *Magic* p13 for a striking example from the middle Byzantine period in which a disgruntled suitor causes the possession of a nun through the demonic spells of a magician.

[809] Gregoras*Hist* XII 10.5 p607.

[810] Gregoras*DeIns* c618, cf. Synesios p176, ἐπιβουλάς τε γὰρ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ψυχοπομπῶν γοήτων ἀκύρους ἐποίησε ..., on which passage see A.F. Norman, *Libanius Autobiography* (Hull: 1965), Oratio I, pp128–129.

[811] *PD* p173 ll.586–589.

[812] *Treatise* p397.22–23.

[813] *Ibid.*, p401.27.

[814] *Ibid.*, p402.9–10.

[815] *Ibid.*, p402.25–26.

examples of sorcerers being believed to be able to use demons to cause love, the effects of their spells will have been regarded as harmful to the victims on most occasions, in effect amounting to a form of rape.[816]

[816] For examples of sorcery being used to harm in earlier saints' lives see Joannou *Démon* p21 especially nn388, 389, 394, and 404; cf. also the bound and pierced image said to have been found in the possession of Isaac Aaron, Nicetas Choniates *Χρονική Διήγησις* p146.46. On the use of amulets for causing harm, many of which will have been thought to be demonic at this time, see Bonner *Amulets* Ch.VIII pp103-115.

6. Controlling the Demons

So far the alternative traditions about the demons' nature, abilities, characteristics and interrelationships have been discussed in detail, and it should by now be clear how substantial were the differences between these traditions and standard orthodox ideas, despite the ease with which they merge into one another on occasions. Fundamentally different attitudes to the nature of the universe and the principles on which it functioned had allowed alternative traditions to develop far more complicated and elaborate beliefs than the standard orthodox view. Orthodoxy, believing that the demons were incapable by nature of doing anything by themselves, was not interested in the detailed knowledge required for working with them which was the source of inspiration for much of this elaboration, while it was forced to dismiss or ignore other areas of belief as being incompatible with its doctrinal requirements. It remains, then, in this chapter, to look at the methods which the alternative traditions believed could enable men to summon, employ, or control the demons.

6.1 General Features of Late Byzantine Sorcery

The first point to be made here is that evidence of late Byzantine belief concerning the use of demons by men falls almost entirely into the realm of sorcery as opposed to witchcraft.[817] The idea of the inherently evil, inherently demonic man or woman, the classic figure of witchcraft, is absent, and it is apparent that the Byzantines thought of magic as being almost exclusively performed by sorcerers and magicians who learnt their techniques from teachers or books, who practised

[817] See for a summary of the distinction which may be drawn between the two, M. Marwick, ed., *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (Harmondsworth: 1970), pp11-13; cf. L. Mair, *Witchcraft* (London: 1969), pp18-24; and Cohn *Demons* pp147-148. On the much broader question of the relationship of "magic" and "religion", particularly concerning Classical and Early Christian studies, see the excellent discussion "The Nature and Function of Magic" provided by Aune *Magic* pp1510-1516.

and perfected their evil craft, but who were not and had not become in themselves and by nature, of the same category as the demons they were believed to be manipulating and controlling.

There are, it is true, traces of the concept of the pact with the Devil, which was to become so important in Western witch belief, but these are scattered and this element clearly never became a central feature of Byzantine magical theory.[818] What notions there were of inherent magical power seem to have been channelled into the idea of the evil eye, and in late Byzantine literature the idea of the witch can be identified with certainty on only one occasion, and that in a work which has been influenced, in at least some respects, by Western models. This is the story of *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* where the old woman who is employed by the wicked prince to snatch Chrysorrhoe from the hero by magic definitely possesses the attributes of a witch as opposed to a sorceress. She is thus described as demonic or as having a demonic nature (*δαιμονώδης φύσις*),[819] and she is said to associate constantly with the demons, conversing, eating and travelling with them, and deriving from them whatever she may do.[820] Most conclusively, however, she is also twice said to be related to demons and possessed by them, and at the end of the poem when she is condemned to be burnt by the reformed prince, she is referred to as an embodied demon (*σωματωμένον δαίμονα*), an evil, soul-destroying *stoicheion* (*κακομήχανον, ψυχώλεθρον στοιχεῖον*) who has a demon instead of a soul. "Burn the body of this woman," says the prince, "if not the soul, for being a demon, that will at once flee the flame".[821]

The closest parallel to this witch is the old woman who plays a rather similar role in the story of *Libistros and Rhodamne*. Like many witches in Mediaeval Western conceptions this woman is ancient, black, disfigured, foreign and filthy dirty,

---

[818] See below pp255–257.

[819] **Anon***KallChrys* p50 l.1066, p54 l.1302.

[820] *Ibid.*, p53 ll.1230–1236.

[821] *Ibid.*, p80 ll.2585–2586 and 2589–2590; cf. also **Anon***FlorPlat* p152 l.583 where a sorcerer is described as an *ἐμψυχωμένος δαίμων*.

living by herself in isolation and squalor;[822] significantly, however, she gives an account of her long education in magic and tells of how she gradually learnt her skills and the techniques of demonic sorcery.[823] Furthermore, she is never equated with the demons she employs and is never described, unlike her counterpart in *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, as being inherently demonic or as possessing magic power by nature.

The appearance of this sorceress may possibly have been influenced by Western beliefs about witches, but her practices have not, and she thus represents an interesting development of the distinctly Byzantine approach to magic, which never really stepped out of the world of sorcery. The techniques that will now be examined of summoning, employing and controlling demons are thus to be seen within this framework and are not to be confused with preconceptions about magic and witchcraft drawn from Western approaches to the subject.

All the methods of Byzantine sorcery are made up of a number of elements, each of which, be it physical or verbal, fulfills either or both of two purposes. The first is to establish a hold over the demon or demons required and so induce or force them to appear or to perform whatever is desired of them; the second is to protect the practitioner from the constant danger posed by the evil and malice of the beings he is employing. A close parallel may be drawn to a scientist conducting a process which involves the use of dangerous and unstable chemicals; some of his actions during this process will be governed by the

---

[822] Although this conception had also developed much earlier in Latin literature; see in particular the description of the Thessalian witch Erictho in Lucan's *Pharsalia* VI.507–522 and ff., cf. Canidia and Sagana in Horace *Satires* 1.8. Whether the witch in *Libistros and Rhodamne* owes her characteristic features to an indigenous Byzantine tradition drawn from the Classical background or to contemporary Western stereotypes (initially derived from the same background) is, however, a matter for debate.

[823] Anon*LibRhod* pp221–222. Cf. at this point C. Galatariotou, "Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 9 (1984–1985), pp55–94 on the idea of women as easy vehicles for evil but not actually evil in themselves; some of the points she makes about Byzantine "witches" should, however, be treated with caution. On the *actual* status of the sorcerer and his position in society cf. Blum & Blum *Hour* pp23–24, and their *Health and Healing in Rural Greece*, pp174, 181–182 and 193–198. The real life sorcerer in this period cannot have been in a very different situation.

requirements of the scientific method he knows and is following as applied to the type of materials he is using and the results he hopes to obtain, but others will be performed to ensure that he is protected from the materials employed and from the effects of any mistakes, miscalculations or unforseen circumstances that may arise. What breaks this analogy, however, and makes the sorcerer's task far harder than that of the scientist, is that his "materials" are believed to possess not only the ability to actually think for themselves but also a natural malignancy and often a wish to harm any man and especially one trying to make them do things they do not wish or have not planned to do.[824]

Each element in the sorcerer's method, then, was concerned with either or both of these aspects of employing the demons, and each method, from the simplest amulet to the most complex rite of consultation and command, was composed of a greater or lesser number of such elements, drawn together to form a particular procedure which would have a particular effect.[825]

6.2 Inducement

One of the primary elements in any such method had to be the invocation of the demons required by the practitioner to carry out his purpose, and it was this invocation which represented both the establishment of contact, as it were, and the selection of materials. Invocations might thus vary from a simple and general summoning of any or all of the demons to the detailed naming of particular types or even individuals who were thought more suitable or responsible in the circumstances. It

[824] Cf. McCown's comparison to bacilli in modern medicine, *TestSol* p47, and that of E. Dawes and N.H. Baynes to bacilli inspired with a conscious will to injure, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford: 1948), p.xii.

[825] On the overall structure of similar rituals in the background see Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp600–615 where four elements are distinguished: 1) the speech, invocation or spell (λόγος), 2) the sacrifice (ἐπίθυμια), 3) the action (πράξις), and 4) the protection for the sorcerer (φυλακτήριον). As will be seen below, all these elements are present in the rituals of late Byzantine sorcery and divination in some form, but they never appear either together or in precisely the same pattern as he outlines. Further here see Aune *Magic* p1551 n186.

was for use in this latter type of invocation that the lists of demons in the *Testament of Solomon* and the *Magic Treatise* were provided, while individuals like Anerada, Sympilia or the Kale of the mountains, for instance, and groups like the demons of sex were also called upon.[826]

Simply to call on the demons, however, or name them was never thought to be sufficient to secure their assistance; some reasons had to be provided for their approach and willingness to help. These might be inducements to secure their voluntary aid, means of forcing this aid from them whether they liked it or not, or combinations of both these factors. There had to be either a relationship of reciprocity, of exchange, between the two sets of participants (demonic and human) in the process, or else a relationship of enforced submission and command.

The first of these relationships might be brought about in a number of ways according to these traditions, although it was not the one most usually sought after. In general the demons were thought to be both attracted and made compliant by receiving some service or benefit from the practitioner in return for which they would follow his wishes and assist him in his designs. An offering was the commonest element of exchange the practitioner might use, and this usually comprised something the demons were believed to enjoy or take pleasure in: the sacrifice of an animal, incenses which contained impure elements, a visionary or even a real feast. The idea of sacrifice would seem to have played a part in the employment of the fifty-one unborn black kids said to be necessary for obtaining the list of demons in Recension C of the *Testament*,[827] and in the instructions given by the *Treatise* for obtaining and preparing parchments and blood for ritual use.[828] Blood is also prescribed for use during the ceremonies for such things as writing round the bell that is to be rung during the summoning of the demons

---

[826] General invocation of demons (δαιμόνων ἐπικλήσις) is mentioned several times, although usually in a condemnatory context; e.g. **TBalsKan** commentary on **GNyssKan** 3 p307; **KalActa** p189; **KokActa** p544.

[827] *TestSol* p77*; note the colour black which was thought to be particularly pleasing to the demons.

[828] *Treatise* pp407–409.

to the circle,[829] and for writing in a love charm;[830] the sacrificial element is perhaps more dominant in another love charm, this time involving a wax figure laid in a bowl of blood.[831] Recipes for incenses apparently meant to attract demons are given by the *Magic Treatise*, one for each planet or day; those of Kronos/Saturn and Ares/Mars are to be noted in particular since they contain such impure things as black ass's hoof, snake's head, polecat's blood and vulture's head.[832] Another recipe appears in the instructions for the preparation of the circle.[833] Sacrificing in a general way to the demons to secure their help in obtaining results is mentioned by Nikephoros Gregoras,[834] and by Theodore Balsamon, both cases being linked to divination.[835] Examples of other kinds of acceptable offerings may be seen in instructions for garlanding a tree before questioning its *stoicheion*,[836] in putting out dyed silk cloths for the Kale of the mountains,[837] and perhaps in the precious metals and stones used in the construction of a mirror for katoptromancy.[838] The use of visionary and real feasts has already been described above, but here it may be noted that although the general format is the same in each case, details vary considerably, such as the type of meat prepared, the size and grandeur of the occasion, and the

---

[829] *Ibid.*, p418.11.

[830] Del*Anec* p456 from P f143v.

[831] *Ibid.*, pp459–460 from P f146; cf. p617 from N f233, and also here Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp54–56 and 208–213.

[832] *Treatise* pp404–406; cf. *CCAG* IX.2, *Holkhamicus 290* ff3v–6v.

[833] *Treatise* p417.11–18. Cf. J. Scarborough, "Early Byzantine Pharmacology", *DOP* 38 (1984), pp229-232 on the multi-ingredient incenses *Kyphi* and *Krisma*; Pingree *Ghāya* pp4 and 10–11 further on their use in the Greek magical papyri; also *Kyran* I.24 ll.48–67 and **Bry***Keph* 47 p227 who mentions apparently orthodox people burning incense to the fig trees, the cucumbers and the *stoicheia* of the house.

[834] **Gregoras***DeIns* c616, cf. c540 following *OrChal* 149 p58.

[835] **TBals***Kan* Migne*PG* 137 c720 on Canon 61 of the Council "in Trullo"; cf. here the material on sacrifice and Assyrian ritual connected with invoking demons in †**Psellos***Hel* cc877 and 881, the latter apparently particularly related to divination. In the former passage details are given of the type of animals and the methods of slaughter etc., proper to etherial, aerial and subterranean demons.

[836] Del*Anec* p468 from P f199.

[837] *Ibid.*, p600.2–3 from B2 f357.

[838] *Ibid.*, p479 from P f248v.

participants involved.[839]

It is likely that the origin of such ideas lies in the pre-Christian and heathen practice of sacrificing to the gods, but there is a further element visible here in some passages which would seem to have arisen from the orthodox belief that the demons delighted above all in the fall of man from the chance of salvation offered him by Christ. In these passages, then, the offerings involve or presuppose actions which will have had the effect of damning the man who performed them, from the point of view of orthodoxy, and of sundering him from the Church and Christian society.

It is at this point that the idea must be mentioned of the pact with the Devil, who will assist man but only in return for his soul. This concept appears literally in the story in the *Life of St. Basil* of the boy who sold his soul for love in a transaction signed and sealed on paper,[840] but it is also implied in several practices said to be required elsewhere, such as those which involve committing acts of desecration, murder, or the shedding of human blood. Desecration is mentioned in two of the cases recorded in the *Acts of the Patriarchal Court*: in the first, one George Tzerentzes is said to have written "God's holy name" and then erased and trampled on the ink while exhibiting the characters and appelations of demons,[841] and in the second the sorcerer Kappadokes is said to have written the Lord's prayer backwards and inversely as part of a demonic amulet.[842] The sorcerer's precious black-handled knife, with which he has to perform many of his preparations and which he uses during the more complicated rituals, must, according to one tradition, have actually been used to commit murder or else be made of metal

---

[839] Above p214; cf. Kale, Del*Anec* p600 for the real feast; and for the visionary one *Treatise* p430.25–26 in the "Pibaktromancy"; also Del*Anec* p580.23–28 from B2 f346v (an onychomancy); *ibid.*, p584.11–14 (a katoptromancy); and *ibid.*, pp593.20–594.1, also from B2 f350, which is close to the example quoted above from the *Treatise*.

[840] †**Amph***Bas* pp188–197, on which and the rather similar story of Theophilos see Radermacher *Faust.*, pp41–70 and 117–219. Cf. the apparent pact implied in Delatte*Ex* ff34v–35 pp48–49 and his comment p132 for further examples.

[841] **Kal***Acta* p180.

[842] **Kok***Acta* pp343–344; cf. Cupane *Magia* pp243–244 and 250.

from an object that has.[843] The blood of a man unjustly murdered is also prescribed by the *Treatise* as one of the ingredients of the "incense" to be burnt in the magic circle,[844] and one of the places said to be good for making this circle is a spot at which someone has been murdered in the past;[845] the incense of Ares/Mars that was mentioned above also contains human blood.[846] In material related to the *Treatise* the blood of a murdered man is used to write the words on a parchment amulet for invisibility,[847] and a human skull in a fairly complicated ritual for conversing with spirits,[848] while the practitioner in a very garbled lecanomancy has to ride a black horse at night with a human bone in his hand.[849] The closely related Recension C of the *Testament of Solomon* also insists that the black kid skins used for the discovery of the names of the fifty demons must be soaked in human blood.[850]

Although the use of human blood and the requirement of murder is not a particularly common element in the sources which survive, such practices, together with others involving similar degrees of pollution, seem to have been readily ascribed to sorcerers by their opponents in much the same way as they were to heretics. A clear example of this is the ritual said to have been enacted by those in the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων*,[851] which is also used to cast the same slur on all who manipulate the demons for their own ends. These rituals which involve coprophagy, incest, infanticide and cannibalism as well as implicit renunciation

[843] *Treatise* p406.16–26 which gives full instructions for making this knife; cf. *TestSol* p77* (Recension C). It is used for a wide variety of purposes in these rituals as will be seen below. For black-handled knives in modern Greek magic and belief see e.g. Blum & Blum *Hour* pp15 (11), 32 (24), 117 (86), 134 (49), and 158 (53); also Rouse *Folklore* pp163 and 168; Campbell *Honour* p334; A-D. Demponos, "*Μαγική ἰατρική στὴν Κεφαλονία*", *Κεφαλληνιακὰ Χρονικά*, 1 (1976) p196.

[844] *Treatise* p417.17–18.

[845] *Ibid.*, p417.2.

[846] *Ibid.*, p405.13–15.

[847] Del*Anec* p457.9–10 from P f144v.

[848] *Ibid.*, pp589–590 from B2 ff348v–349.

[849] *Ibid.*, p617 from N ff233–233v; cf. Koukoules *Vios* p176.

[850] *TestSol* p77*; cf. Ducellier *Drame* pp243–244.

[851] *PD* pp139–141.

and vilification of Christianity, are however, as Gautier points out,[852] similar to ones ascribed to Borborite heretics by Michael the Syrian, who may himself be indebted to Epiphanios,[853] and certainly seem to be imaginary.

There were, then, two confused principles at work here. One saw the demons as material and scarcely superhuman beings who were thought to assist the sorcerer in return for the pleasure or even nourishment which they craved and which they derived from the things offered to them. The other saw the demons as requiring the practitioner's submission in return for their services, together with some evidence of this in the form of an act that obviously demonstrated his separation from the Christianity they so hated and opposed. The latter principle seems to be influenced by the standard orthodox tradition view of the demons, but it is interesting to note that it is the one which attributes greater status to them and is more strictly dualistic.

In addition to these enticements the practitioner could use other factors to improve his chances of securing the demons' co-operation. He might time his ceremony or invocation to coincide with the moment when the demons most favourable to what he wished to do were the dominant forces, or he might perform it at a time of day, week or month which the demons were thought to like, or during which they were most active: the middle of the night or at a full moon, for instance.[854] The detailed astrological classification of the demons, which has been examined at some length above, will obviously have been vital in establishing which demons should be used at which times, but other references in the *Treatise* also reflect such belief. The Sabbath (Kronos/Saturn's day) is thus said to be particularly

---

[852] *Ibid.*, p140 nn21–22.

[853] Gautier, *ibid.*, p136 n9; cf. Runciman *Manichee* p90 and pp29–30 on the Borborites. On the history of identical or very similar accusations see Cohn *Demons* Ch.I. Cf. the treatment suggested by a group of enchanters and sorcerers "who accomplish their ends by the services of demons" for Konstantine's elephantiasis; this is said to have involved his bathing in a tub filled with the warm blood of freshly killed suckling infants; AkropK *Konst* p15.

[854] See here Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp547-568.

good for questioning spirits in a glass vessel of water, Wednesday (Hermes/Mercury's day) is good for subjugating the spirits and bringing them to the circle, and each day is best for different tasks in the sorcerers' repertoire, many of which will have involved the demons.[855] Similarly each sign of the zodiac is associated with particular activities; Cancer, for example, is said to be helpful in curing or causing possession, Virgo for casting spirits in a vessel of water, for asking them about treasure in the hour of Kronos/Saturn, and for leading spirits to talk in the circle, or Pisces for necromancy and hydromancy.[856] Again this work stipulates that conversing with spirits should be carried out on the 14th day of the moon (when it is full) and opposed to the sun in the hour of Mercury/Hermes, and this timing reappears in the requirements for the main art of the circle;[857] likewise the "pibaktromancy" must take place on the 5th, 7th, 13th, 17th, 21st, 25th, or 29th days of the moon.[858]

In material related to the *Treatise* several passages reflect belief in the need to perform rituals at specific times; demonic love charms are thus to be worked when Aphrodite/Venus is in Pisces and the moon is in opposition or is in sextile aspect from Capricorn or in trine aspect in Cancer,[859] in the seventh hour of the seventh day,[860] or at sunrise on the sixth day when the moon is waxing.[861] The hour of the Sun and Leo are said to be good for hygromancy[862] as is sunrise in the first hour of the first day for a lecanomancy,[863] while a divination through a skull should be done on Thursday or Friday,[864] and the questioning

---

855 *Treatise* pp397.20–399.12; cf Delatte *Gennadianus* pp290–295.

856 *Treatise* pp401.9–403.15; cf. Del*Anec* pp616–617 from N ff232v–233.

857 *Treatise* p411.19–21; cf. *ibid.*, pp413.8–11; 417.6; 425.3–5, 22–25.

858 *Ibid.*, pp430–431; cf. here Hopfner *Lekano.*, p220 and compare also the plant of Kronos which must be picked at a certain time on his day when it is to be used against possession, *ibid.*, p444.

859 Del*Anec* p456 from P f144.

860 *Ibid.*, p459 from P f146v.

861 *Ibid.*, p461 from P f147; cf. p501 from P f273.

862 *Ibid.*, pp495–496 from P f271.

863 *Ibid.*, p617 from N f233.

864 *Ibid.*, p589.32 and 590.9 from B2 ff348v–349.

of Mortze after the third hour of the night.[865] The Kale of the Mountains is said to appear on August 1st,[866] and in the "hours of days and nights" in the *Biblos Sophias* demons are said to be abroad in graveyards in the fourth hour of the night.[867]

It should perhaps be pointed out here that the kind of astrology involved in these techniques, which selected the right moment at which to operate, was catarchic rather than deterministic astrology.[868] It is, however, often left unclear in these sources, (which rarely provide theoretical justifications for required actions), whether the times for rituals were chosen simply because the demons were thought to favour them, because they were believed to be dominant then, or because the forces the practitioner was using to control them were thought to be in the ascendancy.

As with the time, so the place the practitioner selected for his rituals could be an important element if it was believed to be favoured by a demon or demons;[869] a crossroads, for instance, a house or a tree in which a spirit was believed to live, or a

---

[865] *Ibid.*, p578 from B2 f346.

[866] *Ibid.*, p600 from B2 f357.

[867] See above n714. Compare generally here **Gregoras***DeIns* c539 quoting *OrChal* no224; and **Kok***Acta* p344 where a demonic amulet is left out all night beneath the stars; compare to this Rouse *Folklore* p165 who notes that in Kos many folk medicines were left out all night when there was a full moon and the stars were visible. In **Anon***LibRhod* ll.2943-2945 p232 the old sorceress converses with the demons at midnight, while in †**Psellos***Hel* cc880-881 divination by demons is said to be best after midday since the material demons are useless in the rays of the sun. This work also says that Assyrian sacrifices and the powers invoked at them depended on ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας προστάτης and ὁ χρονάρχης as well as others. On the "dangerous hour" of midday, however, see Caillois *Démons*, passim, and for references in the standard tradition above pp20 and 104 n347; on demons and night there see p27. In general on the background of timing rituals involving demons see Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp313-316; for the timing in Jewish magic see J. Dan, "Magic in Mediaeval Hebrew literature", *EJ* (1971), 11 c711; and for the correct timing in exorcism see Delatte*Ex* f98 p89, "It is necessary to know that the exorcist must exorcise on the day which has the seals of the holy angels by which the demon is sealed". For popular association and confusion of sorcery and magic with astrology see e.g. **Anon***KallChrys* l.1067; **Anon***LibRhod* p222 ll.2786-2794; and **Anon***Alex* ll.146 and 162; also Delatte*Ex* f15v p35 where an ἀστρομαγικὸν demon is mentioned.

[868] Pingree *Ghâya* pp7 and 10.

[869] See Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp569-571.

desolate place. The *Magic Treatise* thus lists the places where acts of sorcery are said to work best,[870]

> Let the place be on the top of a mountain or hill, or in a grove, or on a plain or in a cave, or by the sea, or in a meadow, or where someone was murdered in the past, or else in some pure and unfrequented place by a river or the meeting of three ways, far from men where you cannot hear the cock crow, so that no one, discovering you, may hinder you.

Elsewhere in the same source in a second set of instructions, a clean lonely house or a place that is not overlooked or frequented is suggested.[871]

It is as well to remember that other considerations of a quite practical nature were probably also involved in deciding these factors of time and location; a man will have been less likely to be observed going about his nefarious tasks by prying eyes in the community at night or in a deserted place, and the light of the full moon will have made it easier for him to see what he was doing. Which, however, had the more influence on the tradition, the believed preference of the demons or the practicalities of working with them, it is impossible to say.

6.3 Coercion

Although such methods of inducement, entreaty, or submission on the part of the practitioner do appear by themselves in these sources, they are more consistently accompanied

---

[870] See above pp231–233 for the connection of demons to particular places. The passage quoted is from *Treatise* pp416.25–417.5.

[871] *Ibid.*, p425.21–22; cf. *ibid.*, p432.21; also Del*Anec* p468.12, 578.2–3, 580.2–3, 590.7–8, and 617.16 which generally use either a purified house or a meeting of three ways; cf. Hopfner *Lekano.*, p220. Legrand*Ex* p.xix from *Parisinus Gr. 2316* f435b lists among the places from which "medicines" and spells are being cast out some in which the original ritual for setting them up has taken place, e.g., a meeting of three roads, mountains, caves, graves, and deserted places. **Eph***DeutPar* p196 mentions divination apparently taking place at a number of different locations such as springs, trees and crossroads, while **Anon***LibRhod* p222 l.2791 speaks of going to crossroads alone to seek demons. Further on crossroads see above n715. On sorcery taking place at tombs see Koukoules *Katadesi.*, pp307–308. On the placing of rituals in Assyrian rites involving demons see †**Psellos***Hel* c881; and in general here cf. Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp311–313.

or replaced altogether by some form of coercion, where it is the practitioner who commands and the demons who submit. One cannot pinpoint any precise reason why this one type of method should have predominated, but some contributory factors may be distinguished.[872]

It may simply be the case that the tradition for this sort of commanding relationship with the demons was stronger, but it is perhaps significant also that it was more in tune with those alternative traditions which conceived of the demons employed in sorcery as material and often rather stupid beings.[873] Then again, it was a much more attractive prospect for the practitioner to believe that the demons could be made to do what he wanted and that his success was guaranteed providing he perfected his ritual words and actions, than to believe that he had to pray and sacrifice to them merely in the hope of striking a reasonable and productive bargain. Economics, too, may have played a part, for it must have been cheaper to compel the demons with a minimum of equipment and materials than to have to satisfy them with large and expensive sacrifices on every occasion;[874] moreover, in a small community it would have been virtually impossible for someone to do this with any regularity and still escape detection. Finally the relationship of coercion and domination, rather than that of inducement and submission, must have provided a more satisfying alternative to the beliefs of the orthodox Christian faith. Orthodoxy always saw man in a subservient role and provided him with no certain or immediate means of controlling his circumstances, since these were held to lie entirely in the hands of a vastly superior and incomprehensible God over whom he could have no power at all; on this alternative approach however, a man was believed to be able to dominate, terrorise, and so control beings who were thought, in origin and ability, to be infinitely more powerful than himself, by the simple if secret knowledge of the correct language and procedures. This was something that must

[872] Cf. here Cohn *Demons* p232 on the change from the idea of coercion to that of pact and submission in the West.

[873] See above pp206–210.

[874] Hence, perhaps, the visionary rather than real feasts mentioned above.

have had attractions, particularly at times, like the Palaeologan period, of severe social, economic, and political disruption.

The coercion exercised by the practitioner, at its most basic level, was thought of in very physical terms, as is the case with the swords and spits held by sorcerers and exorcists that have been mentioned above. It is true that there was a strong apotropaic element in these implements, but this was not always the governing aspect; in the story of the Armenian exorcist in the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων*, for instance, a sword is said to be used to threaten the demon possessing a woman.[875] Other examples of sharp objects being used to control the demons may be found in the *Kyranides*, although these are more usually for protection, like the branch of a thorn bush hung in the house,[876] garfish (*ῥαφὶς ἰχθύς*) and rhinoceros horn in an amulet,[877] the parrot's beak,[878] or the teeth of the rainbow wrasse,[879] all of which are said to keep demons and spirits away.[880]

Somewhat similar in function were ideas of confining the demons in vessels, or of fixing them in place by some other means. Such ideas appear most clearly in the *Magic Treatise* in a piece which, although given the title of *Γαστερομαντεία*

---

[875] *PD* p163 l.444; cf. here Koukoules *Vios* p242. On the nationality of this exorcist and the language used cf. **Anon***LibRhod* pp222 l.2784 and 232 ll.2941–2945. An interesting parallel to this story may also be quoted from S.J. Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words", *Man* 3 (1968), p179 where he discusses the language used in the exorcism of demons which possess and cause mental disorders in a village in northeast Thailand. Here the interrogation of the patient is in the local language, but the spells are secretly muttered by the exorcist; "the exorcism ritual uses shock therapy by which the patient is made to confront, formulate and give objective form to his illness in terms of a demonic agent which is culturally defined. Here the exorcist as protagonist must appear more terrible and powerful than the demon inside the patient, and the secretly muttered spells not only constitute the language the demons understand but, more importantly, contribute to the image of the exorcist's own power".

[876] *Kyran* I.17, 15–18; see also I.7 p49 on eryngo; cf. Campbell *Honour* p334.

[877] *Kyran* I.17; cf. II.34, 5–6 and IV.55, 4 p283.

[878] *Ibid.*, III.52, 6–7 p240.

[879] *Ibid.*, IV.26, 2–5 p263. On this and its ancient reputation for having a poisonous bite see d'A.W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (London: 1947), pp91–92.

[880] For ancient semitic belief in the efficacy of sharp objects hung in doorways against demons see Langton *Essentials* p23.

by Delatte, seems rather to be a form of exorcism.[881] In this rite the practitioner whispers his spells and conjurations into the ear of a lunatic, with the result that the possessing demon is forced to emerge and enter a prepared pot (γαστέρα) where it can be seen to be embodied by a virgin child if the ritual has succeeded; it is then confined and sealed up there by means of a phylactery and a pentalpha on the paper covering. The idea of confinement also figures, at least temporarily, in many of the lecanomancies and katoptromancies in these sources since the demons, once summoned, may not depart from the vessel or mirror until allowed by the sorcerer.[882] The practice of fixing a demon with a knife plays an obvious part in the Στοιχείωσις τοῦ Μορτσή which appears in a text related to the *Treatise*. In this rite the sorcerer draws a circle on the floor of a house with his knife, passing three times around a table of food being offered to the spirit while the conjuration is said. The knife is then stuck into the table with the words, "ἐδῶ σε σπήγω, Μορτσὴ καὶ στοιχεῖον ...". When the ritual is finished, the practitioner must draw out the knife and the *stoicheion* is said to flee at once, having been unable to do so before.[883] A similar belief is implied in a rather mixed divination which must be done under a sapling, although here the sticking of the sorcerer's knife into the wood seems to be linked with the confinement of the spirit in a *hydria*.[884] Again in an onychomancy the sorcerer's knife is stuck into the magic circle, only being removed at the end of the process.[885]

These practices, and certainly the idea of confining spirits in vessels, would seem to reflect stories of Solomon's treatment of some of the demons in the *Testament*, where, for instance, Kynopegos is confined in a glass vessel full of sea-water, enclosed with marble, asphalt, and pitch.[886] To this is to be

---

[881] *Treatise* p429.1–430.4.

[882] See e.g. the conjuration of Anerada, Del*Anec* pp460–461 from P ff146v–147 where a mirror is sealed inside a vessel for the ritual.

[883] *Ibid.*, p578.20–21 from B2 f346.

[884] *Ibid.*, p468 from P f199.

[885] *Ibid.*, p580.3–4 from B2 f346; cf. above p195.

[886] *TestSol* p49*; see McCown's Introduction p79 for parallels from the Arabian Nights; and also Winkler *Salomo* pp42–43.

compared Ephippas sealed in his leather bag,[887] and Obyzouth hung by the hair at the entrance to the temple;[888] others are simply chained. The fact that, according to one tradition at least, all the demons controlled by Solomon were thought to have been imprisoned in vessels in the temple, is revealed by the prophecy of Enepsigos that, after the temple had been desecrated by the worship of other gods, the vessels in which the king had shut them up would be broken and the demons would be scattered throughout the world, leading all into error until the coming of Christ.[889]

Some sort of coercion was also involved in the idea of various smokes not being used to attract or please the demons in this instance, but forcing them instead to act against their will because of the materials they contained. This concept probably derived its main impetus in Christian times from the story of Tobit in the Septuagint, where the demon Asmodaeus is driven from Sarah, whose seven husbands he has killed, by the burnt heart and liver of a fish.[890] The story is also referred to in the *Testament of Solomon*, for there Asmodaeus admits to fearing the liver and gall of the γλάνις (the fish Silurus or the sheat) when it is smoked on coals;[891] this fish is mentioned again in the *Kyranides* where its burnt bones are said to keep demons away.[892] Reference to the use of burnt peony root in this source should also be compared,[893] and likewise burnt goose dung,[894]

---

887 *Ibid.*, pp67* –70*; cf. Winkler *Salomo* pp43–44.

888 *Ibid.*, pp44* –45*.

889 *Ibid.*, p47*. Cf. Pradel *Gebete* p273 where an exorcism from a 16th century manuscript reminds the demons, "Σολομὼν γὰρ λαβὼν χάριν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐνέκλεισεν ὑμᾶς εἰς ὑδρίας χαλκᾶς ..."; cf. also Reitzenstein *Poim.*, p295; Preisendanz *Salo.*, cc670–671; and Butler *Magic* p66.

890 Tobit 6:6–7 and 8:2–3.

891 *TestSol* pp23* –24*; on the fish, which is related to the cat-fish and grows to huge size, see Thompson *Greek Fishes* pp43–48.

892 *Kyran* IV.3, 2–3 p252.

893 *Ibid.*, I.3, 21; cf. here M.W. Thompson, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs aux plantes* (Paris: 1955), p83 l.13 ed. from *Parisinus Gr. 36*; and Pradel *Gebete* p282 ll.20–21.

894 *Kyran* III.51, 20–22 pp238–239.

the burnt beak of the garfish,[895] and the use of mullein lamp wicks by the practitioners of necromancy.[896]

Probably related to such physical coercion again was the use of figurines in techniques of demonic sorcery, a practice mentioned by a number of the sources here and one which was, of course, well known in Antiquity. Theodore Balsamon, for instance, tells a story about the wife of a grandson of Alexios I Komnenos, Zoe, maintaining that various "heathens" who were called in by her relatives when she was on her death bed, claimed that her illness was due to magic philtres (*μαγικῶν μαγγανευῶν*) and then "satanically" engineered the discovery of wax images hidden in corners to prove their theory.[897] The *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* apparently refers to this type of practice when it

---

[895] *Ibid.*, IV.55, 4 p283.

[896] *Ibid.*, I.13 p73; cf. **Anon***Alex* ll.250–254, and also the smokes mentioned in Delatte*Ex* ff99–100v and 102. In rather different circumstances the idea that the smoke from a burnt fragment of the robe of the Patriarch Athanasios of Constantinople could cure illness and possession if inhaled while chanting his name, "*οἷά τινος σωτηρίου ἐπάσματος*", should be compared, **Theok***Rel* 32 p84 ll.1–8; cf. *ibid.*, 63 p112 and Talbot's n32 p19 as well as the further comment on p132. One should perhaps also bear in mind here the claim of John Chrysostom in his *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν μεγαλομάρτυρα Δροσιδα*, Migne*PG* 50 c689a-b that the smoke from the martyr's burning body choked the demons flying in the air, put the Devil to flight and purified the nature of the air. For the Devil fleeing incense see also **Anon***Tetrapod* p75 l.333; and in general on the background to the use of smoke in exorcism and other magic rites see Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp193–195.

[897] **TBals***Kan* commenting on Basil *Κανών* 83, Migne*PG* 138 cc801–804. The story provides interesting evidence of the employment of magic even by people at the very top of Byzantine society. Balsamon's own attitude is also revealing; on the one hand he dismisses the "heathens" as charlatans who have rigged the whole affair, but on the other he warns of the serious dangers to soul and body accompanying involvement with magical practices. On Zoe see P. Chalandon, *Les Comnène* II (1) (Paris: 1912), p13 n2; and on the whole story see also Oeconomos *Vie* p69 who does not, however, appear to understand fully the role of the figurines here. There is an obvious parallel from Roman times in the strange circumstances said to have surrounded the illness of Germanicus in AD 19 as reported by Tacitus, *Annals* II.69. For other similar cases and the theory of secreted "medicines" (which could include figurines) being able to influence those in whose vicinity they were placed and against whom they were directed see especially: Sophronios of Jerusalem, *Miracula SS Cyri et Ioannis* 55, Migne*PG* 87(3) c3625; Legrand*Ex* pp.xviii-xx from *Parisinus Gr. 2316* ff435a 436b; and the *ἀποτελέσματα*, ed. A. Martini and D. Bassi, *CCAG* III pp41–46 from *Mediolanensis E37sup.*, of the 16th century, f373v.

maintains that the more stupid demons are easily handled by sorcerers through saliva, finger and toe nails, and hair, and that these, having been bound by lead, wax and thin thread are made to work terrible evils through nefarious adjurations (ἀθεμίτων ἀφορκισμῶν).[898] The *Magic Treatise* gives instructions for making both wax and clay images which involve conjurations by divine names and deeds but make no mention of the use of body wastes,[899] and it is these two materials that are singled out by the alternative redaction of the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* as being those utilised by demonic magic for making its models.[900]

The *Magic Treatise* contains no examples of the use of these figurines, but in material related to it (which is obviously dependent on the tradition of the Greek magic papyri at this point)[901] two love spells are given which involve them. The first of these, "for sending a demon to a woman whom you love which will tempt her all the time until you may do what you will with her", requires a wax image to be made in her likeness with the names of the demonic ruler *Τοδεδιδή* "who has control over sexual matters" and his companions inscribed on its heart, head, hands and feet.[902] A white bird is then killed at a crossroads on the seventh day at the seventh hour, its blood collected in a bowl and the image put into this; various other rituals follow culminating in the naked sorcerer sticking his knife into the figurine's heart while uttering a conjuration of the demons he has named on it. He is supposed to find the woman waiting

---

[898] *PD* p173 ll.586–589. See also here the story of the nun who was possessed through sorcery and particularly the description of the figurines employed there, *Life of St. Irene of Chrysobalanto*, V.41–50, *ActaSS* July VI, pp617–620; cf. Abrahamse *Magic* pp13–14. Cf. Rouse *Folklore* p152 for wax and lead "melters" mentioned in a sixteenth-century *nomokanon*.

[899] *Treatise* pp410.1–411.4.

[900] *PDAltRed* p129; cf. †**Psellos***Hel* c880 which states that magic uses statuettes to protect health and also devices and other pieces of craft to cause illness; also Gautier, *PD* p172 n64; and Lewy *Oracles* pp291–292.

[901] See e.g. PGM IV.296–466, (translated in H.D. Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago and London: 1986), pp44–47); cf. G. Luck, *Arcana Mundi* (Baltimore, Md., and London: 1985), pp92–93. It is to be hoped that further research will shed light on the precise relationship between these texts and the papyri and thus increase our understanding of the origins and development of Byzantine, and indeed later Mediaeval Western magic.

[902] Del*Anec* pp459–460 from P f146v.

at his door and can apparently use the image, which he must bury, as many times as he wants. The second,[903] requires the wax figure to be made before sunrise on the sixth day when the moon is waxing. On this are inscribed with a needle the names of the girl in question (on the head), her mother (the breast), the practitioner (the heart), and his mother (the stomach). The names of the demons Loutzipher, Beelzeboul and Astaroth,[904] are then written on a piece of paper which, together with a piece of cotton, is inserted into a slit cut in the spine. A needle is stuck into the heart likening this to the love that must pierce the woman's heart, and the figurine is kept in a cloth until the practitioner wants her to come to him. At that time he "sweats" the image over coals for three consecutive nights while repeatedly conjuring the demons he has named in it to help him. He finally divides it into six pieces and burns these on separate piles of charcoal while again repeating the conjurations nine times over each.[905]

The "sticking" or binding of the image that appears in these practices and parallel cases has an obviously sympathetic motivation, illustrating the sorcerer's intention for his victim

---

[903] *Ibid.*, p461.3–29 from P f147v; a second version of the same conjuration appears on p501.1–28 also from P f273, cf. M2 f235v.

[904] In the first version, which appears to be more corrupt, these names are given as *Σπί*, *Λουτζηφέρ*, *Μπαλκαμπελζεβὴ* and *Ἀσταρώθ*.

[905] For other examples of the use of figurines in sorcery referred to in Byzantine literature see e.g., Sophronios, *Miracula SS Cyri et Ioannis* 35, Migne*PG* 87(3) cc3541–3548, cf. Magoulias *Lives* pp236–238; Nicetas Choniates, *Χρονικὴ Διήγησις* p146.46; and particularly the *ἀποτελέσματα*, *CCAG* III pp41–46 mentioned above. See further here Koukoules *Katades.*, *Α΄.α΄* pp310–319, and also Ducellier *Drame* p241 and Bruel *Superstition* pp130–131. Compare generally in this period the placing of wax images of the emperors beneath the footstool of the Patriarch Athanasios I by his enemies, **Kaloth***Ath* 33 p498, and **Theok***Ath* 26 pp69–70 where a *στήλη* of the two emperors is used – the purpose would seem, however, to be insult rather than magic. Cf. the use of the bronze bird, Del*Anec* p478 from P f278v and the brick in G, ff33–33v, Delatte *Gennadianus* pp309–310.

Among Classical examples see, for instance, Ovid *Heroides* VI.83–94, (translated into Greek by Maximos Planoudes in the 13th century); *idem*, *Amores* III.7.29; Horace *Satires* I.8.30–33 and 43–44; Vergil *Eclogues* VIII.80; Heliodorus *Aethiopica* VI.14–15; cf. Theokritos *Second Idyll* and Apuleius *Apologia* 61. For the use of figurines and related *κατασσαλεύσεις* in later Greek practices see Koukoules *Katades.*, *Α΄.β΄* and *γ΄* pp319–346; also Rouse *Folklore* pp16–18 and M.B. Asveste, "*Μαγικαὶ καὶ δεισιδαίμονες συνήθειαι*", *Λαογρ.* 20 (1962), p205, for the similar use of dough.

and in some way bringing it about. There would, however, also seem to be some connection in the background to late Antique theories concerning the construction of cult statues and to the "consecration" of religious or magical images in order to imbue them with power and even vivify them. Although this is not the place for a detailed discussion of such a theory, it is interesting that some of the rituals connected with the figurines described in these sources may thus be seen as reflecting ancient practices designed to bring various influences and powers, generally celestial but possibly demonic, into association with such images and to "fix" them there so that their assistance was ensured. If this is so the piercing or binding in these sources may thus, in origin at least, have almost as much to do with "fixing" the demonic (or angelic) powers that have already been attracted and drawn into the figurines by other rituals as with the sympathetic process of harm. In the examples presented here, the actual implantation and sealing of demonic names into the figurine before its heart is pierced may reflect this, as may the insertion of the needle while the demons are being conjured.[906]

The main source of the practitioner's power over the demons was not thought, however, to lie in such physical methods but rather in his knowledge of their names and of the names and positions of the powers that controlled and terrified them. It was commonly believed that, by invoking the assistance of these superior beings and sometimes simply by mentioning their names, the demons might be compelled through fear and out of

[906] On the use of statuettes, principally of deities, in the background tradition of Greek and late Antiquity see especially Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp510–538; cf. Pingree *Ghāya* pp4 and 13–14. It is perhaps interesting to note here, that Psellos *Epistolae* 187, deals with this subject, drawing on Proclus' commentary on the *Chaldaean Oracles*. The tradition had probably reached its highest level of theoretical religious sophistication and was employed to the loftiest ends in the ideas, associated with the so-called "Chaldean" and Neoplatonic theurgists, of "eisklesis" or "eiskrisis", but significantly traces of such ideas may also be found in the far more mundane rituals of the Greek magical papyri (see e.g. *PGM* XII 316f "the rite by which all modeled images and engravings and carved stones are made alive" (Betz p164); IV 1877f, image of dog barking or hissing; VII 890f, image of goddess turning red) and since there appears to be a definite link between them and the procedures in question in the late Byzantine texts, the possibility that remnants of such ideas survive in the latter is all the more likely.

their respect for the hierarchical authority of these beings to do whatever the practitioner wanted.

The powers thus named might be superior demons in one of the hierarchies discussed above, who, already bent to the practitioner's will, might bring other apparently inferior demons under his control. Ornias thus brings Beelzeboul and Beelzeboul Onoskelis in the *Testament of Solomon*,[907] the *stoicheia* of the "pibaktromancy" in the *Magic Treatise* are conjured by their "seven powerful emperors",[908] and Anerada is forced to appear by the demonic king Philvan.[909]

The related idea of the demons swearing to obey the practitioner by some significant object or objects is common in the various forms of divination in the *Treatise* where it usually follows their feast. In the main rite of the circle they must tell the practitioner who their *αὐθέντης* is and swear upon his crown to be in the sorcerer's service and to do his will; in his turn this leader must swear upon the office (*ὀφφίκιον*) of his monarchy and his royal accoutrements.[910] Similarly in the "pibaktromancy" once more, the *stoicheia* are required to swear by their five named *πρωτόθρονοι* and *ἀρχηγοί*, and their prince by his office and the book of his testament (*τὸ βιβλίον σας τῆς διαθήκης σας*).[911] This "book of the testament" is perhaps elaborated, although hardly elucidated, by a passage in another ritual in the *Treatise* where Lady Sympilia is commanded to send her servant to Sparta ('ς *τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν*) to King Solomon, so that he may give him, "*τὸ βιβλίον ὁποῦ εἶναι μὲ τὸ στόμμα στομωμένον καὶ μὲ τὸ τρίγραμμα βουλλωμένον*", upon which she and her *archontes*

---

907 *TestSol* pp16* and 18*; cf Enepsigos and Abezethibou p26*.

908 *Treatise* p431.2–4; cf. the same ritual p430.20.

909 Del*Anec* p460.21–24 from P ff146v–147. Cf. also the use of the names of pagan gods in the *Kyranides* and e.g., Del*Anec* p468 from P f199. The idea is, of course, implied by the concept of demonic hierarchies once they are thought to possess power of their own. It is an idea that is also present in some sense in the standard tradition where all demons are seen as being more easily defeated once Satan, the Devil, has been conquered by the death and resurrection of Jesus.

910 *Treatise* p422.5–10.

911 *Ibid.*, p430.28–431.4.

will have to swear to tell truthfully whatever is asked of them.[912] Elsewhere the demons again have to bring their book (*τὸ βιβλίον τῶν*) and swear with their hands on it in a hygromancy.[913] It would seem that this book must have borne some relation to the *Testament of Solomon* which had somehow acquired the status of a sacred book, at least for the demons and those who used them, perhaps because it was a witness to how they had been and still might be controlled, but a better understanding of the connection between these texts and the *Claviculae, Grimoires* and other similar later Western works in which almost identical and sometimes much more elaborate passages occur, might be enlightening at this point.[914]

At other times the powers employed were those of the planets or similar astrological hierarchies,[915] but in the vast majority of cases the demons were controlled and cowed by the use of names attributed to God and the angels.[916] Naming of a similar sort occupied a central position in standard orthodox exorcism, but, as was suggested in discussion of the subject in the first part of this study, it was precisely in the area of exorcism that orthodox thought came closest to contradicting its own doctrinal position on the nature and power of the demons and on the relationship of God and man to them; it was here that orthodox people could perhaps most easily slip into unacceptable beliefs and practices, it was here that alternative and

---

[912] *Ibid.*, p433.22–26. This katoptromancy also appears in DelAnec pp593–594 from B2 ff349v–350; there *βιβλίον* is replaced by *χαρτίν*.

[913] *Ibid.*, p497.12–15 from P f271v; cf. B2 ff344v–345 where the same text recurs. In a photomancy in the same manuscript f345v, *ibid.*, p576, they have to bring *τὸ βιβλίον τῆς φιλοσοφίας* of Solomon and swear on his ring; and in a katoptromancy there, f547, *ibid.*, p584, *Μπελτσαμπὴλ* is told *ἂς ἔλθῃ εἰς παπᾶς ὑποστατικὸς νὰ φέρῃ τὸ βιβλίον*. Cf. here Hopfner *Lekano.*, pp228–229 and Perdrizet *Salo.*, cc670–676.

[914] See Butler *Magic* pp83–84, 92–93, 154–156 and 173ff.

[915] See e.g. Del*Anec* p576 where *Γάλουλα* is conjured by, amongst other things, the seven planets, the sun and the moon; also *ibid.*, p508 in a method for finding treasure attributed to Apollonius, see *BibSoph CCAG* VII p176. For prayers to the planets in these sources see Delatte *Plantes* p150 12 and 15; also Pingree *Ghāya* pp12–13. For such celestial magic in general see *ibid.*, pp1–4 and 11–15.

[916] Such angels might, of course, be closely linked on some occasions to the planets and other astrological systems, as has been seen to be the case with those of the days and hours.

standard traditions of belief about demons were most easily confused, were most easily merged.[917] It is thus no surprise to find that very similar techniques were elaborated and used in alternative traditions, not simply to cast out the demons from the possessed or to prevent them harming individuals and communities, but also for employing them to quite different ends. Many practices which were most definitely unorthodox in outlook thus followed similar patterns to those which appeared in orthodox exorcisms and they even named many of the same powers.

Among the most potent names or power words that the practitioner was believed to be able to use to bend the demons to his will were, then, those once applied to God himself, and in particular a group which derived from the Jewish background but which also had a long history in the texts and rituals of magic where they were, however, generally regarded as "angelic". Of these, Sabaoth and Adonai were the most common, but "Tetragrammaton" and variants of Iao and Eloi, which often appear in sequences rather than individually, were also favoured.[918] Others appearing quite frequently were

---

[917] See above especially pp147–148. See further Delatte*Ex* passim, which makes much use of such names but which, as was mentioned, varies between standard and alternative positions in relation to the demons and the use of the names against them; likewise, Pradel *Gebete* pp261–263; and Strittmatter*ExII* pp127–144. Cf. in particular here Ducellier *Diable* pp205–207; and in general Böcher *Dämonen* part II passim; Eitrem *Notes* pp24–25.

[918] Sabaoth appears some 17 times in *TestSol* and *Treatise*; Adonai 13 times and the others at least 10 times. For the use of such names in general see C.D.G. Müller, "Gottesnamen (Gottesepitheta) IV" *RAC* XI (1981) especially cc1251–1254; J. Michl, "Engel III, Gnostisch IV, Engelnamen" *RAC* 5 (1965) cc102–104; in Jewish magic J. Dan, "Magic in Mediaeval Hebrew Literature", *EJ* 11 (1971), cc706 and 710–711; also Bonner *Amulets* pp29–31, 170 and 187. On Adonai which originally came from the Old Testament but which was widely used as an angelic name in gnosticism and magic see L.F. Hartman, "Names of God; Adonai", *EJ* 7 cc679–680; J. Michl "Engel V, Katalog der Engelnamen" *RAC* 5 (1965) cc202–203, nos.7–9; cf. Betz *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, p331; Eitrem *Notes* pp8, 15–16 and 28–29. On Sabaoth see e.g. Michl, "Katalog" cc229–230 nos.189–191. On Tetragrammaton (YHWH, Yahweh) see Hartman, "Names of God; YHWH", *EJ* 7 cc680–681; and R. Ganszyniec, "Iao", *RE* IX.1 (1914), c720. Further on Iao, the Greek transcription of the Hebrew YHWH, see Michl "Katalog" cc216–217 nos.102–103; cf. A.A. Barb, "Three elusive amulets", *JWarb* 27 (1964), p2 n4; Betz *Papyri* p335. On Eloi etc., see Michl, "Katalog" c212 no.73; cf. Betz *Papyri* p334. On these last two see also Ganszyniec *RE* IX.1 cc698–721; J. Keune, "Iao", *RE* Suppl.III

Emmanuel, Alpha and Omega, Pantokrator, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and another set of sequences derived from *'Αγλά*.[919] Such "divine" names sometimes appeared in isolation but more usually they formed groups or long lists in which the majority were composed of generally unidentifiable epithets or titles. One in the main rite of the *Magic Treatise*, consists of no less than one hundred and thirty-one, although a number are repeated;[920] all the equipment and materials prepared and used by the practitioner in this work have similar if shorter lists said over them.[921]

Together with these names, the deeds of God, almost without exception drawn from the Old Testament, were used in much the same way and became virtual epithets. Such titles as "the God who chose Israel",[922] "the God who spoke to Moses",[923] "the God who made the earth",[924] or "the God who released his people from Egypt",[925] appeared quite regularly, and the demons might also be conjured by such things as God's awesome and invisible throne or his holy mysteries.[926]

Closely following these names and epithets in potency were those more normally accepted as belonging to angels and those of one or two select patriarchs and saints. The angels might be invoked as types, such as Cherubim, Seraphim, or

(1918) c1191; and Hartman, "Names of God; 'El, 'Elohim", *EJ* 7 (1971), cc674–675 and 679.

[919] The longest "Agla" sequence is one of fourteen variants occurring in the *Treatise* p425.9–11; on this see McCown *TestSol* p84 n2. On *AΩ* see Eitrem *Notes* pp28–29 and Kittel *Wörterbuch* 1 pp1–2.

[920] *Treatise* pp418.24–419.13; compare especially the lists in the second version of the ritual pp427.27–428.7, 19–25. See below on rather similar "angel" lists.

[921] See *ibid.*, p407.2–3, 11–12, 22–25; 408.10–14, 24–26; 409.7–8, 16–18, 22–23; 410.6–14 (although the first at least says they are angels). In rituals compare also p422.17–18; 428.19–25, for example. They would also seem to be written in the circle itself p418.14–16; cf. 432.15–17 and 426.14–15.

[922] *Treatise* p422.19–20 e.g.; cf. Eitrem *Notes* p15.

[923] *Treatise* p422.21–22; cf. 410.14 and 429.9–11.

[924] *Ibid.*, p410.25–26; cf. *TestSol* pp14* –15*.

[925] *Treatise* p422.24–28.

[926] *Ibid.*, p424.8; 419.33–34. Cf. p422.22, 423.3–4, 424.17.

archangels,[927] but it was more usual for them to appear as individuals. Here a few predominated and in particular the archangels Raphael,[928] Michael,[929] Gabriel,[930] and Ouriel,[931] but as in the case of the divine names groups or lists were more common, frequently containing many which are now, and were probably then, unrecognisable and unidentifiable.[932]

In the world of men, Solomon's was perhaps the name of greatest power because of his long association with techniques of controlling the demons, but those of some other prophets and saints, together with their deeds, were also used to conjure with at times. Solomon is obviously used in the *Testament* where, for example, Ornias is called in his name,[933] and Onoskelis confesses that the "angel" in Solomon controls her,[934] but the use of Solomon's book in the *Treatise* which was mentioned above may also be compared, and the use there of his "*οὐρανία*",[935] as well as the frequent employment of his name in amulets.[936]

---

[927] See e.g., *TestSol* p58*, *decan* 30 (seraphim, cherubim); *Treatise* p419.20–22 (angels, archangels, rulers, thrones, cherubim, seraphim, dominions, and powers); *ibid.*, p424.10–11 (seraphim and cherubim); p429.13–14.

[928] *TestSol* p44*; *Treatise* p411.3 e.g.; cf. J. Russell, "The Evil Eye in Early Byzantine Society", *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) pp542–543. Further on Raphael see J.Michl, "Engel VIII. Rapahel", *RAC* 5 (1962), cc252–254.

[929] *TestSol* p52*; *Treatise* p409.18 e.g.; cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp297–299. See also Michl, "Engel VII. Michael", *RAC* 5 (1962), cc243–251.

[930] *TestSol* p52*; *Treatise* p420.12 e.g. See also Michl, "Engel VI. Gabriel", cc239–243.

[931] *TestSol* p34*; *Treatise* p404.12. See also Michl, "Engel IX. Uriel", cc254–258. Ourouel is also common. *TestSol* p53*; *Treatise* p420.11. Cf. here Bonner *Amulets* pp31–32, 170–171; Hopfner *OZauber.*, p88.

[932] The longest list in these sources of what may be taken as angel names that are used in conjuration appears in the *Treatise* pp420–421.10; cf, e.g., *ibid.*, 424.9–10; 428.27–28; 429.12–13; and 431–432. For such names in the related material where they are equally common see e.g., Del*Anec* p478 from P f278v, or p508 from P f341v. The *Testament* tends to name angels as individuals rather than in lists, as is the case with those said to govern most of the demons it mentions. On background notions concerning these angels see Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp64–82.

[933] *TestSol* p12*.

[934] *Ibid.*, p20*; cf. McCown, *ibid.*, pp48–49.

[935] *Treatise* pp414–415; cf. also Del*Anec* p577.10 from B2 f345v.

[936] For example, Del*Anec* p605.22 (illustrated p604) from B2 f360; *ibid.*, p620 from N f235. On the figure of Solomon in this connection see

There are examples of the names of patriarchs and saints and their deeds in the *Magic Treatise* where the demons are conjured by "the faith of Abraham", for example, "the liturgy of Melchizedek", or "the rank of Aaron",[937] and in related material where such saints as Sissinios[938] and George are mentioned.[939]

Despite the superficial similarities between the traditions on several of these points, however, the differences between them remained profound and a number of features continue to distinguish alternative views from those which would have been acceptable to orthodoxy. The name Jesus Christ and specifically Christian elements thus appear as powers used for dominating demons in only a very small number of passages in these texts. In the *Testament of Solomon*, for example,

---

also above p158 and n495, and especially Preisendanz *Salo.*, passim; Perdrizet *Sphragis* passim; *Idem Negotium* pp6–7 and 32–35; Bonner *Amulets* pp208–221; Goodenough *Symbols* II pp231–232 and III figs. 1046–1055; J. Gottwald, "Deux amulettes", *EO* 12 (1909) pp136–137; Koukoules *Katodes.*, *B′* pp63–64; Müller *Teufel* pp99 and 102; E. Peterson, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ*(Göttingen: 1926), especially pp91–112; Pradel *Gebete* p274; Provatake *Diavolos* pp113–117, 290–294, and 302–304; J. Russell, "The Evil Eye in Early Byzantine Society", *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) pp539–542; Vikan *Art* pp79–80; and Winkler *Salomo* pp175–184 especially.

[937] *Treatise* p423.8–10; cf. Moses, mentioned above; and Dan *TestSol* p55*, *decan* 16.

[938] Sissinios either alone or with one or more of his "brothers" or associates such as Synodoros or Sines, is a feature of the Melitene type of Gylou story, see here e.g., Legrand*Ex* p.xviii from *Parisinus Gr. 2316* f433a; as such he is a prominent example of the "holy rider", one of the most popular motifs on the amulets of Late Antiquity and after. On Sissinios and parallel figures see Winkler *Salomo* pp109–114 and Ch.4 pp122–184; Peterson, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ*, especially pp112–130; M. Gaster, "Two Thousand Years of a Charm against the Child-Stealing Witch", *Folklore* XI (1900), pp153–155 and the texts quoted earlier there; Perdrizet *Negotium* pp13–16 and 27; *idem, Sphragis* p47; Preisendanz *Salo.*, pp680–682; D.B. Oikonomides, "*Ἡ Γελλὼ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ Ῥουμανικὴν λαογραφίαν*", *Λαογ.* 30 (1975–1976) pp246–278; and *idem*, "*Ἐξορκισμοὶ καὶ ἰατροσόφια ἐξ Ἠπειροτικοῦ χειρόγραφου*", *Ἐπ.Λαογρ.Ἀρχ.* 8 (1953–1954) pp19–23; A.A. Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets", *JWarb* 27 (1964) pp14–15; also Vikan *Art* pp79–81; Bonner *Amulets* pp208–221; Müller *Teufel* p99; and Provatake *Diavolos* pp113–119 and 290–294.

[939] George is used by B2 f345v, Del*Anec* p577.6–7. On both Sissinios and George and their connection to Solomon see Goodenough *Symbols* pp231–232, 238 and III figs. 1049 and 1063. Compare at this point also the general references found in the *Treatise* p423.6 to the holy things of the saints; p424.17–22 to the visions and apocalypses of the holy prophets; p429.19 to the tears and laments of the holy saints; and p429.23–25 to their miracles, prayers and gifts.

Beelzeboul says that the "angel" who commands him and renders him impotent is the name of the Pantokrator God, called by the Hebrews *Παρικῆ* which is Emmanuel for the Greeks,[940] and Leontophoron says that he and his legion are subdued by the name of he who will undertake to suffer on behalf of men, whose name is Emmanuel;[941] the "cave spirit" confesses that "the saviour who will come" controls him, especially when his sign is marked on the forehead,[942] while Ephippas says that he is made powerless by "he who will be born of a virgin (since the angels worship him) and who will be crucified by the Jews".[943] There are however, only a handful of specifically Christian references in the whole of the *Magic Treatise*: the "gasteromancy", for instance, refers to the *parousia* of the Holy Spirit, to the tears and laments of the saints, and to the cross of Christ;[944] in a love charm the demons are conjured by the bread of the table, the holy altar, the jar containing the manna, and by the holy things of the saints;[945] and a conjuration for treasure mentions the mysteries of the holy churches.[946] Although some of the material related to this work makes use of the name Christ and Christian elements rather more frequently they are still by no means dominant.[947]

The divergence from standard orthodoxy is also clearly visible in the attitude these sources betray towards the natural power and ability of the demons, something that has already been singled out as one of the most crucial differences between the traditions. In these sources, then, it is always assumed that the demons are free to obey the practitioner or are capable of

---

940 *TestSol* p27⋆: *'Ελωί* is said to make him vanish; cf. the slightly different version in McCown's MS P.

941 *Ibid.*, p41⋆. Reference is also made to Jesus' future role in the healing of the Gerasene demoniac.

942 *Ibid.*, p50⋆; cf. McCown's MS P.

943 *Ibid.*, p69⋆. On the name of Jesus in early non-Christian exorcism see Eitrem *Notes* pp14–16.

944 *Treatise* p429.18–20.

945 *Ibid.*, p423.

946 *Ibid.*, p424.17.

947 Material from MS B2 is probably the most Christianised; cf. Legrand *Ex from Parisinus Gr. 2316*.

doing what he wants as long as sufficient inducement or coercion is provided. There is no suggestion that they can only do so if allowed to by God for the ends of divine providence or economy, the state of affairs required by standard orthodox belief; indeed, many of the purposes for which they are employed would seem to be most inappropriate, if not actually contradictory to normal Christian concepts of God's purposes, unfathomable and mysterious though these may be. Similarly no mention is made of the practitioner having to follow an exemplary or even a regular Christian life in order to justify his implicit claim to have God and the angels on his side, ready to help him whenever he wishes to have dealings with the forces of evil.[948] Thus, even though many of the names the practitioner employs here may be identical or similar to those used in the exorcistic practices of the standard tradition, and even though they may be said to belong to God and the angels, the attitude shown to these powers is very far from that of orthodox Christianity. The names that are spoken, then, cannot really be said to refer to the God and the angels of orthodox belief, for the latter are almost always reduced to virtually the same level as the demons they are said to control by these rituals, and even the former are not immune from this process of devaluation. The names are used here in the vast majority of cases simply as "power words", potent and effectual in themselves, and almost entirely divorced from any supernatural beings to which they may once have referred in the religious and ethical system of Christianity or Judaism. Orthodoxy could thus never have accepted that a man could command or conjure angels by himself, as happens here, nor could it have accepted that the angels could act independently of the divine will, any more than could the demons.[949] The specialisation attributed to these angels, as a result of which they are seen as controlling such things as planets, days, and hours, is also an elaboration which goes beyond the normal tenets of ortho-

[948] On the practitioner's purity which is, however, never described as being specifically Christian in any way, see below pp287-289 and 298-302.

[949] For angels being conjured by men see e.g., *Treatise* p403; *DelAnec* p503.24 from P f274; *ibid.*, p507.14 f341v, and 508.20 f342. Further on the status of the angels see H-G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Munich: 1968).

doxy.[950] Finally, the fact that there is often confusion between divine and angelic names so that a practitioner can appear to be actually commanding or conjuring God, shows beyond question the divergence between the traditions in these practices, despite the similarities of form and content.[951]

The methods used by alternative traditions to coerce the demons did not, of course, always involve verbal formulae. Written or graphic elements also figured prominently in techniques designed to control and secure protection from the forces of evil, and the names which have been examined above might thus fulfill the same vital functions when written or depicted as when spoken. They were used in this way during the preparation for and performance of the rituals but they appeared in this form particularly in the seals and amulets used by the practitioner and given to his clients. Here the names were sometimes written in full, but they were also commonly replaced by symbols and characters representing the individual demonic, angelic and divine forces, while other power charged signs such as pentalphas and hexalphas, crosses and circles, as well as drawings illustrating or reminding of the actions involved and the effects desired might also accompany them.

The use of such graphics in the control of demons, the "drawings of circles, semi-circles and images of all kinds of designs", described by John Stavrakios in his work *On the Miracles of St. Demtrios*,[952] is thus mentioned frequently in the

---

[950] Cf. the various angels said to control particular demons and their effects in the *Testament* and the specialised roles attributed to some angels in Legrand*Ex* pp.xix-xx; see Mango *Byzantium* p154 for Byzantine angelology and opposition in the standard tradition to the individualisation so common here; cf. Meyendorff *Theology* p136.

[951] Clear examples of the confusion of divine and angelic names appear in the *Treatise* pp407.2-3 and 410.6-14. In general on the use of such names in the Greek tradition of magic see Hopfner *OZauber.*, II.IV pp411-506; and on their use in these sources see also Bruel *Superstition* pp108-111. On gnostic angelology which forms an important element in the background here see the summary provided by J.Michl, "Engel III (gnostisch)", *RAC* 5 (1962), cc97-109.

[952] Staur*Dem* p340 ll.33-35; see above pp196-197 and compare the seventh-century version by John of Thessaloniki which speaks of "certain lines and asterisks and semi-circles and certain other signs in Hebrew script and names unknown to the many, written inside and out". Cf. here Koukoules *Vios* pp256-257 and n1.

sources of the alternative traditions. This is so, for instance, in the case of George Tzerentzes who appeared before the Patriarchal Court in November 1338 accused among other things of exhibiting the characters and appellations (χαρακτῆρας καὶ ἐπικλήσεις) of demons,[953] and in that of Kappadokes who was accused there, some years later, of having written a selection of names which he thought would be useful to his purposes, together with certain "characters" on a piece of paper which he left under the stars so that they would be "obedient, submissive and tractable".[954]

Information as to what exactly these characters and symbols of power were like is supplied by the *Magic Treatise* whose texts bear various devices of this kind, illustrating for the practitioner those in particular which had to be inscribed by him on various ritual objects and in his magic circles.[955] In that work there are also signs given which are to be used on the jar in the "gasteromancy"[956] and in a katoptromancy ritual.[957] To these should be compared the signs provided for each of the fifty demons in the list in Recension C of the *Testament of Solomon*,[958] and also those that appear in related material such as the names and signs written on a piece of deer hide

---

[953] **Kal***Acta* p180.

[954] **Kok***Acta* p343, cf. *ibid.*, pp347, 595. Also compare here **Gregoras***DeIns* c538 where demons are said to be charmed by certain signs "which they call chracters", (ἅ τοῖσδε τοῖς σχήμασιν ἃ καὶ χαρακτῆρας καλοῦσιν), said to have been discovered by the Egyptians and Chaldaeans; and *PDAltRed* p130, cf. †**Psellos***Hel* c881, which likewise reports that certain σχήματα were marked on the basin used in demonic lecanomancy. On these *characteres* see especially Bonner *Amulets* pp194–196; also Lewy *Oracles* pp252–254; Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp538–541; and on the use of planetary signs in amulets see Pingree *Ghāya* pp7–8.

[955] *Treatise* pp413–416, MS H ff28–33v; 418, f34v; 425, f31; and 432 f38v; Delatte unfortunately publishes few of the signs referred to in the text. Cf. the signs of the planets at *ibid.*, pp405–406 from H ff24–24v; and the πλάκες τῶν πλανητῶν in *Holkhamicus 290, CCAG* IX.2 pp58–59 and 139–149, which are not the same but of the same type.

[956] *Treatise* p430.2–4 from H f37v.

[957] *Ibid.*, p432.24 from H f38v; cf. the preparation of the mirror in the *BibSoph* Del*Anec* p479.24–25 and 480.4, the signs from which are published by Nau, *PS* I/ii pp1390–1391.

[958] *TestSol* pp78* –82*, from H ff39–41v; these again remain unpublished.

in a love charm,[959] the names and signs inscribed on the wax images mentioned above, the signs and characters drawn on a child's finger and forehead in an onychomancy,[960] names on paper with a mandrake root used for finding treasure,[961] and numerous others, especially the various signs and names in the amulets given by manuscripts B2 and N.[962] The use of the pentalpha on Solomon's ring in the *Testament* proper,[963] and the words and signs written to control several of the decans there should also be considered.[964] There is a similar use of signs and drawings in the amulets of the *Kyranides* which will be discussed below.

As was mentioned above one of the main uses of these graphic devices was in such amulets. Constructed in a vast variety of ways, these ever popular objects were employed for all sorts of purposes many of which, it is important to remember, were entirely unconnected with the demons, except for the fact that they were condemned as demonic by the standard orthodox

---

[959] Del*Anec* p457 from P f144v.

[960] *Ibid.*, p580 from B2 f346v.

[961] *Ibid.*, p467 from P f199.

[962] *Ibid.*, pp603–607 from B2 ff360–360v, (some are published here), and pp620–621 from N ff235–235v.

[963] *TestSol* pp10* and 100*; see McCown, *ibid.*, pp49 and 86–87. See also Perdrizet *Negotium* pp35–38; Preisendanz *Salo.*, cc670–676 and 680–684; Koukoules *Vios* p257 and n2; cf. Provatake *Diavolos* pp299–300. On the hexagram also interpreted as a "seal of Solomon" see Barb, "Three Elusive Amulets", *JWarb* 27 (1964), p13 and n78.

[964] So *decan* 11 pp53* –54* (angelic/divine names written on seven daphne leaves); *decan* 12 p54* (divine names written and worn round the neck); *decan* 18 p56* (divine and patriarchal names written and hung in a porch), cf. no.36 p59*; *decan* 23 p57* MS P (angelic names written on tin foil); *decan* 24 p57* (angelic and divine names written on bronze from a ship), cf. Koukoules *Katades.*, pp305–306; *decan* 28 p57* (angelic names written and fastened round the temples); *decan* 33 p58* (magical words written on a fig or ivy leaf with a picture of a bunch of grapes; on these words, a diminishing sequence from the name *Λυκοῦργος* in McCown's P, *Λεικουργὸς* in the text, see A. Delatte, "Etudes sur la magie grecque I(v), *'Ακέφαλος Θεός*", *BCH* 38 (1914) p232, and Langton *Essentials* pp23–24); *decan* 35 p58* (a drawing of an eye; see Bonner *Amulets* p97). In general on these signs see Bonner's study; he is particularly informative on the cryptic words and sequences of letters or symbols – see Ch.XIV pp186–207. Similar types to those in his amulets appear in the rituals and spells, as e.g., the use of the seven vowels to indicate the planets, or the numerical significance of the letter sequences; on these see further Eitrem *Notes* p26.

tradition, whatever their original intention.[965] Others, however, were explicitly related to the demons and were thought, in these alternative traditions, to form a vital element in their control.

Such amulets were designed in the majority of cases to give protection, controlling the demons in the sense that they were prevented from harming those who wore or carried these devices. In the *Testament of Solomon*, for example, many of the *decans* are thus said to be rendered powerless by amulets,[966] the *Kyranides* contain many instructions for making devices of this type,[967] and in the *Treatise* the elaborate *οὐρανία* of Solomon, an amulet worn by the practitioner during the main rituals, is said to be one of his main sources of power and protection.[968]

Other amulets could, however, go beyond this defensive role and play a part in forcing the evil powers to submit to the practitioner's will. A clear example of this type is Solomon's ring, as it is employed in the *Testament*, and the related idea

---

[965] See e.g., **GNas***Or40* c381a; **Bry***Keph* 11 pp58–59; *ibid.*, 25 pp76–77. On the history, use and type of these see in particular again Bonner *Amulets* although he naturally concentrates on the engraved ones, being those that best survive. He describes an amulet as being, "in the broadest sense of the word ... any object which by its contact or its close proximity to the person who owns it, or any possession of his, exerts power for his own good, either by keeping evil from him and his property or by endowing him with positive advantages", p2. It must be noted, however, that in these sources objects which would fall within his description of amulets can be used for harm. The use of relics, crosses and similar objects by orthodox Christianity should also be compared; although these differed in theory from the amulets condemned by the standard tradition, in practice there can have been little or no distinction, except perhaps in the presence of specifically Christian symbols or words. This point is explored and clearly illustrated in Vikan *Art* pp65–86. On Byzantine use of amulets in general see Koukoules *Vios* pp255–265, and on substitutes for them approved by the church pp263–264.

[966] See those cited above and compare also the name "Raphael" written on paper to protect women in childbirth from the demon Obyzouth, *TestSol* p44*.

[967] For example *Kyran* I.7 ll.20–21 and 97–121; I.17 ll.15–18; I.21 ll.29–42; II.41 ll.29–34; III.1 ll.47–51.

[968] *Treatise* pp414–415, illustrated p415. Cf. the *stemma* there p413 and also an amulet for protection from Onoskelis p444. In Del*Anec* see no.7 of the amulets given on p605 from B2 and no.3 on p606; cf. nos.5, 10, 14, 17 and 18. For amulets used simply for protection see Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp600–601 and 613–615; in general see Bonner *Amulets* Ch.VII pp95–102; and on the use of amulets for protection from demonic disease compare Lewy *Oracles* pp290–291.

of Solomon's seal.[969] Similar are those amulets in the *Kyranides* which are said to cure possession, actually driving off the demons rather than just keeping them at bay,[970] or those which are intended to make men pleasing to them.[971] Also comparable are the sorcerer's ring in the *Magic Treatise*,[972] and demonic amulets used, in material related to this work, in love charms[973] or for curing possession.[974] The *Acta* of the Patriarchal Court contain examples of these amulets being used to help a monk become a bishop[975] and a priest obtain a pardon.[976]

Although the parchment or paper amulet seems, on occasions, to have been an extremely simple or even crude affair, on others it was among the most sophisticated known to these sources. This type of amulet obviously depended to a large extent on the power believed to be concentrated in the writing and designs which appeared on it, the signs and characters described above which represented and in some way made present such powers, divine, angelic or demonic, as were most useful for its purposes.[977] Its power was, however, not believed to lie *solely* in this graphic element, for the preparation of the amulet as a whole and what was done to it before it was used or handed over to a client was also of great importance.

---

[969] It is used to seal most of the demons which appear before the king, see e.g. *Testament* pp15* and 16*. On this see above n963. Compare Delatte*Ex* for the "seals" of the archangels used against demons, ff98–101. On the use of seals to make demons appear against their will in Jewish tradition in general see G. Scholem, "Demons, Demonology in Kabbalah", *EJ* 5 (1971), c1531.

[970] See e.g., *Kyran* I.7 ll.3–7; *ibid.*, I.13 ll.21–26.

[971] *Ibid.*, I.5 ll.27–31.

[972] *Treatise* p416.1–7.

[973] Del*Anec* p456.1–14 from P f144, and pp456.24–457.7 f144v for example.

[974] *Ibid.*, p486 from P f256, p605 no.11 from B2. Cf. the paper with names mentioned in the instructions for seeing Kale, *ibid.*, p600 from B2 f357.

[975] Kok*Acta* p343.

[976] *Ibid.*, p341.

[977] Parchment or paper amulets were extremely common and several examples have already been mentioned; indeed, the phrase ποιῆσαι χαρτίον or χαρτί could apparently denote the construction of an amulet without further qualification, see e.g. *Treatise* pp401–403.

Such preparations are described in detail in the *Magic Treatise* where two kinds of parchment are prescribed, "pure" or "virgin" (*παρθένον*) and "unborn" (*ἀγέννητον*). The first has to be taken from a male animal killed before it has suckled, the second from one that has not even been allowed to touch the ground at birth before being slaughtered. The slaughtering itself must be done with the special "knife of the art", while names, mostly divine, are being spoken and a prayer for the purification and fortunate use of the parchment is said. The animal is skinned and the skin washed, limed, and dried in the sun before being stored ready for use.[978] When the time comes for this use, the practitioner is further instructed in making a special pen to write with; a reed or a quill plucked from certain birds is specified, over which similar divine names are spoken, and this is sharpened with the knife of the art.[979] Details are also given of the inks to be used; these may consist of blood taken from bat, swallow, dove or cow, which is ritually slaughtered or bled while an invocation is said to keep the particular powers of the creature in the blood after its extraction,[980] or of mixed ingredients, as in the case of a red ink made from musk, saffron, cinnabar and extract of rose.[981] There are, indeed, seven different inks described, one for each planet or day.[982] The ac-

---

978 The first is in *Treatise* pp407.18–408.4, the second in *ibid.*, p408.5–20; cf. G ff23–23v, Delatte *Gennadianus* p298, (also p297); and the preparation of parchment in Recension C of the *Testament*, pp77* –78*; also *CCAG* IX.2 *Holkhamicus 290* ff3v–6v. See too N.T. Polites, "*Παλαιογραφική σταχυολογία ἐκ τῶν μαγικῶν βιβλίων*", *BZ* 1 (1892), pp559–562.

979 From a reed, *Treatise* pp406.18–407.7; from a quill, *ibid.*, p407.8–17.

980 Bat's blood, *ibid.*, pp408.21–409.4, cf. 418.11; swallow's blood p409.5–12; dove's blood p409.13–18; cow's blood p409.19–27. See here Koukoules *Vios* pp230–231 and M. Païdouse, "*Τὸ αἷμα στὶς δεισιδαίμονες συνήθειες καὶ τὴν δημώδη ἰατρική*", *Λαογ.* 29 (1974), pp259–262.

981 *Treatise* p413.13–18; cf. the instructions for the *ourania*, pp414–415, where red and black inks must be used; also G f23, Delatte *Gennadianus* pp296–297.

982 *Treatise* p443; cf. Delatte *Plantes* p151 nos.17 and 18; also *CCAG* IX.2 *Holkhamicus 290* ff3v–6v. Further on the use of such inks see Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp509–510; Pingree *Ghāya* pp4 and 10–11; Polites, *BZ* 1 (1892), pp562–566; and M-T. d'Alverney, "Survivance de la magie Antique", in P. Wilpert, ed., *Antike und Orient im Mittelalter, Miscellenea Mediaevalia* 1 (Berlin: 1962), pp163–172.

tual characters and names are now written with materials thus imbued with power but, as is seen from the case of Kappadokes quoted above, the amulet might be subjected to further rituals such as being left beneath the stars all night before it was thought to be ready for use.[983]

Other types of demonic amulet which were used by these alternative traditions laid less stress on graphic elements or omitted them altogether. Instead they depended primarily for their effectiveness on those cosmological theories which linked together the parts of the universe from smallest to greatest, in a subtly inter-related whole. In the late Byzantine period the *Kyranides* were certainly among the most important sources for amulets of this kind, since much of the magical medicine which fills their pages depends upon them. These amulets were believed to work by combining material elements, such as particular parts and organs of animals, birds or fish, plants or herbs, and precious stones or rocks, which were thought to possess inherent affinities both to each other and to various higher powers; by use of the lower but related elements, these powers might thus be invoked or restrained.[984]

Plants particularly associated with the demons include, for example, the peony (*γλυκισίδη*, or *παωνίαν*),[985] eryngo

[983] **Kok***Acta* p344; cf. Del*Anec* p582 where a "bound" man is laid beneath the stars for release. See also above n867. On the general theory here see Pingree *Ghāya* pp13–14 and 15 on drawing down and fixing the spiritual powers of celestial bodies into amulets in the Ghāya and related Neoplatonic magic. For astrological connections in amulet making see also here **Staur***Dem* p341; **Akrop**K*Dem* p183.

[984] For a detailed study of the role of these different materials in traditions behind Byzantine magic see Hopfner *OZauber.*, on animals etc., pp227–254, on plants pp275–325, and stones, minerals etc., pp326–367; for Byzantine times see further Koukoules *Vios* pp259–260 on stones, pp260–261 on plants, pp261–263 on parts of animals. On the amulets of the Kyranides see now M. Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet; Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides* (1986), although I have myself been unable to consult it. On the use of plants and similar materials in Jewish magic see J. Dan, "Magic in Mediaeval Hebrew Literature", *EJ* 11 (1971), c711, and cf. Böcher *Dämonen.*, pp161–168. Note also that **Bry***Log* 2 p192 lists the animals, plants and metals of the seven planets; while **Bry***Keph* 25 pp76–77 refers to the roots of plants being used as amulets.

[985] *Kyran* 1.3 1.7; see also M.W. Thompson, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs aux plantes*, p83 1.13 from the fourteenth century *Parisinus Gr.* 36; and I. Heeg, *CCAG* VIII.2 pp167.1–170.2 from *Vaticanus Gr.* 952, also of the

(ἠρύγγιος),[986] verbascum (νεκύα),[987] thorn (ῥάμνος),[988] and white bryony (ἄμπελος λευκή),[989] as well as the ἑκατοντακέφαλον.[990] Among the birds are the vulture (γύψ)[991] and the hoopoe (ἔποψ);[992] among the animals, the seal (φώκη),[993] the ass (ὄνος),[994] the rhinoceros (ῥινοκέρος),[995] and also the scorpion (σκορπιός).[996] Among the fish there are the garfish (ῥαφίς),[997] or the sheat (γλάνις);[998] and among the stones jasper is linked to their use on several occasions.[999]

The connection and purpose of these various elements in the amulet might be assisted or made more explicit by the graphic depiction of the powers together with words and symbols representing both the forces involved and/or the desired effects. Most of the sections in the first book of the *Kyranides* thus contain this sort of graphic engraved on a gem in their amulets; in one specifically linked to the demons, for example which has the aim of making the wearer pleasing to everyone including them, Aphrodite with bound hair must be engraved on a gold

fourteenth century. Cf. Del*Anec* p598 from B2 ff 355v–356; *ibid.*, pp489–490 from P f265; *ibid.*, p552 from *Parisinus Gr. 2316* f361v; Delatte *Gennadianus* pp315–316 from G f37v, cf. *idem, Plantes* pp146–147; *CCAG* XII pp117–119; and Delatte*Ex* f10 p31 together with the other examples he gives of its use on p103 n1 there. See also here Koukoules *Vios* p260.

986 *Kyran* I.7; Del*Anec* p486 from P f265.

987 *Kyran* I.13; and cf. p265 n896 above.

988 *Ibid.*, I.17.

989 *Ibid.*, I.1; cf Del*Anec* pp481–482.

990 *Treatise* p444.

991 *Kyran* III.9; cf. *ibid.*, I.7 and *CCAG* VIII.3 p127 from P f153 and the 14th century *Parisinus Gr. 2243* f100. On this text see A.A. Barb, "The Vulture Epistle", *JWarb* 13 (1950), pp319–322.

992 *Kyran* I.7 and I.21; cf. Bonner *Amulets* p2, and M. Waegeman, "The Gecko, the Hoopoe and ... Lice", *L'Antiquité Classique* LIII (1984), pp218–225.

993 *Kyran* I.21, II.41, IV.67; cf. *ibid.*, I.7.

994 *Ibid.*, II.31; *Treatise* p444.

995 *Kyran* I.17 and II.34.

996 *Ibid.*, I.24.

997 *Ibid.*, IV.55; Del*Anec* p486 from P f265; cf. d'A.W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* p220.

998 *Kyran* IV.13; *TestSol* p24*; see above p264.

999 *Kyran* I.7 e.g.; Del*Anec* p486 from P f265. Cf. here Koukoules *Vios* p259 and Vikan *Art* p81 n106.

εὔανθος stone.[1000] Elsewhere in material related to the *Treatise*, an amulet for demoniacs and epileptics is described in which an evil spirit, bound hand and foot, has to be drawn on a piece of jasper with the name of Satan beneath it;[1001] in another for fevers a headless spirit, again bound hand and foot, must be engraved on a ζωνίτη stone with seven signs.[1002]

An example of a rather more complex amulet of this type which is said to have the effect, among other things, of forcing every demon to flee from the wearer, is found in the first book of the *Kyranides* under the letter "*H*". To make this the practitioner is instructed to take such things as the whiskers of a seal together with the tip of that animal's heart, a green jasper stone, the heart, liver, and crest of the hoopoe, a small root of eryngo, peony root, and the right eye of a wolf. These, perhaps wisely, he must cover with musk and four kinds of perfume, and then tie up in the skin of an ichneumon, a seal, a fawn, or a vulture which may afterwards be gilded.[1003] Another amulet, more typical of the *Kyranides*, may either be used as a seal which, when put on a possesed man, causes the demon to confess itself and flee, or else may be worn to prevent a number of things including demonic apparitions. This requires the practitioner to engrave on a "nemesite" stone the figure of Nemesis as a maiden, holding a cubit in her left hand, a rod in her right, and with her foot resting on a wheel; beneath the stone must be placed the tip of a duck's wing and a small piece of verbascum.[1004]

[1000] *Kyran* I.5.

[1001] Del*Anec* pp486–487 from P.

[1002] *Ibid.*, pp489–490; cf. all those at *ibid.*, pp481–482 and 485–492, and the means of controlling the 33rd and 35th *decans*, *TestSol* p58*. Compare also the love spell in Del*Anec* p466 from P f159v where Queen Anerada has to be drawn on a loaf of bread; *ibid.*, p460 where the same figure is drawn on the back of a mirror used in a katoptromancy. It is evidently this sort of amulet that Balsamon refers to in his commentary on Canon 61 of the Council "in Trullo"; cf. Oeconomos *Vie* pp224 and n4 – 225 and nn1,2.

[1003] *Kyran* I.7 ll.97–122; it is intended for general good-fortune, protection and attractiveness as well as keeping off the demons; cf. also I.21, II.41 and IV.67.

[1004] *Ibid.*, I.13 ll.16–26. On this amulet and its power against demons see C. Bonner, "The Technique of Exorcism", *HThR* 36 (1943), pp39–49.

5.4 Protection

It has already been seen that some of the amulets used in relation to the demons fulfilled a function that was almost entirely defensive. Quite apart from such amulets, however, other elements which appear in these traditions for controlling the powers of evil were designed with the primary purpose of protecting the practitioner during the course of his rituals.[1005] Most important of these was, perhaps, the magic circle (*κύκλον*, *βίνα*, *κουλούριον*) which the sorcerer had to draw, usually with the "knife of the art", on the ground where his operation was to take place. This circle was thought to isolate and so protect him and his assistant from the demons, providing that it was correctly constructed and that they remained inside it until the forces they had summoned had been dismissed and had departed. Some descriptions of the circle which appear in material close to the *Treatise* are simple and lacking in specifications,[1006] but elsewhere there, and in the *Treatise* itself, detailed instructions are given for elaborate designs. That used in the main ritual is thus said to consist of two concentric circles, large enough to hold two people, drawn inside a square whose corners are aligned with the four points of the compass. It has an entrance facing towards the South which must be wide enough to go in and out of without treading on the letters of a series of magic words, apparently divine names, which are written, together with four pentalphas, around the circumference of the circle. Further names and signs are drawn across the doorway

---

[1005] On the dangers of these rituals without proper protection see the frequent commands that they do not harm or frighten the practitioner in the *Treatise*, e.g. p420.18–21 and 421.25–27. Compare the modern story of a sorcerer who summoned the demons with the aid of a book but was unable to dismiss them with the result that his wife and children went mad, du Boulay *Portrait* p67; cf. Blum & Blum *Hour* p30 (20).

[1006] See *Treatise* p432.20–24, reapeated at Del*Anec* p593.3–6 from B2 f349v which is illustrated on p592; *ibid.*, pp480.10 from P f249; 578.9 10 from B2 f346; 580.3; 595.3 from B2 f350v which is illustrated in the text at this point. For instructions about remaining inside it see *Treatise* pp421.32 422.12; for using the knife, *ibid.*, p406.17 and in several others. Cf. the *κύκλος* mentioned in †**Psellos***Hel* cc880–881a in connection with using the demons.

to provide a seal once the practitioner is safely inside.[1007]

As well as having his circle, the sorcerer might also be protected by special robes. The *Magic Treatise* lays down that these should be made of clean white linen which has not been previously worn and specifies the divine names and signs to be written on the neck and fastening of the tunic, on the stockings, on the undergarments, and on the white cotton cloth which covers the main amulet, the *ourania* of Solomon, worn by the sorcerer on his chest. Further signs and names are prescribed for the soles of his feet, for the parchment headband, and for the palms of the thin white leather gloves which he must wear during the ritual.[1008]

A strong element in the instructions which begins to emerge here is the state of purity that was required of the practitioner before he undertook the art of summoning the demons to the circle. This need is perhaps not associated, in modern ideas at least, with such practices, but it was, however, quite logical when seen both as a means of securing protection from the demons, who were normally believed even in these traditions to be evil and impure, and also as a way of emphasising, and ensuring, the practitioner's superiority to them.[1009]

[1007] *Treatise* pp416.19–418.16; the illustration in the manuscript remains unpublished (H f34v). Other examples of such complex circles are at *ibid.*, pp425.21–426.15, the illustration of this circle is lost in H but survives in G, f26v although slightly damaged, cf. Delatte *Gennadianus* p303; *Treatise* p432.15–17 illustrated in H f38v but again unpublished; Del*Anec* pp493.18–495.11 from P f271 together with an illustration and the text of this from B2 f344, on which see also *ibid.*, p576. Cf. here Hopfner *Lekano.*, pp220–224. Charles Stewart, in an unpublished paper read to a seminar at King's College, London in October 1982, and more fully in his forthcoming doctoral thesis, deals specifically with magic circles in modern Greek ritual and belief and cites several examples of their use for protection from demonic adversaries as well as disease and similar ills. The most recent case is one recounted personally to him in 1982 which apparently occurred in the early 1950's. Significantly this involved a circle being drawn at night at a crossroads with a black-handled knife which protected the protagonist from "the armies of the Devil".

[1008] *Treatise* pp412.23–413.2; *ibid.*, 413.13–25; 416.8–18; 425.5–7; cf. Del*Anec* p508.2 which mentions a white robe and cloak; *ibid.*, p590.9–11, a new shirt and a cat-skin belt; and see too Delatte *Gennadianus* p300.10–12. On the background to such ritual dress see Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp587–592 and Böcher *Dämonen.*, especially pp252–266, but also pp241–252 on closely related ritual nudity.

[1009] See in general Hopfner *OZauber.*, pp572–600; cf. *idem*, *Lekano*

Such a need for purity may perhaps cast some light on the involvement of priests and monks in this sort of activity that is apparent from the documents of the Patriarchal Court, and especially the case of the "pseudo-ascetic" Gabrielopoulos, who figures in the major trial of 1371. This man was named by another defendant, a doctor called Syropoulos, as being the supplier of his magic books, an accusation that was at first treated with great scepticism because Gabrielopoulos was known to spend his time "fasting, following the godly life of poverty, and living in hunger, sleeplessness and prayer".[1010] In fact this Gabrielopoulos would seem to have been ideally suited to the role of practitioner in the art of the circle, for the *Magic Treatise* maintains that it is essential for any man who is about to begin addressing spirits and leading them to the circle to be pure and of a holy way of life and custom; he must be controlled in his diet, chaste in sexuality and such licences, and not be in-

pp219–220; as he points out the sort of practices mentioned below were in many ways similar to preparations made in the classical world for cult and ritual practices; see e.g. Pausanias IX.39, 5–14 on consulting the oracle of Trophonius near Levadhia in Greece. It is also true, however, that they resemble some Christian practices, and in particular preparation for baptism. On purity in relation to Chaldaean demonology see Lewy *Oracles* pp276–278.

[1010] **Kok***Acta* pp543–544. Trapp *PLP* suggests a possible, and fascinating, identification between this Gabrielopoulos (no.3431) and George Kydones Gabrielopoulos (no.3433) a friend, physician, relative (?) and correspondent of Demetrios Kydones; he was a widely travelled man in both East and West who moved in imperial circles and also those of Gemistos Plethon.

Apart from those mentioned in the Acta another story of a priest condemned for magic is told in **ChoumN***Elench* p262 where one Sgouros was found guilty of secretly using sorcerers and "magical errors" but was later reordained by the Patriarch Niphon (1310–1314), the object of Choumnos' criticism here. Compare also the warning given in **AnthAth** p43 against going to sorcerers and magicians who work by the energy of Satan and "worship the Devil and serve him as God even if they worship Christ before men in order to keep them happy, and even if they name the name of Christ and the Theotokos and the cross and those of the saints to deceive those who come to them". On this same point see also **TBals***Kan*, Migne*PG* 137 c721a–b and the passage from Chrysostom quoted there. For the uncertain attitude of some clergy in general to "magic" at this time see Bruel *Superstition* pp14–15; Ducellier *Drame* p235; cf. J. Engemann, "Zur Verbreitung magischer Übelabwehr in der nichtchristlichen und christlichen Spätantike", *JbAChr* 18 (1975), especially pp40–48; Brown *Sorcery* pp26–27; and Magoulias *Lives* pp234 and 239 for the involvement of priests in sorcery at an earlier time.

temperate, but rather a man without shame in anything and free from all evils. The *Treatise* continues,[1011]

> If such a man cannot be found, find one — even if it is difficult, it is necessary — who completely abstains for most of the time from misdeeds and who has been purified beforehand. For, having purified himself and having confessed all such sins as he has committed during his life so that he knows none remain, and having abstinence from evil deeds, such a man is capable of performing the sciences named by us above. And let some shameless person who hears this not denounce such things as too difficult.

Once the practitioner's character had been established he had to perform certain ritual observances in the period immediately prior to the rite which was to take place at the full moon. From the first day of the new moon he was told to avoid all contact with women, and to abstain from meat, wine, or fish; three days before the full he had to begin an even stricter fast which laid down that during the day, from the rising of the sun until the time when the stars appeared, he might eat nothing at all, and after that he was allowed only four ounces of bread and as much water as he needed. Each day he was to wash in pure water and spend his time in silence and solitude, and, when the moment finally came, he had to anoint his body with a special aromatic mixture before dressing in the robes described above.[1012]

1011 *Treatise* pp411.26–412.21; cf. Delatte *Contrib.*, pp216–217. On the use of ascetic practices in dealing with the demons see in general Böcher *Dämonen* pp238–311; cf. *idem*, *Christus* pp107–130 and 152–155.

1012 *Treatise* pp412.21–22, 413.3–12; cf. also pp425.2–5 which gives almost identical if rather more simple instructions, and Del*Anec* pp507–508 from P f341v where the practitioner in the "Action of Apollonius for finding treasure" has to purify himself for fourteen days, being clean and living on a vegetarian diet; also *ibid.*, p480.26–27 from P f249 where the practitioner must be free from all stain; Delatte *Gennadianus* p300.5–10; *BibSoph*, *CCAG* VII p176.5ff. Compare to these rituals those described by Lucian as being practised by a Babylonian necromancer in his *Μένιππος ἢ νεκυομαντεία*, 7–8. Cf. here Hopfner *OZauber.*, on sexual purity pp577–581, on food and drink prohibitions pp582–584, on washing and other methods of purification pp595–600; also Böcher *Dämonen* on fasting and dietary restrictions pp273–288, on vigilance pp296–298, on silence and prayer pp306–311, on sexual abstinence pp288–296 (cf. pp33–40 and 124–128), on ritual washing pp195–201 (cf. pp267–273), and on the use of oil for annointing in such rituals pp216–217; on this annointing cf. Eitrem *Notes* p29.

Elsewhere it was stressed that the craftsman had to remain pure while making the knife of the art, and that the knife itself, like the pens and parchments, had to be kept in a state of purity after their preparation.[1013] Similar purity was also required of water used in hygromancy,[1014] and various houses at which rituals might take place.[1015] In the *Kyranides* the wearer of an amulet against demonic fantasies has to abstain from every unclean thing.[1016] Pingree, in his discussion of the *Ghāyat al-hakīm*, mentions a rather different attitude behind similar rituals; there the motivation is not protection by purification, but the association of the practitioner, "in clothes, food, incenses, sacrifices, and inks with the terrestrial substances which share in the nature of the celestial body" whose spiritual powers he is trying to draw down to earth and whose descent is thus made more likely.[1017] It seems almost certain that the rituals of the *Treatise* must have been based on such a theory at one time, at least in part, although this has now fallen from view in their present form.

Purity of a slightly different kind was also required of the practitioner's assistant in various forms of lecanomancy and katoptromancy which are included in these rituals. It was thus specified that this assistant should be a young child, apparently under the age of puberty, who had, most importantly, to be a virgin. This natural state of purity was seen, on the one hand, as protecting the child itself, who acts as the medium, receiving the visions of the demons and conducting their interrogation under the instruction of the practitioner; on the other hand, and perhaps more importantly from the latter's point of view, it was believed to help to ensure that the information he obtained was accurate and not just some fabrication of the demons who were thought to be incapable of deceiving such a child.[1018] It is

---

[1013] *Treatise* pp406–407.

[1014] Del*Anec* p496 from P f271.

[1015] For example that in the conjuration of Mortze, *ibid.*, p578 from B2 f346, and that in the onychomancy, *ibid.*, p580 from the same manuscript. Cf. here Hopfner *Lekano.*, pp219–220.

[1016] *Kyran* I.13 l.26.

[1017] Pingree *Ghaya* p13.

[1018] On this child assistant (the "sorcerer's apprentice") and its vir-

interesting in this connection to call to mind a list of the evils of the age in one of the documents of the Patriarchal Court which mentions *παιδοφθορία* sandwiched between the invocation of demons and the questioning of spirits; the word may perhaps refer in this context to the use of children in sorcery of the type being discussed here, rather than to simple sexual abuse.[1019]

6.5 Altered Perception and Techniques of Demonic Divination

There was one other way in which these techniques of controlling the demons appear to have operated that has not yet been mentioned, and that was by affecting the physical and mental condition of the practitioner and his perception of the world about him. Certain rituals may thus be seen to have depended upon the inducement in him or his assistant of a physical state which will have rendered them more likely to "see" demons and to "communicate" with them. Manipulation of the physical and mental states of the participants is thus apparent in the fasting and other ascetic requirements laid down for the period before the major rites of the *Treatise*; like the sensory depriva-

ginity see *Treatise* p429.3–4 in a gasteromancy; *ibid.*, p430.9–10 in the "pibaktromancy", (both *παιδὶ παρθένου*); *ibid.*, p432.19–20 in a katoptromancy, (*παιδὶν παρθένου καθαρὸν χρονῶν ὀκτὼ ἐπιστάμενον καὶ γράμματα*), cf. the version in B2 ff349–350, Del*Anec* p593.1; *Treatise* p434.9 in another katoptromancy, (*παιδὶν παρθένου καθαρόν*); Del*Anec* p420.13 from P f249 in a lecanomancy, (*βρέφος ἄρρεν ἢ θῆλυ ὡσεὶ χρόνων ι΄ ἄφθορον*); *ibid.*, p495.11 from P f271v in a hygromancy (*παιδὶν παρθένον*); p500.1 in a krystalomancy, (*παιδίν*); p580.1 from B2 f346 in an onychomancy (*παιδὶν παρθένον*); p584.1–2 and 24 from the same manuscript f347 in a katoptromancy. For conjuration by the power of the child's virginity see the katoptromancy in the *Treatise* p433.6–7, and Del*Anec* p593.17–18; *ibid.*, p497.2–3, and 498.17. It is perhaps to be noted that such a child does not figure in the main rite of the *Treatise*. On the child in these texts see Hopfner *Lekano.*, p219 and on the use of children in the background here see *idem, OZauber.*, pp579–580 and the bibliography given there.

[1019] The passage is at **Kal***Acta* p185. It is perhaps dependant on or related to another passage in **Eph***DeutPar* p196 where, in a list of evils of the devil renounced at baptism *παιδοφθορίαι* are included between *δάσματα δαιμονικὰ* and *ὀρνεοσκοπίαι, ἐπερώτησεις πνευμάτων* and *πεταλογραφίαι* as well as various forms of sacrifice and all things done in sun, moon and stars, in springs, trees, crossroads, basins, cups and "many other absurd works".

tion practised by the desert fathers and other Christian ascetics, these preparations may well have been instrumental in affecting the practitioners in such a way that they would be more liable to visionary experiences than if they were to enter into the rites without them.[1020] Such manipulation is most obvious, however, in the lecanomancies and katoptromancies described in the *Treatise* and the literature related to it. There, a series of devices was apparently used to induce a form of hypnosis or trance in the young assistant which would enable the visions of the demons and the messages imparted by them to be received. Stress was thus laid on this assistant staring, without moving for long periods of time, at the bright surface of the water, oil or mirror being used in the technique, while the sun or some other light source was reflected directly off it. At the same time lengthy strings of magical and usually incomprehensible words or names were spoken softly into the assistant's ear, and sometimes too long series of repetitions were required which, coupled with such other factors as hot sun, lack of food, lack of sleep, inhalation of smoke, and above all, fear, must have assisted in the inducement of such an hypnotic or at least receptive state.[1021]

It may be noted however, that there is very little evidence in these sources for drug induced visions of the demons. While it is true that some incenses prescribed contained opiates or other hallucinatory substances,[1022] the only other possible example of such a use would seem to be in the *Περὶ Δαιμόνων* where the demonic prophet of Elason says that in his initiation he had to eat certain plants and have ointment smeared on his eyes which enabled him to see a crowd of demons, one of which then possessed him in the form of a crow.[1023]

[1020] For such sensory deprivation in the lives of the desert fathers and discussion of its effects see MacDermot *Cult* Ch.I pp22–48 and the passages she quotes pp272–342.

[1021] Cf. here Dodds *Progress* p200 and in general M.J. Field, *Angels and Ministers of Grace* (London: 1971), the chapter entitled "Relevant Mental Mechanisms", pp65–83.

[1022] The incense of Juppiter contains e.g. opium (*ὄπιον*), *Treatise* p405.6, and that of Mercury sweet flag root (*καλάμου ῥίζα ἀρωματικοῦ*), *ibid.*, ll.22–23. Cf. Hopfner *Lekano.*, p224.

[1023] *PD* p161 ll.410–412.

So far this rather lengthy chapter has examined the methods known to these sources for controlling the demons in some detail; by way of conclusion, then, it may be worth listing briefly the different types of techniques of demonic divination that appear in these alternative traditions, since at various points in them most of the elements already described are brought together.

At one end of the scale it was believed that information required might be given by a demon which was actually thought to possess the practitioner. This was the case with ventriloquism or *ἐγγαστριμυθία*, a practice which, as has been mentioned, had an extremely long history in the Classical and Christian traditions,[1024] but which continued into the late Byzantine pe od as is witnessed by the story of Amarantina. This woman was brought before the Patriarchal Court in the mid-fourteenth century accused of being inspired by the Devil to practise magic and to become a ventriloquist, "uttering prophetic nonsense from her belly".[1025] Not far removed from the notion of divination through possession is that of the demons being caused to reveal what the practitioner wanted during sleep, as is the case in the rather confused ritual which appears in material related to the *Treatise* and involves sleeping under a tree and using the

---

[1024] See above pp128–129.

[1025] **Kall***Acta* p303, cf. *ibid.*, pp317–318; the case is also referred to in **Kok***Acta* p542; and in an unpublished homily of Kallistos, *Διδασκαλία, ὅτε ἥ τὰ μαγικὰ πρότερον ἐξησκημένη Ἀμαραντίνα παραινέσει καὶ εἰσηγήσει τοῦ παναγιωτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου τοῦ πατριάρχου τὸ μοναχικὸν ὑπῆλθε σχῆμα* to be dated to October 1350, Gone *Kallistos* Pt.II.4.2 pp213–214, and cf. *ibid.*, II.4.14 pp229–230, *Διδασκαλία κατὰ γοήτων καὶ γοητευουσῶν*. See also here Cupane *Magia* pp246–247; and cf. Koukoules *Vios* p137 n1; Rouse *Folklore* pp153–155; and, rather earlier, Joannou *Démon.*, p21. Somewhat similar is the prophet at Elason, referred to above, who, having induced a demon to possess him at his initiation, then claimed to prophesy but only what and when this demon wanted – he could, for instance, thus never say anything at Easter. Interestingly, the main speaker in the *PD* is made to say that most of what this man said was true, and he likens him to the strings of a lyre being vibrated by the demons, *PD* pp161–163 ll.396–429. On Elason see Gautier, *ibid.*, p158 n48; on the Libyan wanderer said to play a part in the initiation, whom Gautier suggests may be drawn from the Libyan magician in Apuleius, see *ibid.*, p160 n50. For another case which possibly involves divination through a demon possessing a man see *Treatise* p429.

stoicheion believed to be in it.[1026] This was a development, in that it was apparently controlled, of ancient ideas about dream interpretation which appear in such works as Synesios' *περὶ Ἐνυπνίων* and which seem to have enjoyed some popularity in this period.[1027]

Other techniques relied on compelling the demons simply to tell what was required when they were forced to appear. This was apparently what was envisaged in the rite of the magic circle in its present form in the *Treatise*, in the necromancy described by Gregoras,[1028] and in the *stoicheiosis* of Mortze and

---

[1026] Del*Anec* p468.12–27 from P f199; cf. *ibid.*, p507.9–17 from P f341 to find treasure in sleep, which in fact uses angels instead of demons although the technique is very similar; this is also edited by K. Preisendanz, "Zwei griechische Schatzzauber aus Kodex Parisinus 2419", *BNJbb* III (1922) pp273ff. For sending dreams by demons through sorcery see **Anon***Alex* II.247–260.

[1027] For standard orthodox tradition attitudes to the involvement of demons in dreams and to divination through them see above pp88–89 and 126–129; not all dreams were attributed to them by orthodoxy but those which claimed to tell the future usually were. Note that Gemistos Plethon, following ancient traditions, maintained that the demons reveal the future in sleep, acting as intermediaries for greater powers, **Pleth***Nom* III pp198–199. Despite the suspicions of orthodoxy the popularity of dream interpretation in this period can hardly be doubted if the number of "dream-keys" copied then is anything to go by; see S.M. Oberhelman, "Prolegomena to the Byzantine Oneirokritika", *B* 50 (1980), pp487–503; cf. *idem*, "The Interpretation of Dream-Symbols in Byzantine Oneirocritic Literature", *Byzantinoslavica* XLVII (1986), pp8–24; and Thorndike *History* II Ch.L pp290–302. Even the emperor Manuel II is credited with one such work, and **Bry***Keph* 47 p227 echoes this situation perhaps when he bewails the fact that people pay attention to dreams and believe they predict the future; Gregoras' commentary must also be seen as reflecting this interest. Cf. here Koukoules *Vios* pp183–185 and on ideas of dream divination in the Classical period see further Dodds *Progress* pp179-185; Luck *Arcana* pp231–239.

[1028] **Gregoras***DeIns* cc615–619. References to necromancy (which, of course, was not necessarily thought to be restricted to divination since it could also be seen as a way of accomplishing other ends of magic or sorcery by the employment of the spirits of the dead) are not particularly common in these sources and there is even less in the way of actual ritual; however it seems quite likely from comparative material that many of the rites in the *Treatise* originated as necromancies even though this element may now, overtly at least, have been lost in most of them. See however the divination done through a skull, Del*Anec* pp589–590 from B2 ff348v–349; the "grave" made in a katoptromancy in the *Treatise* p432.22, cf. Del*Anec* p593.4 from B2; the ritual involving the sorcerer holding a human bone, *ibid.*, p617 from N ff233–233v (cf. Koukoules *Vios* p176); and compare more generally the use of human blood and the association with murder mentioned above

the appearance of the Kale of the mountains.[1029] The most complex divination rituals were, however, the lecanomancies and katoptromancies in which, usually at the centre of a long rite and after much detailed preparation, it was believed that the demons were seen as in a picture, either on the surface of water or oil in a vessel, or else in a mirror or some other reflective surface; they could then be commanded and could give the practitioner, generally through a medium, the information he wanted.[1030] The history of such practices is very long,[1031] and well attested in numerous forms in the Byzantine period;[1032]

pp255–256. For a connection of lecanomancy and necromancy see *Kyran* I.13 p73 where necromancies taking place in a basin are mentioned; note too that the iconoclast Patriarch John the Grammarian was said to have been involved in both *λεκανομαντεία* and *νεκυομαντεία* as well as *γοητεῖαι* in general, L. Brehier, "Un Patriarch sorcier à Constantinople", *RevOChr* 9 (1904), p264; and on this connection between lecanomancy and necromancy see the detailed examination in Ninck *Wassers* especially pp70–80; cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité*, I.2 pp339–341. On necromancy as known in the inherited tradition see e.g. Chrysostom's *Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ματθαῖον τὸν εὐαγγελιστήν*, 28.2, Migne*PG* 57 c353; 34.4 c405; and 37.7 c427. See also here Jacob *Exorcisme* 9 p247; Koukoules *Vios* pp179–181; Bruel *Superstition* pp127–129 and compare too the modern Greek conception of revenants and vampires. This is an idea that does not appear in these sources although it may well have been present in some form in popular belief; see Lawson *Folklore* Ch.IV pp361–484.

[1029] Del*Anec* pp578 and 600.

[1030] See especially the "pibaktromancy", *Treatise* pp430.5–431.4; the katoptromancy, *ibid.*, pp432.18–434.7, also in B2, Del*Anec* pp592–594 (see Delatte *Catoptro.*, pp162–165); the preparation of the mirror, Del*Anec* pp479.1–480.4 from P f248v (see Delatte *Catoptro.*, pp160–162); the hygromancy, Del*Anec* pp495–498.20 from P f271 also in B2 ff344v–345, *ibid.*, p576; the photomancy from B2 f345v *ibid.*; and the onychomancy, *ibid.*, p580.1–33 from B2 f346 (see Delatte *Catoptro.* pp181–182). There are, of course, many other variants of these in other versions of the *Treatise* and throughout the material related to it. These rituals are also described in detail with brief discussion of their relation to the magical papyri in Hopfner *Lekano*.

[1031] See especially Delatte *Catoptro.*; R. Ganszyniec, "*Λεκανομαντεία*", *RE* XXIV (1925), cc1879–1889; and Ninck *Wassers*, particularly Ch.II which examines the connection of water and mirror to each other and their interpretation as openings to or means of communication with the underworld in Classical thought. Cf. here also Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité* I.1, pp184–188; Dodds *Progress* pp185–192 and Luck *Arcana* pp254–255. Byzantine lecanomancy and katoptromancy cannot be understood except with reference to this background. Note that Solomon is also connected with this art in an amulet, Goodenough *Symbols* II p232.

[1032] In addition to the examples already cited immediately above there is also a short description of lecanomancy in *PDAltRed* pp129–130,

they have survived in Greece to modern times[1033] where the related ritual of the κληδόνες significantly employs a jar of water and a young child.[1034]

It is, finally, perhaps worth remembering that there was also a great deal of divination taking place during this period which, in the minds of those who practised it, was entirely unconnected with the demons, even though some of the underlying theories were common to both demonic and non-demonic techniques, as is the case with astrology or oneiromancy, for instance. On the other hand, it should also be remembered that in the eyes of rigorous adherents to the orthodox tradition, *all* divination, whether or not it deliberately set out to use the

cf. †**Psellos***Hel* c881; it is described there as being widely known, as originating with the Assyrians and as depending upon material demons who operate in water poured into a specially marked basin over which a rite is performed. The divination here, however, is said to be made through the noises the demons make, rather than from pictures on the surface of the water; these it says are made deliberately obscure by the demon to disguise its lying. On the sound of water for mantic practices compare Ninck p94. A rather different idea of lecanomancy is also presented in the Byzantine version of the Alexander legend, drawn of course, from a much earlier model. Here the Egyptian king/sorcerer Nektanabo places wax images of men and boats around a basin of water while demons are invoked; when these arrive the images are knocked into the water destroying the forces of Egypt's enemies which they represent — demonic divination is here mingled with obviously sympathetic magic, **Anon***Alex* ll.56–77 and 126–136; cf. Koukoules *Katades.*, p314, and further on Nektanabo see Thorndike *History* I pp558–563. In the inherited tradition lecanomancy is mentioned by **TBals**Kan, Migne*PG* 137 c720 and by **Eph***DeutPar* p196 who demands renunciation of, among other divinatory arts, all things done in basins and cups. Further on Byzantine traditions see, for example, Koukoules *Vios* pp163–164 on katoptromancy, pp175–179 on lecanomancy; Joannou *Démon.*, p21; and Magoulias *Lives* pp232–233.

[1033] See for example Blum & Blum *Hour* p33 (28) and p311; du Boulay *Portrait* p67; cf. Koukoules *Vios* pp163–164, 175–179.

[1034] On this see Oeconomos *Vie* pp226–228 who cites Balsamon on the practice (**TBals**Kan, Migne*PG* 137 cc740–741, commenting on Canon 65 of the Council "in Trullo") as well as an account from modern Crete; and Koukoules *Vios* pp167–172. The meaning of the term κληδῶν is discussed in †**Psellos***Hel* c880 where it is linked to the invocation of the demons and is said to be best performed at twilight. Cf. Ducellier *Drame* p233; Rouse *Folklore* pp155–156 (Aegina in the late 19th century); Lawson *Folklore* pp304–305; and L. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey and their Folklore: The Christian Women* (London: 1890), pp120–122. On divination by casting lots in water compare also Ninck *Wassers* pp95ff. A performance of the ritual continues to be put on for tourists in Crete.

demons, was regarded as demonic error.[1035]

[1035] There are many examples of non-demonic divination throughout Del*Anec* on which see further Koukoules *Vios* pp156–226 and Bruel *Superstition* Ch.III pp58–85, who clearly show the possible range of such techniques; it is obvious quite how few *relied* on the use of demons, but in quite how many they *could* have been used if it suited the attitude of the client or practitioner to do so, simply by adding a short conjuration or invocation. In the same way they could just as easily be "Christianised" using angels and saints instead of the demonic powers. Cf. here the techniques listed in a sixteenth-century *nomokanon*, Rouse *Folklore* pp152–154.

7. Innocence Beset by Corruption:
The Symbolic Power of the Sorcerer over the Demons

Many of the techniques described in the preceding section also contained elements that operated on a rather different level to any that has been mentioned so far; apart from their obvious and overt roles, they also contained a subsidiary symbolism which was important in establishing and defining the position of the practitioner, and in underpinning his techniques with an additional supply of power. It would be to go beyond the scope of the present study to undertake a detailed examination of the symbolism involved in all the elements that made up the range of techniques employed here, but it may be instructive to look at the preliminary section of the main rituals of the *Magic Treatise* from this standpoint, for it provides an interesting and fairly clear example of a process also visible elsewhere but often only in a form that has become too complicated and obscure to be easily accessible and comprehensible.

In essence, then, the practitioner may be seen to have erected around himself in these rites a series of symbolic barriers. On the one hand these prevented the demons penetrating his defences and destroying him, and on the other they established his position in a liminal zone which enabled him to contact the supernatural forces which he wished to dominate and which he wished to use for securing this domination. Already distanced from members of his community by practices and beliefs which were generally unacceptable to the dominant ideology of his society, and further distanced from them and from the demons by the ascetic and pure way of life that was required of him, the practitioner, as has been mentioned, steadily increased his separation as the time for the ritual approached, abstaining from sexual activity and all but the most basic food. He washed himself regularly and then dressed himself in white and previously unworn clothes which, according to one stipulation, had to be woven by virgins.[1036] He was sealed into these by the imposition of divine symbols and signs, having perfumed his body and

---

[1036] *Treatise* p412.24-25

fumigated his robes with special incense. Thus prepared and accompanied, if at all, only by a virgin child, he drew about himself a magic circle, protected once more by divine names and signs and completely sealed from any outside intrusion, and so readied himself to conduct the final stages of the ritual, summoning, commanding, and conversing with the demonic powers.

Thus safely distanced and distinguished, the practitioner stood in his circle while the demons surrounded him, summoned from the four corners of the *kosmos* by a ritual movement which was apparently anti-clockwise in direction.[1037] It was as though he stood at a pivotal point, a single focus of power at the bottom of an invisible and impenetrable shaft which stretched up to heaven and provided him with an unbroken chain of communication, not dissimilar to that believed to have been established by the stylite saints, with the divine and angelic powers he now proceeded to call to his assistance. But how had this been achieved by what he had done? In what way had his actions provided a satisfactory method of setting up such a situation and such a change in status in the practitioner? The answer to these questions lies, I believe, in the nature of the symbolism that was evoked by the actions he performed.

This symbolism may be seen to have depended on a series of oppositions which follow from two basic pairs, those of "inside/outside" and "intact/broken", and which may be summarised as follows:

[1037] The order in which he is to perform this summoning of the demons is absent in the first version of the main rite of the *Treatise*, but an indication is given in the second, for there the conjurations are given in the order East, North, West, and South, pp426–427. Significantly, perhaps, this will have involved the practitioner in a circular movement, following the propitious anti-clockwise direction around his circle; due to its symbolic connotations this movement may have thus formed yet another element in the establishment of the security and differentiation of the space enclosed from the world and the beings outside. On the importance of such anti-clockwise cyclical movement and its symbolism, particularly in connection with keeping the dead from becoming demonic vampires in modern Greek thought, see J. du Boulay, "The Greek Vampire, a Study of Cyclical Symbolism in Marriage and Death", *Man* 17 (1982), pp219–238. Note especially there the rather similar suggestion of an "axis" being formed between heaven, earth, and hell within the symbolic circle of anti-clockwise movement around the dead body, p234.

Inside — Outside

Intact — Broken

God — Creation	Pure — Impure
Heaven — Earth	Clean — Dirty
Angelic — Demonic	New — Used
Good — Evil	White — Black
Paradise — World	Light — Dark
Life — Death	Fasting — Eating
Innocence — Corruption	Chastity — Sexual Activity
Virginity — Lost Virginity	Unpossessed — Possessed

By his actions the practitioner established himself in a position that was both "inside" and "intact", while separate and outside was all that was broken. The demons whom he was hoping to use were thus creatures of God who, as angels, once dwelt inside the realm of heaven. The entrance of evil, however, in the form of Satan's pride and consequent rebellion destroyed the perfection of the heavenly realm, and he, with his followers, was cast outside it broken in nature, into the material *kosmos* where they remained. Man, another creature of God, was once similarly on the "inside", taken up and safeguarded by his creator in paradise, but again the perfection was broken by the penetration of the Devil's evil and man, listening to it, found himself outside in the world. Good was replaced by evil in his life as a consequence of his changed allegiance, and that life itself was curtailed by death. Furthermore innocence was lost and with the loss sexuality was awakened, the loss of virginity in the sexual act constantly repeating the penetration of the serpent into the garden of Eden and the breaking of man's idyllic life by evil.

The theme of both these key points in mythical history was, then, the same: that of good inside being penetrated and corrupted by evil which rendered what was previously inside and intact now outside and broken. Both the demons and men were seen to exist in this latter state, and the whole depressing cycle was visibly enacted throughout human life in a vast number of lesser ways. The practitioner, however, can be seen to have been attempting symbolically to reverse the course of this process by his rituals in order to reach the position of liminal power

he needed to achieve his purposes. By his actions he thus set up a triple symbolism: rejecting the consequences of the fall of Adam; denying the basic elements which guaranteed the continuity and function of normal human society; and both opposing himself to the demons who tended to delight in or be characterised by the opposite of what he was doing, and at the same time exposing himself to their attention. He thus abstained from sexual activity, the penetration of woman by man wherein evil corrupted innocence and the seed of mortality was sown, but an activity without which human society would be unable to reproduce and continue, and also one in which the demons were thought to take particular pleasure. He abstained from food, the material fuel of the corrupt body for which man was condemned to work after the fall and which penetrated his body through the mouth as did the fruit of the forbidden tree which was eaten by Eve; without food, however, humanity would have been unable to survive and it was, once more, something that was believed to be liked by the demons and used by them in the temptation of man. He abandoned contact with others and lived in silence, returning to the condition of Adam in paradise before the appearance of Eve, but thus also rejecting the shared life and community fundamental to human society and entering the demonic territory of the "wilderness". He then washed and perfumed himself and dressed in white, pure robes, so removing the effluvia of his body, the sweat of his brow to which he was condemned and the waste products of his corruptible nature, as well as the dirt of the land which he had to till if he was to live in the present and to which he had one day to return; at the same time he opposed himself to the darkness and uncleanness of the demons. Finally he was sealed into his robes on his soles and palms, on his undergarments, at the opening of his neck, and on his head, ensuring that no further contamination might penetrate by these channels from the material world with which he was still physically in contact or from the forces of evil by whom he was surrounded.[1038]

[1038] It is undoubtedly significant in this context that the demons along with other supernatural evil beings in modern Greek thought are commonly known as *exotika*, *'xotika*, or *oi ex'ap edo* (although such terms are not used in Byzantine sources), and are generally perceived as existing

Cocooned in the symbols of a new innocence which took him back before the fall, the sorcerer was thus symbolically separated from the functioning of ordinary society, (itself consequent to that fall), and was established in a symbolic position diametrically opposed to that of the demons and in contact with the divine and angelic realm. In this state he and his virgin assistant entered the circle and shut themselves in, returned as nearly as they might be to the condition of the angels in heaven before Satan's downfall, and to that of Adam in Eden before the intrusion of evil. There they prepared to summon and command the demons, guarded and given strength by the divine names around them and by the divine powers above to which they had drawn near, powers which were reflected by the candles flaring in the darkness and by the full moon which shone down, illuminating them as they stood, safe in their heaven which contained no seed of evil, safe in their paradise shut to the insinuation of the serpent, safe in the sealed womb of their regained innocence.

outside the divinely protected *circle* formed by the ordered human community. These ideas are fully documented and explored in Charles Stewart's forthcoming doctoral thesis for the University of Oxford; I am grateful to him for his information in this area and for allowing me to see the drafts of his study which, although dealing with the beliefs of the modern era, certainly seems to corroborate at this point my own understanding of some of the ideas which were at work in Byzantine sorcery.

CONCLUSIONS

THE OVERALL TRADITION

OF

LATE BYZANTINE DEMONOLOGY

The Overall Tradition

The basic aim of this study has been to describe and examine, using literary evidence, beliefs concerning supernatural powers or forces of evil which were current in Byzantine thought during the last two hundred years of the empire, the period of the Palaeologi.

I have attempted to provide here as comprehensive a description as possible of these beliefs although, given not only the fact that they are drawn from the past, but also their very nature, their variations, ambiguities, and paradoxes, their inherent fluidity and changeableness, such a description can never pretend to be complete.[1039] I have, however, used the device of dividing these beliefs into what have been called "standard orthodox" and "alternative" traditions of demonology in order to bring some much needed clarity and order to a subject which all too easily becomes complicated, not to say tangled and confused. Byzantine beliefs about demons can be, and indeed sometimes have been, quite seriously misunderstood and distorted as a result of the complications and confusions inherent in them; there may, for instance, be a false assumption that Byzantine people really did only believe what they "ought" to have believed about demons according to orthodox theological doctrines, and thus there may also be a failure to acknowledge the actual beliefs and concepts of people in general at this time. The division of material into these two sets of traditions has again been helpful in distinguishing markedly different strands of thought which may be loosely placed under the broad heading of Byzantine demonology; such strands in fact represent not only sharply divergent historical traditions and influences, but also fundamentally opposed theological positions as regards the nature of and relationship between God, the world, and the power of Evil.

In this concluding section it is proposed to set out again briefly the main characteristics of these traditions which may, in

---

[1039] On the problem of describing such beliefs see Stewart *Nympho.*, pp219–221, and on their inherent fluidity and the difficulties in categorising them, pp243–250.

recollection, have tended to become submerged or blurred by the detail surrounding them. Having dwelt so long on the differences between the two sets of traditions, however, and having treated them in such a sharply categorised manner, it is now time to attempt to see them as facets of a single interrelated pattern, as elements within the one "overall" tradition of late Byzantine demonology.

As was stated at the outset, the division of these beliefs into standard and alternative traditions has always been, of necessity, merely a tool of interpretation and classification. As such, it was neither perceived nor used by the Byzantines themselves in this or any other period of their history. At times, of course, distinctions were drawn by them between beliefs deemed to be orthodox and others thought to be heretical which concerned the origin, nature, or activity of the Devil and the demons; such distinctions were, however, never stated in a particularly systematic way and they were rarely, if ever, carried through to their logical conclusions. It is obvious that Byzantine demonology was not an orderly or carefully thought out subject, despite my attempts to make it so; in its natural context it was never a clear or well defined area of thought, and confusions, indeed paradoxes, were inherent in it. By looking at this demonology in the framework of the overall tradition, then, it is hoped to present a view of the subject which takes greater account than has hitherto been the case of the real attitudes of people in the late Byzantine period, confused, illogical and paradoxical though these attitudes may at times have been.

It should also be pointed out here that a major area of omission in this study, although one with which it has never pretended to deal, is the examination of the beliefs and practices of late Byzantine demonology against their precise social and intellectual background. They are thus simply presented as they appear and, while they are analysed in terms of their internal patterns and their relationship to preceding and subsequent ideas in the same field, no systematic attempt has been made to set them in their context in the general patterns of belief and ideology of the period or to examine in any detail the information with which they provide us concerning the more widerang-

ing social and intellectual trends of the time. One must begin with basics and it has been my intention that the present study should prepare the ground, as it were, by setting out these ideas more clearly and in more detail than ever before since they have, hitherto, been dealt with only piecemeal and have consequently often not been properly or fully understood. If that object has been achieved, it is my hope that this information may now be employed in further studies and publications which will explore the wider significance of such beliefs and which will thus perhaps elucidate our understanding of the developments and changes which were taking place in the intellectual and ideological world of the Palaeologan period, and perhaps even of the forces at work in other societies faced with similar conditions of turmoil and disintegration.

1. The Origins of the Demons

Taken as a whole, late Byzantine demonology occupied a fairly consistent "monarchian" or "qualified" dualist position when questions concerning the origin of evil and its animate powers and forces were raised explicitly. The demons were thus seen, even in those alternative traditions which went into the matter, as actually being, or else being closely related to, angelic powers in origin. They were created for good ends by a supreme good God, and possessed no naturally inherent trace of evil at all but, through actions determined by their own free will, they fell from heaven and that good, and so became evil. Where details were provided it is clear that there were variations as to the chronology and cause of this fall relative to the creation of the world and the fall of man, but it would seem that such variations remained within a framework of monarchian dualism. By contrast, the idea of "absolute" or "strict" dualism, the concept of good and evil as opposed but equal and eternally co-existent powers, appears to have been almost totally absent from definite statements made about the origin of these forces. Alternative traditions which regarded angels and demons as being essentially equal in power and which believed that both might be commanded by men did apparently view the forces of good and evil from a position of absolute dualism, but such a view of the contemporary situation of these forces does

not allow conclusions to be drawn about the nature of beliefs concerning their origins. The fact that a sharply dualistic view of the contemporary status of angels and demons was held does not necessarily rule out the existence of a more qualified view of their origin at the same time. In any case, it must be emphasised that there can be no idea of the overall tradition providing thoroughly logical or coherent accounts of demonic existence, nature or activity.

2. The Nature of the Demons

Ideas about the nature of the demons were less consistent in the overall tradition than were those concerning their origin. In general it may be said that their nature was seen as being closely related to the angelic nature they possessed before the fall, for in some aspects this was retained unchanged, while in others it was perverted to its exact opposite. In one important area, however, belief as to whether the demons were at all material or corporeal, it is apparent that the tradition was divided or uncertain; substantial differences are thus found at this point between alternative and standard beliefs.

The overall tradition held unanimously that the demons were, like angels, immortal, and almost the same unanimity may be found in its attitude to their natural characteristics which were seen as being a perversion of those possessed by the angels. All that was good in the angels was thus replaced in the demons by all that was evil; light was eclipsed by darkness and, just as angelic virtue represented all the acceptable and desirable aspects of human behaviour and social relations in late Byzantine thought, so the demonic nature was seen to epitomise all that was culturally unacceptable and undesirable. It was thought that the demons were by nature untruthful, untrustworthy, deceitful, devious, hostile, angry, harmful, vicious, dirty, proud, and envious. Although these characteristics may generally have been more explicit in the standard tradition, they were still present in most alternative traditions where, even when not plainly stated, they were implied by the sorcerer's need to protect himself from the demons' activities, for instance, as also by his actions designed to force them to tell the truth when

questioned or to compel them to perform a task when ordered to do so. The question of the materiality of the demons was, however, treated in rather different ways. The standard tradition tended to hold that the demons really were immaterial and incorporeal, although it was not, and never had been, entirely convinced of this; as a result there were strong alternative currents in late Byzantine thought which attributed to the demons varying degrees of materiality. Their entanglement with matter might be seen as originating in their fall or in their desire for and involvement with fleshly and material pleasures but, once a certain materiality was accepted as an element of the demons' nature, it was frequently used as an explanation of aspects of their behaviour that could not otherwise be acounted for in a convincing manner. Some effects of demonic possession might thus, for instance, be explained by reference to this materiality in their nature, and the same might be done on occasions when an ability to feel pain was attributed to them or when it was implied that they were capable of feeding or even of reproducing. A degree of inherent materiality might provide a reason for the way demons were sometimes believed to be frightened and compelled by mortal exorcists or magicians simply by the use of physical objects, while varying intelligence ascribed to different groups of demons might also be regarded as correlative to their involvement with matter.

The apparent and generally accepted ability of some demonic beings to undergo rapid and subtle changes in appearance while others tended to remain in the same forms might again be connected to a materiality that was thought to form part of their nature. A fairly sophisticated explanation could thus be offered for the otherwise anomalous — because constant — female demons, but it may be worth stressing at this point that such an explanation cannot be regarded as one that was generally accepted in the case of these female demons and other related types. Rather, it is clear that some different ideas about the demonic nature had survived or developed, in the main from pre-Christian pagan and astrological cosmologies, without ever being consistently fitted into the patterns of belief outlined above. One is again reminded by such a belief in inher-

ently female demons or by the equally anomalous concepts of *eidola* or *stoicheia* for example, that the Byzantines in general seem to have shown little concern or felt little need to establish absolute consistency and to dispose of all anomalies in the overall tradition of their beliefs.

3. Demonic Hierarchies and Classifications

The arrangement of the demons into hierarchies and their distribution among detailed categories is another striking feature of the overall tradition of late Byzantine demonology which also derived, to some extent, from the angelic origin they were believed to have had. The standard tradition, in which a hierarchy was assumed (although relatively little use was made of it), thus usually ranked the demons beneath a single, all important leader, Satan or the Devil; the demons were believed to have occupied the equivalent positions to those they held in heaven when their leader was an archangel and they were angels. Further details in this hierarchy were supplied from the military metaphors that were frequently employed.

It was in the alternative traditions, however, that such hierarchical classifications and other categorisations came to the fore. This was largely as a result of the precision and the accurate identification of individual demons (and angels) that was believed to be necessary for the techniques of sorcery and divination in which it was thought they might be used. A striking fact which emerges here is that, in the alternative traditions at least, no *one* evil power was seen to possess supreme authority over all the others; reference to the Devil, so important and practically ubiquitous a concept in the demonology of the standard tradition, seems, as a result, to have been entirely absent from a considerable portion of the overall tradition. Hierarchies of rank were known to the alternative traditions, with demons placed under the authority of princes and emperors, but such systems always involved a plurality of rule, most commonly between four individuals who might bear, separately, names attributed elsewhere to the single figure of the Devil.

The most carefully ordered and detailed classifications of the demons were astrological or celestial; at their simplest

these were related to the ancient concept of the thirty-six *decans* — subdivisions of the powers of the zodiac — but others were elaborated in which individual, named demons and angels were alloted to every hour of each of the seven planetary days of the week. Other classifications again involved the attribution of large numbers of individuals to the angelic or demonic rulers of the four quarters or winds. There is some evidence that, in practice, such a use of individual demons and other spiritual powers, tended to reduce their often garbled names to mere "power words" and lessen belief that an actual spiritual being was implied; yet still other categorisations, however, clearly maintained a link to actual demonic forces and demonstrate an obvious late Byzantine tendency to see every aspect of time and space as having its own proper demon and/or angel. Such are those which divided the demons in terms of their relative materiality or by way of their "geographical" places of habitation. These last classification systems ultimately lead to, or were derived from, the concept of *stoicheia* or elemental spirits of places and material objects which was clearly in evidence during this period.

Finally, the tendency to individualise, if not systematically categorise the demons can also be seen to have formed a definite element of the overall tradition. This tendency is apparent in the identification by the standard tradition of demons with individual sins and passions, of which vast and complex lists were produced; it is also apparent in the similar attribution of a high degree of specialisation to named, individual demons by alternative traditions. Here disease demons were perhaps most prominent, but many others fulfilled analogous functions, chiefly, of course, in areas of misfortune.

4. Power Attributed to the Demons

It is over the question of the power demons were believed to possess that the greatest differences of opinion appear within the overall tradition of late Byzantine demonology, differences which have far-reaching effects on the ways in which their activity and control were viewed. While it is clear that "proper" Christians had to deny that the demons possessed any

real power of their own if they were to remain in accordance with orthodox belief, it is also clear from many alternative traditions that a considerable number of people at this time did attribute such power to them.

In order to safeguard the omnipotence and complete goodness it believed God possessed, the standard tradition had to maintain that evil was not, ultimately, from him, but also that no act, good or evil, was ever performed without his permission. That God did not create evil was established by seeing this evil as a perversion of the good, a perversion in which the fall of the rebellious angels was the key element and in which the free will of the Devil and the demons (as those angels came to be) was the only motivation. The second requirement was met in two ways: on the one hand by maintaining precisely that all the actions of the Devil and the demons were performed only with God's permission; by following the argument that, if God was omnipotent, he must necessarily allow all evil actions be they of man or demon. On the other hand, cases in which these forces appeared to act on their own initiative and to perform deeds that could not easily be attributed to providence were explained as mere illusions; without power of their own the demons had, of necessity, to delude men into thinking they had this power if they were ever to gain a hold over them.

The vital point here is the fact that, in consequence of this doctrinal position, the demons were regarded by the orthodox tradition as having no real power of their own, as being able to work only illusion or what God allowed them. Such a doctrine was bound to raise questions and, indeed, had done so for centuries; these questions were, however, always answered along the same lines — God's permission for evil was attributed to a need either to chastise sinners or to test, train, and prove the faithful so that, in both cases, as many as possible should be saved in the best possible way from eternal punishment after the last judgement. The demons on this view were no more than God's agents and, although they had become entirely evil and irredeemable themselves, they were still used by divine providence for the ultimate good of those they seemed to harm.

This is not the place to pass theological judgements on

the satisfaction that may be derived from such a theodicy in the general context of orthodox Christianity, but what may be said with certainty is that it is clear that it did not prove entirely satisfactory to everybody in the late Byzantine period. It is thus apparent that there were strong alternative traditions, current at that time, which *did* attribute real power to the demons and consequently did not see them as simply workers of illusions or agents of divine providence. This is true, for instance, of all those cases in which it is implied that the demons could be used or controlled by sorcery and similar techniques; demons were not conjured to perform something if it was believed they could only work illusion, evil spirits were not commanded if it was believed that God himself was allowing them to do what was being requested for some ulterior and entirely different purpose.

There is thus quite good evidence that many people at this time found that it was not possible, or at least not the most satisfactory solution, to see all demonic misfortune as being allowed by God. Perhaps particularly, or increasingly, in the catastrophic social, political, and economic climate of the late Byzantine period, people had difficulty in believing, as they were required to by strict orthodox principles, that God gave his permission for all the demonic activity that was affecting them personally or was disturbing their world in general. It was in some ways far simpler to believe that the demons caused such evils and misfortunes of their own free will and by their own power, and were thus directly responsible for them.

An explanation of this kind ruled out the need to discover some sin, some failing in the sufferer or victim, and it had, moreover, the great advantage of providing much simpler and apparently much more reliable and certainly direct solutions to problems the demons were believed to cause. God, because of his omnipotent, omniscient nature could never be directly affected by mortals; thus if he was behind the activity attributed to the demons all that could avail to counter this was prayer, supplication and the other accepted Christian methods by which he might be influenced to help men out of grace, but could never be made to help them. There was no sure way of turning aside the forces of evil if it was God himself who had, ultimately,

directed them at the victim.

If, however, the demons were free agents with power of their own wielded quite independently of the Christian cosmological scheme, a very different picture could emerge. The alternative traditions show that these evil forces, even when regarded in such an independent way, were thought most definitely to be but secondary powers in the universe; there was no suggestion that they might be omnipotent or omniscient and, indeed, it is clear that sometimes at least they could be envisaged as rather weak and stupid. Instead of being the agents of the all-powerful God, they were fitted into other cosmological patterns where they occupied more or less subordinate positions in hierarchies of being that were chiefly associated with astrological and "pre-" or "pseudo-scientific" theories of interrelated elements in the universe.

Once the demons were seen in this way it was possible to believe that they could be directly, causally affected by men; that, with the right knowledge, they could be simply "operated" with almost as little uncertainty as components in a machine or compounds in a chemical process. This "operation" in complex and carefully worked out systems was an extremely delicate and skillful art. It might thus involve bringing precisely the right influences or forces to bear on the demons through the invocation and manipulation of various other astrologically ordered powers, and by combining various additional factors such as the accurate timing and placing of the rituals and the use of material objects or artefacts drawn from, or associated with, relevant hierarchical schemes. At a much simpler level, however, the "operation" might involve only the most basic elements or the crudest representations of such a theory. What is important is that, however crude or sophisticated was the theory, *men* were believed capable of controlling the evil forces. Either by himself or by the employment of someone else more skilled in this area, a man could, causally and directly, make demons do what he wanted; there was thus no need, on this view, of supplication to a God who could not be relied upon to respond to man's prayers or to act in precisely the way that man desired or expected him to.

Thus in these alternative traditions, not only were the demons invested with real power of their own, but also, and as a result, man himself was believed to be capable of controlling and utilising them simply on the basis of the right knowledge. This is certainly the rationale behind these alternative traditions and this was undoubtedly the reason for their attraction, but it must nevertheless be pointed out that in all but exceptional cases the logical consequence of adopting such views seems not to have been thought through by those who did so. To do this would have meant consciously denying one of the most fundamental tenets of Christianity, God's omnipotence, and it was for this reason of course that orthodoxy was always so opposed to magic and sorcery and other notions which attributed real power to the demons. It is quite clear, however, that although a large number of late Byzantine people did accept alternative traditions which implied that the demons possessed such power, they did not believe that they were putting themselves beyond the pale of orthodoxy by doing so, and certainly did not wish this. It appears to be the case that the majority of these people were quite incapable, given the level at which they held their religious beliefs, of comprehending the incompatibility that existed between standard and alternative traditions. Once again here the ability of Byzantine thought to hold within itself not only confusions but also quite sharp paradoxes without feeling any need to resolve these is made apparent in a most striking way.

5. The Activities and Uses of the Demons

The range of activities and uses ascribed to the demons by people who accepted the overall tradition of late Byzantine demonology (and that means the majority of people) always contained a *mixture* of standard and alternative beliefs. Only a few people, those for instance who followed orthodox doctrine most assiduously, will have been concerned to make a distinction between various areas of demonic operation comparable to that established in this study. Only a few people will have been concerned to deny demonic involvement in certain activities on the basis of such a distinction. Once more it is clear from beliefs about demonic activity and use that most Byzantines were

generally not interested in the logical division that lies between many alternative and standard tradition beliefs or, if they did recognise it, they appear to have found it unimportant. The activity of the demons as seen by most people in this period thus included elements drawn from opposite ends of the overall tradition held side by side with no sense of inconsistency.

Taken by itself, the standard tradition view of demonic activity was necessarily conditioned by its belief that the forces of evil had no power of their own. As has been pointed out, it was for this reason that the standard tradition believed that the demons were only used by God and never, in reality, by men; a large proportion of the material covered by this tradition was in consequence taken up with references to God's "historical" employment of the demons. It was thus believed that, after the creation and elevation of man, the Devil was permitted to tempt him and so ensure that his response to God's goodness was freely given and genuine, being made in the face of an evil alternative. When, however, man succumbed to the evil choice with which he had been provided, the demons were allowed more widespread power. On the one hand this was in order that they might act as agents in man's re-education by letting him see how dreadful was the consequence of sin and how hostile was existence in a state of alienation from God; on the other hand, it was in order that they might be able, adequately, to punish human wickedness by making life hard, by making the choice of the good difficult to determine and pursue, and, above all, by making every man, regardless of the qualities and virtues he possessed, subject to death. Over death, then, the Devil and the demons were given control, and it now became their major weapon. At length, however, in the fullness of God's time, much of this additional power was taken away from them; the Devil and his subordinate demons fell into the elaborate trap that the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ, seen from this angle, was thought to involve. God, in accordance with his inherent righteousness, allowed the demons to engineer for themselves the loss of the increased power they had been granted.

Without the powers they had enjoyed in the pre-Christian era and, in particular, without the absolute power of death,

the demons now appeared to occupy a position rather similar to that in which they had been when Adam was in paradise. They could tempt man, they could attack him, but they had no authority at all to back up the threats and inducements they employed. If their victims held steadfastly to their faith in the power of God and the victory of Christ, into which they had been baptised at a ceremony involving the renunciation of the Devil and all his works, the demons were reduced to grovelling impotence. It is clear that the standard tradition viewed their continuing activity along these lines.

The Devil and the demons thus retained a shadowy hold over the kingdom of death, acting as God's agents both in an immediate way, as "customs officers" sorting out the souls of the dead, and also as gaolers of dead sinners for whom they pleaded and at whom they snatched in descriptions of the last judgement. The only claim, however, that they now could have over these souls were the sins into which men fell by their own choice during life; sins which could, of course, have found forgiveness had those men so willed. It is perhaps significant that in the orthodox tradition of this time far less stress was laid on the demons as torturers of the evil souls than on the sufferings those souls would endure with them.

In order that they might have any souls to share in their ultimate fate, and in order that they might thus satisfy both their jealousy of the human race and their inherent malignity, the demons were forced to trick men into believing they still possessed power and also into committing and not repenting of sinful actions and thoughts. Among the most common activities they were thus believed to be involved with were appearances and manifestations under all manner of guises, both in waking life and in dreams and visions. Such manifestations might be designed to frighten the victims into believing in their power or to achieve this end in some other way, such as by a pretence of being able to tell the future. In other cases these appearances had the purpose of leading the victim into sin; the sight of a seductive woman might incite lust, for instance, or a vision of angels might make good men vain, arrogant or proud. In short, the demons were thought to use every possible decep-

tion and delusion, to employ every conceivable subtlety to lead Christians aside from virtue into sin and to shake their belief in the omnipotence of God, in the victory and love of Christ.

In addition to these methods, however, the standard tradition also accepted that the demons, as spirits, were able to enter men and tamper with their minds more directly; most obviously by manipulating the passions that lay within them or by actually possessing them. On the one hand, the theories put forward about demonic involvement with the passions, which were sometimes extremely elaborate and sophisticated, allowed orthodoxy to explain how it was the demons could be blamed directly for evil thoughts that arose in men and the sinful actions in which they resulted. On the other hand, by its concept of demonic possession, this tradition provided an explanation for all manner of socially unacceptable behaviour and even for some physical illnesses and disabilities in addition to the various forms of mental illness most commonly associated with such possession.

These forms of demonic attack on men were, of course, explained by the orthodox tradition along the accepted lines which maintained that the demons were allowed to act in this way by God for the punishment of sinners and the testing or training of more virtuous men. It is clear, however, that these attacks which involved direct demonic interference with the internal workings of human beings, brought the standard tradition into an area in which alternative traditions were also current, and the same is true of those not dissimilar cases in which actual physical illness or injury was attributed to blows struck by demonic apparitions. It is at this point in the overall tradition, then, that there was, on the view of orthodox Christianity, a particular danger of confusion with unacceptable, unorthodox concepts of demonic activity, concepts which not only attributed real power to the demons but which may also have provided stronger and certainly simpler theories about the nature and cure of possession and other forms of illness associated with them.

Alternative traditions about the activity of the demons current at this time were, again, strongly dependent on the at-

titude taken towards the nature of the power they were believed to possess; the attribution to them of real power allowed distinctive beliefs about demonic activity to develop. In some ways this activity appears limited in extent when compared to the field of operation the demons were believed to enjoy in the standard tradition; there was thus a concentration on the contemporary world, where they were thought to cause all manner of human misfortune, but in particular illness, disability, and disease.

As was mentioned above, there was a marked tendency in the alternative traditions to individualise and specify demons of particular activities and misfortunes, to classify these demons by their individual activities. Although there were similarities between the two sets of traditions at this point, they in fact remained fundamentally opposed. It is true that the standard tradition also showed a tendency towards individualisation of the demons, especially in relation to particular passions or sins; it also believed that demons could cause illnesses and afflictions and, furthermore, the concept of possession was given an important role by both traditions in this connection. The alternative traditions, however, always remained distinct because they saw such activities as being carried out by the forces of evil of their own will and by their own power and authority; what they did was real and they were not thought to require God's permission to do it.

It was precisely because the power of the demons was seen as real that the alternative traditions were, primarily, concerned with the manifestation of this power through demonic activity in the contemporary world. These traditions thus did not need and were not particularly interested in the long history of God's supposed use of the demons in relation to man which occupied so much of the standard tradition's thought about them, and that history was, as a result, almost totally ignored. Again, although these alternative traditions retained a belief in the duplicity and deviousness of the demons, there was no reason for them to believe that the demons *needed* to deceive, to trick men by their activities in order to achieve their ends, since they were seen as possessing sufficient power of their own to put their malign will into action. Indeed, while the al-

ternative traditions in general did preserve a belief in the ability of the demons to transform themselves, the use of this ability was thought to play comparatively little part in their activities, although it is something that was a constant theme in the standard tradition.

Finally, two more important points need to be reiterated. The first is that the standard tradition had to explain illness or misfortune, whether or not it was caused by demons, as the fault of the victim in some way; the alternative traditions, however, by their attribution of real power to the forces of evil, had the great psychological advantage of allowing men to shift the blame, to transfer the burden of responsibility for such misfortunes away from themselves and onto the activity of these supernatural beings. The obvious popularity of this attitude towards demonic activity in the late Byzantine period cannot, then, be regarded as surprising.

The second point to be made is that the alternative traditions believed that men, rather than God, could utilise demonic activity for their own ends by the techniques of divination and sorcery. This belief depends again, as has already been pointed out, on the fact that these traditions saw demonic power as being real, on the fact that they saw the demons as acting on their own authority. The idea of the involvement of the demons with possession and the internal manipulation of men, or their activity in the field of dreams and visions, allowed the alternative traditions to believe that they could be used for such purposes as discovering the future or other hidden knowledge, and for influencing men, to cause favour, love, or harm, be it to their actual victim or others through him. It was also thought that demons of particular activities or areas of operation could be employed to fulfill men's wishes in relation to those activities or areas, controlling the weather, for instance, damaging or increasing flocks and herds, or causing specific ailments.

In general it may be said that neither tradition of demonology made much acknowledgement of the other's distinctive features; there was, however, an exception in the case of the alternative traditions' belief in the utilisation of demonic activity in magic, for there a definite awareness of this belief

was shown by the standard tradition. Of course the belief was condemned, as it had to be since this aspect of demonic activity needed an attribution of real power and independence to the demons if it was to function at all which orthodoxy was not prepared to admit. When forced to explain the belief in demonic sorcery and divination the standard tradition thus resorted to the usual arguments of illusion or divine permission, but frequently its credibility on this issue appears to have been rather thin and its rationale less satisfactory than that put forward in opposition by the alternative traditions. In addition, the standard tradition argued *so* vehemently against these beliefs and practices at other times that it almost contradicted and certainly undermined its contention that they were not real, that the demons simply did not possess the power to operate them; by taking these beliefs too seriously it lent to them a credibility it should logically have been denying and ridiculing. That the standard tradition was, in the first place, unable to ignore beliefs in the use of demonic activity by sorcerers and diviners, and, in the second, could only provide such unsatisfactory arguments against them, seems to have been a mark of the popularity and standing these beliefs enjoyed in the overall tradition.

6. The Control of the Demons

There was a considerable amount of material related to the control and use of the supernatural forces of evil by men present in the overall tradition of demonology in the late Byzantine period but, of necessity, this material stemmed for the most part from alternative traditions, from unorthodox beliefs. As has already been made clear in discussion of the power demons were believed to possess and the manifestation of this power in their activity, the standard tradition believed that only God could really control them and use them directly. Men were entirely dependent on God's will, on his grace, if they wished to avert or counter something they believed had been worked by the demons. All men could do, strictly speaking, was to make use of prayer, supplication and other related actions in the hope, but never in the certainty, of moving him to feel compassion, and of demonstrating their own repentance or humility if this was deemed necessary. Even when problems of demonic possession

or illness believed to have been caused by demons were involved such an approach was thought to be the only correct one and, indeed, the only one possible.

As was mentioned above, the area of human reaction to demonic interference, particularly as this was manifested in the concept of possession, was one of overlap and so of possible confusion with strong unorthodox traditions. It was here that the approach of the standard tradition came closest to being submerged by other theories and other views of the demonic nature which ran counter to its doctrinal system. There was thus a constant danger that the Christian exorcist or faith-healer would be regarded as having power of his own over the demons he cast out; there was always the risk that the rituals, the words, and the materials he used would be seen as possessing some inherent authority of their own. According to the standard tradition the priest or layman performing an exorcism acted solely by his ability to influence God through his prayers and supplications; he attempted to persuade God, but there was never any suggestion that he could make God do what he wanted or command him. The actual words and objects that such a person used in the course of rituals which were formally established by the Church (the most obvious example is baptism) were but symbols, making clear to victim, audience, and demon the force of the prayer made to God, and reminding each of them of the demons' weakness and defeat on numerous occasions in the past and so of the power of the God who was now being asked to intervene.

Even in a situation where it was not commonly believed that men could command and control demons by themselves, where the demons were not commonly seen as having power of their own, it would be tempting for men unversed in theological principles to understand these rituals as being performed by a man through his own power, as being conducted by a man who utilised words and objects similarly endowed with a power of their own over demons. In fact, it was almost impossible that this shift in perception should not occur in the late Byzantine world, given that there a situation existed in which even the Bible, the greatest authority of all for the standard tradition, contained some distinctly unorthodox and ambiguous passages

on exorcism. It is thus not at all surprising that there is a great deal of evidence to show how even influential authors of the standard tradition could at times adopt attitudes which betray an unorthodox view of the principles at work here. One man could, for example, become famous as a more powerful exorcist than others, the sign of the cross, the water of baptism, an icon of a saint, or other religious paraphernalia could come to be regarded as power objects in their own right. The demons could likewise be described as having power, apparently of their own, to resist the exorcist (and so God who stood behind him), or as being able to injure, apparently against God's will, either the exorcist himself or the victim from whom they were being cast out.

These attitudes, against which the standard tradition fought officially but to which it seems often to have succumbed in practice, were precisely those found in those alternative traditions which provided information, often extremely detailed and elaborate, on techniques which it was believed men could employ if they wished to control the demons. The rationale behind such techniques, the framework in which they existed, has been explained above and here, perhaps, it only needs to be mentioned that three basic factors were involved in them; the inducement and/or the coercion of the evil forces, and the protection from their malignity of the man attempting to control them. By varying combinations of these factors of inducement, coercion, and protection in his rituals and power objects, the human sorcerer or diviner was believed to be capable of assuming a role that only God could fill according to the standard tradition, a role in which he could have the supernatural forces of evil at his beck and call to work evil or good as he willed it.

In no other area than that of the control of the demons is the simultaneous interconnection yet fundamental divergence of elements within the overall tradition of late Byzantine demonology so visible. It is quite obvious here how easily all but the most rigorous among men could slip, within that tradition, from "standard" to "alternative" beliefs and back again, or hold them, apparently with little intellectual difficulty, side by side. It is also quite obvious how unrepresentative of the overall tra-

dition were the standard beliefs of orthodox Christianity on the subject of demonology, and how important it is to take into account the alternatives which existed to them, if a more accurate picture of the situation is to be obtained. Indeed, a point is made which should not be overlooked in other areas of Byzantine thought, for in precisely the same way as has been seen to be the case with demonology here, so, beneath almost every aspect of the orthodox, publicly accepted *weltanschauung*, there lay different, even opposed alternative traditions of belief and practice.

It is always difficult to attempt to understand the belief structures and thought processes of a foreign culture; it is even more difficult to understand those of a foreign culture which, even if it has not passed out of existence altogether, survives only in a significantly altered state; but it is absolutely impossible to do this if significant areas of that culture's thought are ignored in the attempt. If the way in which the people in the late Byzantine period thought, the way in which they viewed the world about them is ever to be understood, even approximately, it is vital to follow a course similar to the one I have tried to maintain here.

It is imperative that the superficial veneer of orthodoxy, the gloss of standard Byzantine thought that coats so much of the surviving evidence is not allowed to deceive the investigator. It is imperative that this investigator should penetrate instead to the alternative points of view which generally lay beneath this veneer and only occasionally forced themselves through it. It is imperative that account is taken of these alternative traditions which clearly played such an important role within the overall patterns of Byzantine belief. I hope, then, that this study, quite apart from its main aim of describing beliefs about the demons that were current in the late Byzantine period, may have helped to underline the importance of seeking out and taking into account alternative traditions to those which may seem, on a superficial level, to have composed the whole of Byzantine thought.

TABLES

TABLE I: The Eight Deadly Sins or Passions and Scholarios' Seven Roots or Heads of Sins and Their Fruits.

Evag *Pnev* cc1145–1164	GSin *Keph* 91 c1268	Bry *Triad* 15.1 pp290–291	Schol *Hamart* pp282–283	Schol *Zet* p308. (As Schol *Hamart* except where indicated.)
1. γαστριμαργία	γαστριμαργία	γαστριμαργία	ὑπερηφανία	
			ἀνυποταξία	
			ἀλαζονεία	
			ὑπόκρισις	
			ἀκρασία	
			πεῖσμα	
			διχόνοια	
			νεωτερισμός	
2. πορνεία	φιλαργυρία	πορνεία	φθόνος	
			μῖσος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ	μῖσος
			ψιθυρισμός	
			καταλαλιὰ	διαβολὴ
			ἡδονὴ ἐν τοῖς συμβαίνουσι τῷ πλησίον δυσκόλοις	θλῖψις
			λύπη ἐπὶ τοῖς καλῶς αὐτῷ συμβαίνουσιν	( )
3. φιλαργυρία	κενοδοξία	φιλαργυρία	ὀργὴ	
			ἔρις	
			οἴδημα διανοίας	
			ὕβρις	
			βοὴ	
			ἀγανάκτησις	
			βλασφημία	
4. ὀργὴ	πορνεία	ὀργὴ	ἀκηδία	
			κενοδοξία	
			ἀψιμαχία (ἀγανάκτησις, πικρία)	
			μικροψυχία	
			ἀπάγνωσις	
			νάρκη περὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς	
			ἐκμβασμὸς τῆς διανοίας	

			ἀκαιρία/σύγχυσις τῆς διανοίας	( )
			περιεργία	( )
			πολυλογία	( )
			ταραχὴ τοῦ σώματος	( )
			ἀσταθία	( )
5. λύπη	ὀργὴ	λύπη	φιλαργυρία	
			προδοσία	
			δόλος	
			(πλεονεξία) ἀπάτη	
			(εἰδωλολατρεία) ἐπιορκία	
			ταραχὴ τῆς διανοίας	
			βία/ἁρπαγὴ	
			πώρωσις τῆς διανοίας	
			τιμιουλκία	( )
			τόκος	( )
			δωροδοκία	( )
			κλοπὴ	( )
6. ἀκηδία	λύπη	ἀκηδία	γαστριμαργία	
			ἄκαιρος χαρὰ καὶ λύπη	
			παιδιὰ	
			(εἰδωλολατρεία) ἀκαθαρσία	
			πολυλογία	
			ἀμβλύτης τῆς διανοίας	
			μέθη	( )
7. κενοδοξία	ἀκηδία	κενοδοξία	ἀκολασία	
			τύφλωσις τοῦ νοῦ	
			ἀπερίσκεπτον	
			ἀστασία	
			κρήμνησις	
			φιλαυτία	
			τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μῖσος	
			ἀγάπη τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος	
8. ὑπερηφανία	ὑπερηφανία	ὑπερηφανία	φόβος καὶ ἀπόγνωσις τοῦ μέλλοντος	
			πορνεία, μοιχεία, βία, ἁρπαγὴ παρθένων,	
			ἱεροσυλία, αἱμομιξία, παρὰ φύσιν ἁμαρτήματα	

TABLE II: Lists of Passions or Sins

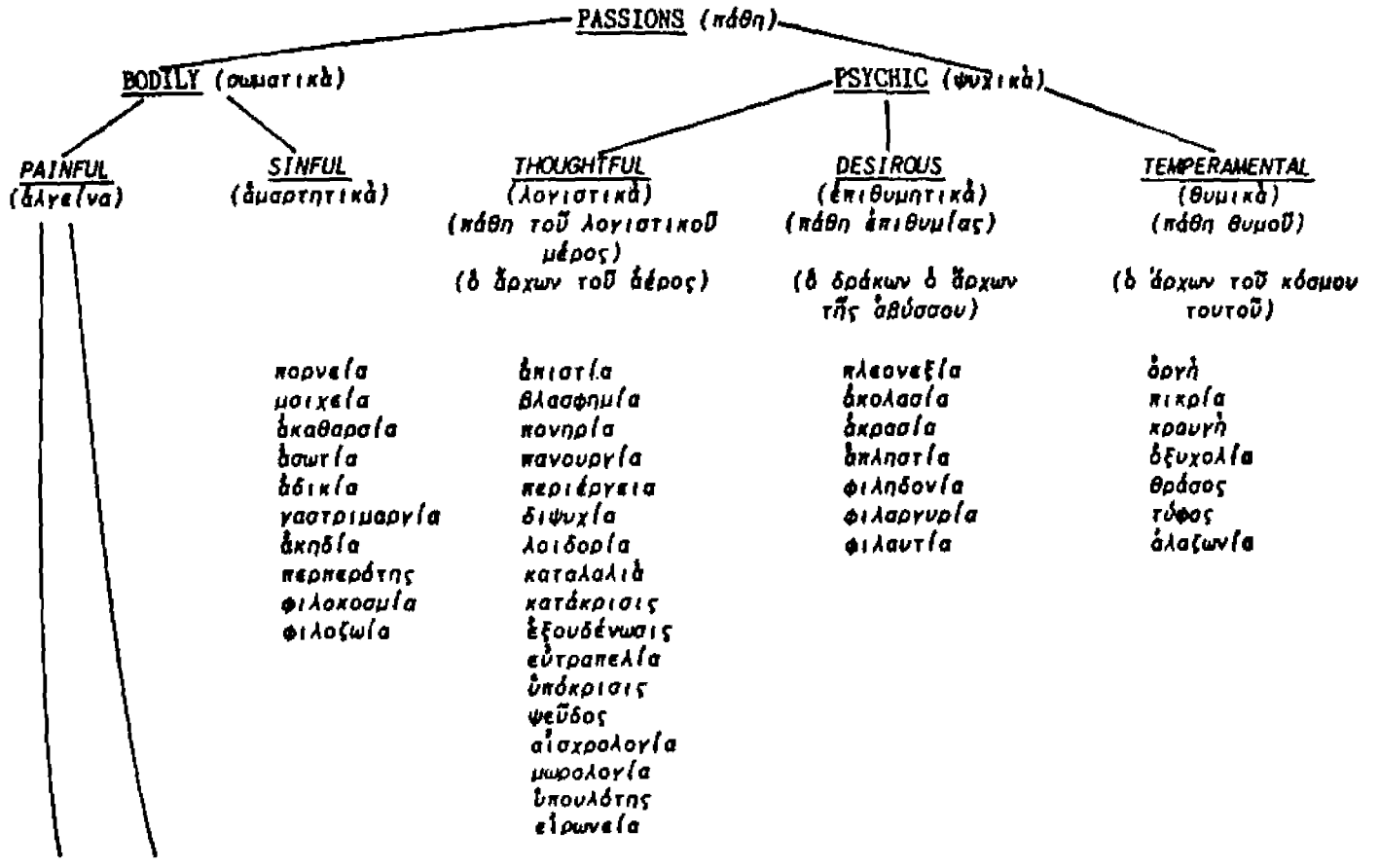
Matthew 15.19	Galatians 5.19–21	Eph *DeutPar* pp195–196
διαλογισμοὶ πονηροὶ	πορνεία	πορνεία
φόνοι	ἀκαθαρσία	μοιχεία
μοιχεῖαι	ἀσέλγεια	ἀκαθαρσία
πορνεῖαι	εἰδωλολατρεία	ψεύδος
κλοπαὶ		κλόπη
ψευδομαρτυρίαι		φθόνος
	φαρμακεία	φαρμακεία
		μαντεία
		ἐπαοιδία
		θυμὸς
		ὀργη
βλασφημίαι		βλασφημία
	ἔχθραι	ἔχθρα
	ἔρις	ἔρις
	ζῆλος	ζῆλος
	θυμοὶ	
	ἐριθεῖαι	
	διχοστασίαι	
	αἱρέσεις	
	φθόνοι	
	μέθαι	μέθη
	κῶμοι	ἀργολογία
		ὑπερηφανία
		βλακεία
		γελοιασμὸς
		κιθαρισμὸς
		ἄσμα δαιμονικὰ
		παιδοφθορία
		ὀρνεοσκοπία
		ἐπερωτήσις πνευμάτων
		πεταλογραφία

TABLE II

Dependent on New Testament Passages.

Gabriel *Hom* 1 pp142–143	1 Corinthians 6.9–10	Melet *Alpha* ϱξ' p520
πορνεία	πορνοὶ	
μοιχεία	εἰδωλολάτραι	
	μοιχοὶ	
ψεύδος	μαλακοὶ	μοιχεία
κλόπη	ἀρσενοκοῖται	μαλακία
φθόνος	κλέπται	ἀρρενομανία
φαρμακεία	πλεονέκται	πορνεία σύνταξιν
μαντεία	μέθουσι	
	λοίδοροι	
θυμὸς	ἅρπαγες	
ὀργη		
βλασφημία		
ἔρις		
ἔχθρα		
ζῆλος		
(διχοστασία)		
μέθη		
ἀργολογία		
ὑπερηφανία		
πλεονεξία		
μισαδελφία		
ἁρπαγὴ		
		παιδοφθορία
		κτηνοβατία
		πτηνοβατία

TABLE III: Gregory of Sinai's Division of the Passions in Relation to the Body and the Three Parts of the Soul.
(GSin*Keph* 63, 71, 77, 78, 79, and 122.)



φανητία
ἀνθρωπαρέσκεια
μετεωρισμὸς
ἐπιορκίαι
ἀργολογίαι

SICKLY (νοσερά)	EDUCATIONAL (παιδευτικά)	PHANTASTIC (φανταστικά) (πάθη τοῦ νοὸς) (νοερά)	INTELLECTUAL (διανοητικά) (πάθη τῆς διανοίας)
		ὄιησις ἔπαρσις μεγαλαυχίαι ἔρις ζῆλος αὐταρέσκεια ἀντιλογία ἀνηκοΐα φαντασία ἀναπλασμοὶ φιλενδειξίαι φιλοδοξία ὑπερηφανία	βεμβασμοὶ μετεωρισμοὶ αἰχμαλωσίαι σκότωσις τύφλωσις ἀπαγωγαὶ προσβολαὶ συγκαταθέσεις δοκαὶ τροπαὶ παραβρισμοὶ

TABLE IV: Lists of the Names of the Demon Gylou

Oxford Bodleian, *d'Orville 110*, ff1–3v
15th century

1. Γηλλοῦ
2. Μοθρούς
3. ἀβιçούς
4. Μαçαματωτούς
5. Μαçμανίλλα
6. Σεληνινούς
7. Ἀçιανή
8. Σαλασαλεύτου
9. Ἐγυπτιανή
10. Ἀσβλητούς
11. Αἱμαβίβον
12. Κτάçκαçίσχου

Legrand, p.xviii from *Parisinus Graecus 2316*, ff432–433. 15th century

1. Γελλοῦ
2. Μορφοὺς
3. Καçανιχοὺς
4. Ἀμιçοὺς
5. Ἀμιδaçοὺ
6. Μaçμαλὰτ
7. Καçάνη
8. Σεληνοὺς
9. Ἀβυçὰ
10. Ἀçιανὴ
11. Μaçανὴ
12. Μaçμαλὰτ

Iriarte pp423–424, from Madrid *Biblioteca Nacional 105*, ff80v–81.
15th century

1. Γυλοῦ
2. Μορφοῦ
3. Ταβυçοῦ
4. Μορφιλατοὺ
5. Ρενοῦ
6. Σολωμονῆ
7. Αἰγυπτία
8. Αναμaçδαλέα
9. Λυδçισοῦ
10. Πεκιλaçοῦ
11 Αδελaçχοῦ
12. Πανστουç
13. Μελχισεδὲκ
14. Νημικοῦ
15. Νεμçικῆ
16. Φλεγομῶ
17. Ηλυσῶ
18. Αμελῆ
19. Εçμοκονέα
20. Ζαδçῶ
21. Ενδίκαος
22. Πεκουçέα
23. Γουφοκτὴç
24. Δαδουχίμη
25. Φυγαδάνη
26. Φυγοδὺθ
27. Ἀνωφῆς
28. Ἀνόφεως
29. Εβδοβάλεως
30. Σοφωτάτη
31. Ρεμçὶς
32. Δυçιμιτατὴ
33. Κύçιλλος
34. Διδακτικὸς
35. Δομισὰκ
36. Ταçοὺχ
37. Ταçὶχ
38. Φίλαχçος
39. Καυκὰλας
40. Αμάς

Sathas, pp573–575 from *Parisinus Graecus 395*, ff9–12. 15/16th century

1. Γυλλοῦ
2. Ἀμορφοῦς
3. Ἀβυçοῦ
4. Καçχους
5. Βçιανή
6. Βaçδελλοῦς
7. Αἰγυπτιανή
8. Βaçνά
9. Χaçχανιστçέα
10. ἀδικία
11.
12. μυῖα
½. Πετώμενη

Sathas, pp576–577 from *Parisinus Graecus 395*, ff49–51. 15/16th century

1. Μαυλοῦ [Μαυλοῦ?]
2. Ἀμορφοῦς
3. Καçανιχοῦς
4. Ἀβιçιοῦ
5. Ἀβιδaçιοῦ
6. Μaçμαλατοῦς
7. Καçιανή
8. Ἑλληνοῦς
9. Ἀçιανή
10. Ἀδικία
11. Χaçχaçίστçια
12. Μυῖα
½. Πετωμένη

TABLE V: Lists of the Decans.
Identical forms to McCown's text are shown =, omissions are shown ( ).

	McCown's Text *TestSol* cc52*–59*	Migne's Text Migne*PG* 122 cc1341–1347	McCown's MS. P *TestSol* pp52*–59*	McCown's MS. N *TestSol* pp119–120
1.	Ῥύαξ	Κριός/Ῥύαξ	Κριός/Ῥύαξ	Φαρμουθίου/Ῥύαξ
2.	Βαρσαφαήλ	=	=	=
3.	Ἀρτοσαήλ	Ἀρστοσαήλ	Ἀρωτοσαήλ/Ἀρστοσαήλ	Ἀρατοήλ/Ἀρατοσαήλ
4.	Ὀροπέλ	( )	=	Ῥοπεῖ
5.	Καρωξενονδάλον	Ἰουδάλ	Ἰουδάλ	Κηριξουδάλ
6.	Σφενδοναήλ	=	=	Σφοδραήλ
7.	Σφανδῶρ	Σφανδώρ	=	Σφαδορ
8.	Βελβέλ	=	=	(Βελζεβουλ)
9.	Κουρταήλ	=	=	Οὐρταήλ/Κουρταήλ
10.	Μεταθίαξ	=	=	Μεταθι
11.	Κατανικαταήλ	=	=	Κανικοτειήλ
12.	Σαφθοραήλ	Σαφαθωραήλ	Σαφαθωραήλ	Σαφθορωθαήλ
13.	Φοβοθήλ	Βοβήλ/Βοθοθήλ	Βοθήλ/Βοθοθήλ	Βωθοθήλ/Βωθωθήλ
14.	Λερωήλ	Κουμεστήλ/Κουμενταήλ	Κουμελτήλ/Κουμενταήλ	Ῥοκλίδ
15.	Σουβελτί	Ῥοηλήδ	Ῥοκλήδ	Κωμετήλ/Κουμεταήλ
16.	Κατράξ	Ἀτράξ	Ἄτραξ	=
17.	Ἱεροπά	Ἱεροπαήλ	Ἱεροπαήλ	Ἐροπαήλ
18.	Μοδεβήλ	Βουλδουμήχ	Βουλδουμήχ	Βολδουιχ/Βολουόχ
19.	Μαρδέρω	Ναθώθ	Ναθάθω/Ναώθ	Ῥοὺξ Μαδέρον
20.	Ῥὺξ Ναθώθω	Μαρδέρω	Μαρδέρω	Κήρηξ Νουθάθ
21.	Ῥὺξ Ἀλάθ	Ἀλάθ	Ἀλάθ	οὐσ(ουσ)λάθ(?)
22.	Ῥὺξ Αὐδαμεώθ	Νεφθαδά	( )	( )
23.	Ῥὺξ Μανθαδῶ	( )	Νεφθαδᾶ	(κήριξ) Ἐφθάδα
24.	Ῥὺξ Ἀκτονμέ	Ἄκτον (μεν)	Ἄκτον (μεν)	(κήριξ) Ἀκτόμεν/ἀκτόμε
25.	Ῥὺξ Ἀνατρέθ	Ἀνατρέθ	Ἀνατρέθ	(κήριξ) Ἀνατρέθ
26.	Ῥὺξ ὁ Ἐναυθά	Ἐνενούθ	Ἐνενούθ	(κήριξ) Ἐνόθα
27.	Ῥὺξ Ἀξησβύθ	Φήθ/Ἀξιωφήθ	Φήθ/Ἀξιωφθιθ	(κήριξ) Ὄφθη/Ἀξιωφήθ
28.	Ῥὺξ Ἀπάξ	Ἄρπαξ	Ἄρπαξ	(κήριξ) Ἄρπας
29.	Ῥὺξ Ἀνοστήρ	Ἀνοστήρ	Ἀνοστήρ	(κήριξ) ( )/Κανοστίρ
30.	Ῥὺξ Φυσικορέθ	Ἀλλεβορίθ	Ἀλλεβορίθ	(κήριξ) Ἠφησικεράθ
31.	Ῥὺξ Ἀλευρήθ	Φησικιρέθ	ἢ Φησικιρέθ	(κήριξ) Ἀλλεβωρίθ
32.	Ῥὺξ Ἰχθύον	Ἰχθίον	Ἰχθύον	(κήριξ) Ἰχθήος
33.	Ῥὺξ Ἀγωνεώθ	Ἀγχονίων	Ἀγχονίων	(κήριξ) Ἀγωχώνιον
34.	Ῥὺξ Αὐτώθ	Αὐτοθέθ	Αὐτοθίθ	(κήριξ) Ῥὴξ ( )
35.	Ῥὺξ Φθηνεώθ	Φθηνόθ	Φθηνόθ	(κήριξ) Φηνόθ
36.	Ῥὺξ Μιανέθ	Βιανακίθ	Βιανακίθ	(κήριξ) Βιανακήθ

TABLE V: Lists of the Decans.
Identical forms to McCown's text are shown =, omissions are shown ( ).

	McCown's Text *TestSol* cc52⋆–59⋆	Migne's Text Migne*PG* 122 cc1341–1347	McCown's MS. P *TestSol* pp52⋆–59⋆	McCown's MS. N *TestSol* pp119–120
1.	Ῥύαξ	Κριός/Ῥύαξ	Κριός/Ῥύαξ	Φαρμουθίου/Ῥύαξ
2.	Βαρσοφαήλ	=	=	=
3.	Ἀρτοσαήλ	Ἀρατοσαήλ	Ἀρωτοσαήλ/Ἀρατοσαήλ	Ἀρατοήλ/Ἀρατοσαήλ
4.	Ὀροπέλ	( )	=	Ῥοπεῖ
5.	Καιρωξανονδάλον	Ἰουδάλ	Ιουδάλ	Κηριξουδάλ
6.	Σφενδοναήλ	=	=	Σφοδραήλ
7.	Σφανδῶρ	Σφανδώρ	=	Σφαδορ
8.	Βελβέλ	=	=	(Βελζεβουλ)
9.	Κουρταήλ	=	=	Οὐραταήλ/Κουρταήλ
10.	Μεταθίαξ	=	=	Μεταθι
11.	Κατανικοταήλ	=	=	Κανικοταιήλ
12.	Σαφθορσήλ	Σαφαθωραήλ	Σαφαθωραήλ	Σαφθορωθαήλ
13.	Φοβοθήλ	Βοβήλ/Βοθοθήλ	Βοθήλ/Βοθοθήλ	Βωθοθήλ/Βωθωθήλ
14.	Λερωήλ	Κουμεατήλ/Κουμενταήλ	Κουμελτήλ/Κουμενταήλ	Ῥοκλίδ
15.	Σουβελτί	Ῥοηλήδ	Ῥοκλήδ	Κωμετήλ/Κουμεταήλ
16.	Κατράξ	Ἀτράξ	Ἀτραξ	=
17.	Ἱεροπά	Ἱεροπαήλ	Ἱεροπαήλ	Ἐροπαήλ
18.	Μοδεβήλ	Βουλδουμήχ	Βουλδουμήχ	Βολδουιχ/Βολουόχ
19.	Μαρδέρω	Ναθώθ	Ναθάθω/Ναώθ	Ῥοὺξ Μαδέρον
20.	Ῥὺξ Ναθώθω	Μαρδέρω	Μαρδέρω	Κήρηξ Νουθάθ
21.	Ῥὺξ Ἀλάθ	Ἀλάθ	Ἀλάθ	οὐσ(ουσ)λάθ(?)
22.	Ῥὺξ Αὐδαμεώθ	Νεφθαδά	( )	( )
23.	Ῥὺξ Μανθαδῶ	( )	Νεφθαδᾶ	(κήριξ) Ἐφθάδα
24.	Ῥὺξ Ἀκτονμέ	Ἄκτον (μεν)	Ἄκτον (μεν)	(κήριξ) Ἀκτόμεν/ἀκτόμε
25.	Ῥὺξ Ἀνατρέθ	Ἀνατρέθ	Ἀνατρέθ	(κήριξ) Ἀνατρέθ
26.	Ῥὺξ ὁ Ἐναυθά	Ἐνενούθ	Ἐνενούθ	(κήριξ) Ἐνόθο
27.	Ῥὺξ Ἀξησβύθ	Φήθ/Ἀξιωφήθ	Φήθ/Ἀξιωφθιθ	(κήριξ) Ὄφθη/Ἀξηωφήθ
28.	Ῥὺξ Ἀπάξ	Ἄρπαξ	Ἄρπαξ	(κήριξ) Ἄρπας
29.	Ῥὺξ Ἀνοστήρ	Ἀνοστήρ	Ἀνοστήρ	(κήριξ) ( )/Κανοστίρ
30.	Ῥὺξ Φυσικορέθ	Ἀλλεβορίθ	Ἀλλεβορίθ	(κήριξ) Ἠφησικεράθ
31.	Ῥὺξ Ἀλευρήθ	Φησικιρέθ	ἡ φησικιρέθ	(κήριξ) Ἀλλεβωρίθ
32.	Ῥὺξ Ἰχθύον	Ιχθίον	Ἰχθύον	(κήριξ) Ἰχθήος
33.	Ῥὺξ Ἀχωνεώθ	Ἀγχονίων	Ἀγχονίων	(κήριξ) Ἀγωχώνηον
34.	Ῥὺξ Αὐτώθ	Αὐτοθέθ	Αὐτοθίθ	(κήριξ) Ῥὴξ ( )
35.	Ῥὺξ Φθηνεώθ	Φθηνόθ	Φθηνόθ	(κήριξ) Φηνόθ
36.	Ῥὺξ Μιανέθ	Βιανακίθ	Βιανακίθ	(κήριξ) Βιανακήθ

McCown's MS. H *TestSol* pp52*–59*	McCown's MS. L *TestSol* pp52*–59*	Exorcism of "Athanasios" Del*Anec* pp236–238	"Byzantine Exorcism" Delatte*Ex* p94
Ῥύαξ καὶ Κοιός	Ῥυάξ καὶ Κοιός	Κανδὰν καὶ Κοιός	Κοῖε
"	Βασσαβαήλ	"	"
"	Ἀστοσαήλ/Ἀσσαήλ	"	"
Ἀσσπόλιον	Ὀρσπόλος	Ὀρσπόλιον	( )
Ῥυξανονέδλιον	Καιρι ξανονέδλιων	Ἐκαιρι ξηνουέδλιων	( )
Σρανδεναήλ	Φαδοναήλ	"	"
Δοσόν	Φανδωρόν	Φανδῶρον	Φάνδονε
"	Βοκβέλ/Βελβέλ	"	"
Κουρταήλ/Κοσταήλ	Ἀκουστεραήλ	( )	(θ' στοιχεῖον)
Μεταθύαξ	Μετάθέαξ	Μεταθιάξ	( )
Νικοταήλ	Κανικοταήλ	Κανικοταήλ	"
"	"	"	( )
"	"	"	Μοφουοήλ
"	Λεραήλ	Λεσαήλ	Ὀροήλ
Σουβελτή	"	Σουβελτῆ	Κουβεντούλ
"	Ἴστρέξ	Ἴστρέξ	( )
Κεροπάκ or Μεροπάη	Ἰεροπά	Ἰεροπάκ	( )
"	Μοδιήλ	"	( )
Ἰοὺξ Μαδούσω	Μανδραβουρούν	Ῥιξμαδουίω	( )
"	βιξίνα θέ· θω	Ῥιξινεθόθω	( )
ὀὺξ Αὐδαμεθ	ὀὶξ Ὀλάθ	Ῥιξοαλάθ	( )
ὀὴξ ὁ λλάθ	ὀὶξ Αὐμαδαήθ	Μερι ξαυμαδαήθ	( )
ὀὺξ Αὐθάδης	ὀὶξ Μανθαδῶ	( )	( )
ὀὴξ Ἀκτονυέ	ἐοὶξ κτονυέ	( )	( )
"	( )	( )	( )
"	( )	( )	( )
"	( )	( )	( )
"	( )	( )	( )
Ἰκτήρ	( )	( )	( )
"	( )	( )	( )
"	( )	( )	( )
Ἰχθύας	( )	( )	( )
"	( )	( )	( )
"	( )	( )	( )
"	( )	( )	( )
κηρὴξ Μιανέθ	( )	( )	( )

TABLE VI: Short Lists of Angels and Demons of Each Planet or Day.

		H	P	G	M2	P2	B
Sunday	Angels:	1. Μιχαήλ	Μιχαήλ	Σαβαώθ	Μιχαήλ	Μιχαήλ	(2)Μηχαηλ
(Ἥλιος)		2. Ἀριήλ	Ἀριήλ	Μιχαήλ	Οὐρεήλ	Ἀρούλ	(3)Ἀραηλ
		3. Φυλουέλ	Φιλουήλ	Οὐριήλ	Φηλουήλ	Φολούλ	(4)Φιλοελ
		4. Σαυριήλ	Σαβριήλ	Φιλοήλ	Σαβηέλ	Σαυριήλ	(1)Σαυβριελ
		5. Δουνιέλ	Δονιήλ	Σαυριήλ	Δωνηέλ	Δονειήλ	Δονοελ
	Demons:	1. Χθουνιήλ	Χθονηήλ	Χθονιήλ	Χθονιήλ	Χθονεηλ	Χωνοελ
		2. Ἀριαήλ	Ἀριανήλ	Ἀριανήλ	Ὀριαμήλ	Ἀριύλ	Ἀρναηλ
		3. Ἐπιθουανόν	Ὀπιθουα..	Σπιθούανος	Ὀπιθουνιανός	Ἐπιθοαμόν	Ὀπηθουμενος
Monday	Angels:	1. Γαυριήλ	Γαβριήλ	Γαβριήλ	Γαυριήλ	Γαυριήλ	Γαβρίλ
(Σελήνη)		2. Σαλουήλ	Σελγιήλ	Σεργιήλ	Σαγιήλ	Σαραγιλουήλ	Σαφγιηλ
		3. Χαριέλ	Χαριήλ	Χαριήλ	Χαριήλ	Χαραήλ	Χαζηηλ
		4. Εμφιλοήλ	Ἐφηλοήλ	Ἐμφιλονήμ	Ἐλφηλοήλ	Ἐμφιλοήλ	Ἰμφιωηλ
		5. Σπενδονίμ		Σπιδονήμ	Δονήμ	Ὀπερδούκα	Πηλδηιμ
		6. Περδικοίμ	Πιδυκήμ		(7)Περδικήμ	Ὀπερδικύμ	
		7. Οὐγαριέλ			(6)Σηνήλ		
	Demons:	1. Ταρταρουέλ	Ταρταροήλ	Μπαρμπαροήλ	Ὀρτανοήλ	Ταρταροήλ	Ταρταροηλ Ἀθαθανόσι
Tuesday	Angels:	1. Οὐρίλ	Οὐρουήλ	Οὐρουήλ	Οὐριήλ	Οὐρουήλ	Κραηλ
(Ἄρης)		2. Σαβεέλ	Βειήλ	Σαβαήλ	Σαβατιήλ	Σαβαγίλ	Σαβρηηλ
	Demons:	1. Σβιρουέλ	Ζεβεουήλ	Τζιβιρουήλ	Βερουήλ	Σφυσιροήλ	Σιρκηλ

TABLE VI: Short Lists of Angels and Demons of Each Planet or Day.

		H	P	G	M2	P2	B
Sunday	Angels:	1. Μιχαήλ	Μιχαήλ	Σαβαώθ	Μιχαήλ	Μιχαήλ	(2)Μηχαηλ
("Ηλιος)		2. Ἀριήλ	Ἀριήλ	Μιχαήλ	Οὐρειήλ	Ἀροούλ	(3)Ἀραηλ
		3. Φυλουέλ	Φιλουήλ	Οὐριήλ	Φηλουήλ	Φολούλ	(4)Φιλοελ
		4. Σαυριήλ	Σαβριήλ	Φιλοήλ	Σαβηέλ	Σαυριήλ	(1)Σαυβριελ
		5. Δουνιέλ	Δονιήλ	Σαυριήλ	Δωνηέλ	Δονειήλ	Δονοελ
	Demons:	1. Χθουνιήλ	Χθονηήλ	Χθονιήλ	Χθονιήλ	Χθονεηλ	Χωνοελ
		2. Ἀριαήλ	Ἀριανήλ	Ἀριανήλ	Ὀριαμήλ	Ἀριύλ	Ἀρονηλ
		3. Ἐπιθουανάν	Ὀπιθουα..	Σπιθούανος	Ὀπιθουνιανός	Ἐπιθοαμόν	Ὀπηθουμενος
Monday	Angels:	1. Γαυριήλ	Γαβριήλ	Γαβριήλ	Γαυριήλ	Γαυριήλ	Γαβρίλ
(Σελήνη)		2. Σαλουήλ	Σελγιήλ	Σεργιήλ	Σαγιήλ	Σαραγιλουήλ	Σαφγιηλ
		3. Χαριέλ	Χαριήλ	Χαριήλ	Χαριήλ	Χαραήλ	Χαζηηλ
		4. Εμφιλοήλ	Ἐφηλοήλ	Ἐμφιλονήμ	Ἐλφηλοήλ	Ἐμφιλοήλ	Ἰμφιωηλ
		5. Σπενδονίμ		Σπιδονήμ	Δονήμ	Ὀπερδούκα	Πηλδηιμ
		6. Περδικαίμ	Πιδυκήμ		(7)Περδικήμ	Ὀπερδικύμ	
		7. Οὐγαριέλ			(6)Σηνήλ		
	Demons:	1. Ταρταρουέλ	Ταρταροήλ	Μπαρμπαροήλ	Ὀρτανοήλ	Ταρταροήλ	Ταρταροηλ Ἀθαθανάσι
Tuesday	Angels:	1. Οὐρίλ	Οὐρουήλ	Οὐρουήλ	Οὐριήλ	Οὐρουήλ	Κραηλ
("Αρης)		2. Σαβεέλ	Βειήλ	Σαβαήλ	Σαβατιήλ	Σαβαγίλ	Σαβρηηλ
	Demons:	1. Σβιρουέλ	Ζεβεραυήλ	Τζιβιρουήλ	Βερουήλ	Σφυσιροήλ	Σιρκηλ

Wednesday (Ἑρμῆς)	Angels: 1. Μαδαδοέλ	Μαντουήλ	Μαντοήλ	Μαντατοήλ	Μαντοήλ	Ματονηλ	
	2. Περτικεέλ	Πελτικοήλ	(3)Σπερτικουήλ	Σπεκουήλ	Σπελτικοήλ	Σπετηκοηλ	
	3. Ἀποδοκιέλ	Ἀποδοκιήλ	(2)Ἀποδοκιήλ	Ἀποδεκιήλ	Ἀποδοκυήλ	Ἀποδοκωελ	
	Demons: 1. Χαλίβ	Χαριαύν	Χαροῦ	Χαβήλ	Χαλιόν	Χαλησον	
	2. Σιλουανήλ			Σηνουανήλ	Οκλοκιήλ	Ηληκηλ	
Thursday (Ζεὺς)	Angels: 1. Σερπεφεήλ	Σερπηφιήλ	Σερπεφιήλ	Σεπεφεήλ	Σερπεφεήλ	Σερπεφηελ	
	2. Ῥαφαήλ	Ῥαφαήλ	Ῥαφοήλ	Ῥαφαήλ	Ῥαφαήλ	Σαραφαηλ	
	Demons: 1. Ποδηκουλάτορ			Πόντιον Πιλάτον	Ποδικολατόρ	Πεντηκολατρον	
	2. Ὀρνιέλ	Ὀρκιήλ	Ὀρκιόλ	Ὀρνηέλ	Ὀρνιήλ	Ὀρνοηλ	
Friday (Ἀφροδίτη)	Angels: 1. Ἀναέλ	Ἀναήλ	Ἀναήλ	Ἀναήλ	Ἀναήλ	Ἀναηλ	
	2. Γαθουέλ	Γαθουέ	(3)Ἀγαθουήλ		Ἀγκαθοηίλ	Ἀγαθοελ	
	3. Πηλακουέλ				(4)Πιλακτήλ	Παλακλοτηηλη	
	4. Κυρσοέλ	Κηρσοήλ	(2)Ῥουήλ		(3)Κιρσοναήλ	Καυσονηλ	
	Demons: 1. Βαβέτ	Σαβέτ	Βαβέτ	Βατέβ	Σαβέτ	Βαβιβακτορ	
	2. Βαλτασάρ	Βαλτάσαρ	Βαλτασέρα	Βαλτάσαρ	Βακτασάρ	Προτι	
	3. Προτιζηκάτουρ			Πρωτιζηκέτι	Προστοδζικατόρ	Ἰζικατορ	A
Saturday (Κρόνος)	Angels: 1. Βεέλ	Κτινοτοθέν	Κτητονθέν	Κτητοήλ	Ἐκτονοήλ	(2)Ἀνοηλ	(2)(Κτηνοήλ)
					Σακατιήλ	(1)Βακατοηλ	(1)(Σακατιήλ)
	Demons: 1. Ζεβούλ	Βεελζεβουήλ	Βερζεβουήλ	Βερζεβουήλ	Κλιδατόρ	Κληδατορ	(2)(Κληδάτωρ)
	2.				Ἀλιδατόρ	Ἀλληδατορ	(1)(Ἀλληδηπίρ)

[illegible]day (Ἑρμῆς)	Angels:	1. Μαδαδοέλ	Μαντουήλ	Μαντοήλ	Μαντατοήλ	Μαντοήλ	Ματονηλ	
		2. Περτικεέλ	Πελτικοήλ	(3)Σπερτικουήλ	Σπεκουήλ	Σπελτικοήλ	Σπετηκοηλ	
		3. Ἀποδοκιέλ	Ἀποδοκιήλ	(2)Ἀποδοκιήλ	Ἀποδεκιήλ	Ἀποδοκυήλ	Ἀποδοκωελ	
	Demons:	1. Χαλίβ	Χαριούν	Χαροῦ	Χαβήλ	Χαλιόν	Χαλησον	
		2. Σιλουανήλ			Σηνουανήλ	Οκλοκιήλ	Ηληκηλ	
Thursday (Ζεύς)	Angels:	1. Σερπεφεήλ	Σερπηφιήλ	Σερπεφιήλ	Σεπεφεήλ	Σερπεφεήλ	Σερπεφηελ	
		2. Ῥαφαήλ	Ῥαφαήλ	Ῥαφαήλ	Ῥαφαήλ	Ῥαφαήλ	Σαραφαηλ	
	Demons:	1. Ποδηκουλάτορ			Πόντιον Πιλάτον	Ποδικολατόρ	Πεντηκολατρον	
		2. Ὀρνιέλ	Ὀρκιήλ	Ὀρκιόλ	Ὀρνηέλ	Ὀρνιήλ	Ὀρνοηλ	
Friday (Ἀφροδίτη)	Angels:	1. Ἀναέλ	Ἀναήλ	Ἀναήλ	Ἀναήλ	Ἀναήλ	Ἀναηλ	
		2. Γαθουέλ	Γαθουέ	(3)Ἀγαθουήλ		Ἀγκαθοηίλ	Ἀγαθοελ	
		3. Πηλακουέλ				(4)Πιλακτήλ	Παλακλοτηηλη	
		4. Κυρσοέλ	Κηρσοήλ	(2)Ῥουήλ		(3)Κιρσοναήλ	Καυσνοηλ	
	Demons:	1. Βαβέτ	Σαβέτ	Βαβέτ	Βατέβ	Σαβέτ	Βαβιβακτορ	
		2. Βαλτασάρ	Βαλτάσαρ	Βαλτασέρα	Βαλτάσαρ	Βακτασάρ	Προτι	
		3. Προτιζηκάτουρ			Πρωτιζηκάτι	Προστοδζικατόρ	Ιζικατορ	A
Saturday (Κρόνος)	Angels:	1. Βεέλ	Κτινοτοθέν	Κτητονθέν	Κτητοήλ	Ἐκτονοήλ	(2)Ἀνοηλ	(2)(Κτηνοήλ)
						Σακατιήλ	(1)Βακατοηλ	(1)(Σακατιήλ)
	Demons:	1. Ζεβούλ	Βεελζεβουήλ	Βερζεβουήλ	Βερζεβουήλ	Κλιδατόρ	Κληδατορ	(2)(Κληδάτωρ)
		2.				Ἀλιδατόρ	Ἀληδατορ	(1)(Ἀληδηπώρ)

TABLE VII: Long Lists of Angels and Demons of Each Hour.

The Demons of Sunday (Ἥλιος)

	H	M	G	A
1.	Αὐτοδυό	Ἀσμοδαί	Ἀνοδαή	Ασιδαύς
2.	Ὀρναῖ	Ὀρναῖ	Ὀρνᾶι	
3.	Πηραθουί	Πηρράθ	Πυραθ	Πιφάθι
				Σίτρος
4.	Σιλιδώ	Σιληδών	Σιλιδών	Σιλιδών
5.	Σιτεός	Σιτρός	Σίτρος	Σιτρός
6.	Ζαδιφόρ	Ζηφάρ	Ζηφάρ	Ζαφάν
7.	Μανήρ	Μανιήρ	Μανιής	Μαναήλ
8.	Ὀσμιέ	Ὀσμιέ	Ὀσμιέ	Ὀσμιέ
9.	Πιήζ	Πνίξ	Πνίξ	Πνύξ
10.	Ταράτ	Γηράτ	Γαρακτ	Γαραστρί
11.	Νιστίκ	Νηστά	Νοσταᾶ	Νεστιβέ
12.	Πιλιούρ	Πελιώρ	Πελιός	Πελώρ
13.	Ἰστός	ὁ Ἰστός	Ὀίστος	Οἰστρός
14.	Ὀπιός	Ἄπιος	Ἄπιος	Ἀπιός
15.	Νικῶν	Νηγμός	Νέγμος	Οὐγμός
16.	Νιντιάφ	Ἀράξ	Αράζ	Ἀράξ
17.	Ὁράξ	Νηστριάφ	Νετριάφ	Νιτριαφρί
18.	Ἀσήνς	Ἀσκινός	Ασκηνς	Ἀσκυρός
19.	Συνοπιγός	Κινόπιγος	Μηνοπά	Πινοπυγός
20.	Ἄραψ	Ἄραψ [μεχ μεθ]	Ἄραψ	Ἀράψ
21.	Ταρταροήλ	Ταρταρουήλ	Ἀρταγήλ	Ταριταήλ
22.	Μεχμέθ	Μελμέθ	Μεχεμέ	Μαχμιθέ
			Μεχμέα	
23.	Μεθριδάν	Μηθριδανοῦ		Μυχριδάν
24.	Φροδρινός	Φροδαινός	Φρονδενός	Φροδενός

The Demons of Monday (Σελήνη)

	H	M	G	A
1.	Μαμουνάς	Μαμονάς	Κλινός	Μαιῶν
2.	Σκολιόν	Σκολιῶν	Σκωλιόν	Σκολιόν
3.	Θετοδόφ	Θετιδώρ	Θετιδόφ	Ἀθετδώρ
4.	Ἀρβάν	Ἀρβᾶν	Ἀζαφή	Ἀρβάν
5.	Ἀζάν	Ἀζᾶν		Ἀζάν
6.	Μεμάχθ	Μεμάχθ	Μεμαχαθ	Δεμαχθ
7.	Σκαμιδίνος	Σκαμιδινός	Σκαμιδεν	
8.	Γερφάν	Στιφοάν	Γιρφάν	Γεράν
9.	Γιράμ	Γιράμ	Γηράμ	Γυράν
10.	Μεκτιμανάς	Μενάκτινος	Μεμακτόν	Νεμακτηνός
		Μεκάκτινος		
11.	Μεξιφοῶν	Μεξιφρών	Μεξιφόν	Μαριφωναῦ
				Νικτιδών
12.	Οὐτολόχ	Ουτολώχ	Οὐτολῶον	Οντοχώρ
13.	Νυκτιδών	Νυκτιδών	Νυκτιδῶν	Νικτιδών
14.	Οὐιστός	Ὀυίστος	Ὀνιστός	Ονιστός
			( )	
15.	Κασιερέφ	Κασιερώφ	Κασιώρ	
16.	Κυσιεκοτός	Κησιέκοκος	Κισιεκετός	Κασιοκτός
17.	Ἀποφαήλ	Ἀνδροφαῖ	Ἀνδροφαῖ	Ἀνδροφαγ
				Ἀνδροφαγής
18.	Νιοχέλ	Νιωέχ	Νιοέχ	Μιοβού
19.	Ἠτουρός	Ἔνταυρος	Εὔταυρος	Ἔνταυρος
20.	Σιριτόν	Συριτώρ	Συριτώρ	Σιρτώρ
21.	Φαιναφέ	Φλινάφε [κήνυψ]	Φιλινολέρ	Φλοανιφέ
22.	Κανόψ	Κυκνίτ	Κυκνιτός	Κικνύτ
23.	Εὐκνιτιήλ	Κήνοψ	Κανωψ	Κύνοψ
24.	Ἀρκιδώδ	Σαρκιδῶν	Ἀρκιδωῖ	Ἀρτιδός

TABLE VII

The Demons of Tuesday (Ἄρης)

	H	M	G	A
1.	Λιθιδός	Κακιστῶν	Κάκιστον	Νάκιστος
2.	Κανιστῶν	Λιθριδών	Αἰθριδώ	Λιγορῶ
3.	Μαιθώθ	ΜαΓλώθ	Μαιλώθ	ΜαΓλώθ
4.	( )	Σαρακιδίε	Σαρακιδι	Σαρκιδιέ
5.	( )	Ταρταρουήλ	Ταρτερουήλ	
				Κερνουδής
6.	( )	Κερινουδαλός	Κεριδονάλ	Κερινουδέ
7.	( )	Κλινότιος	Κλινονιτός	Κθινενοτής
8.	( )	Τυρρύτωρ	Τιριτούρ	Πυροτορώ
9.	( )	Πληλατάν	Πληλεύτ	Πτηλατόν
10	( )	Σύθλος	Συθλος	Σιθλος
11.	( )	Ὀσθριδίε	Ὀρθριδεήλ	Ὀρθριδλέ
12.	( )	Ὀμιμότ	Ὀμιτότ	Ὀμιτοτόν
13.	( )	Ἀκρώξ	Ἀκροώζ	Ἀκριξόν
14.	Σκονίν	Σκωήν	Σκοήν	
				Ἀχλυτόν
15.	Προφί	Προφαΐ	Πορωΐ	Προφοή
16.	Ἀχλιτών	Ἀχλιτώλ	Ἀχιητόν	Ἐχλετόν
17.	Ὀριάν	Ὀρνάν	Ὀρνᾶν	Ὀρνάν
18.	( )	Χαλιμώθ	Χαμώθ	Λεμώθ
19.	Τοδιδεδός	Τουδδεδήν	Τοδεξγί	Τόδεδέ
20.	Τεφραήλ	Τεφρά	Τεφρᾶ	
21.	Ἰαράν	Νιράν	Νιράν	Νιράν
				Ἐνιράν
22.	Ῥακιδών	Ῥακιρώ	Ῥακιτῶ	Ῥαεκρῶ
23.	Ἠργατιγέ	Ἰργατιέ	Ἠργατιγέ	Ἠργατγέ
24.	Γισαόρ	Γηγαώρ	Γιγαώρ	Γιγκωγί

The Demons of Wednesday (Ἑρμῆς)

	H	M	G	A
1.	Λουτζιφάρ	Λουτζιφάρ	Λουτηφάρ	Λουτζιφάρ
2.	Γουκουνιάν	Γουκουνιώρ	Ἰουκουνιῶν	Γοκώμ
3.	Εἰστιερίξ	Εἰσπνίουξ	Ὑπνηρίξ	Ἰσπνυρίξ
4.	Μηδικίτ	Μιδωκήτ	Μιδοκέτ	Μιδουέτ
5.	Γταδαφίδ	Ντιαδαδίφ	Νηφαδαφίδ	Ἰταδαδίφ
6.	Σκιτογιρί	Σκιντογήρ	Σκηντωήλ	Κυντογύρ
7.	( )	Φνιδωτάς	Φνιδωτᾶς	Φνιδητάς
8.	Καρατάν	Καρατάν	Καρατήν	Καρατάν
9.	Μιάγ	Μιάγ	Μιεγί	Μιάν
10.	Γιτζάρ	Γατζάρ	Ἰατζάρ	Γαταζάρ
11.	Πνιδώρ	Πνίδωρ	Πνιδώρ	Φνιδώρ
12.	Ταβλάς	Τοιβλάς	Ταυλασίν	Τακλάς
13.	Ταξπόν	Ταξιπῶν	Ταξεπών	Ταξεπονί
14.	Ὀφέτης	Ὀφιτᾶν	Ὀφιτάς	Ὀφιτάν
15.	( )	Ἀβλυχός	Ἀβριχός	Ἀβριχός
				Λουκάν
16.	Βλεκύν	Μαλακίς	Μαλανές	Μαλακής
17.	Βλεμήν	Βλεμίγχ	Βλεμάγ	
18.	Χιρώτ	Χειρούν	Χαρῶν	Χειρῶν
19.	Ἐφιπάς	Ἔφιππας	Ἐφιπᾶς	Ἐφιηλάς
20.	Ἀκαήλ			
		Ὀρκιστάφ	Ὀρκιτάφ	Ὀρκιταέφ
21.	Λογινάρ	Λογινάρ	Λογινάρ	Λογινάρ
22.	Φαραί	Φαρώς	Φαρός	Φαρός
23.	Ῥουστάτ	Ῥοκτάτ	Ρουστάτι	Ῥουστάτ
24.	Ὀπνάξ	Ὀπνάξ	Ὀπνάς	Ὀπνάξ

The Demons of Thursday (Ζευς)

	H	M	G	A
1.	Μελπιφρόν	Μελτιφρών	Μελτιφρῶν	Τυφανβόν
2.	Ὀχλόρ	Ὀχλός	Ὀχλός	Ὀχλός
3.	Ὀνιρός	Οὐήρος	Οὐκρός	Ὀνηρός
4.	Θαφώτ	Θαφώτ	Θαφώτ	Φαφότ
5.	Τζιππάτ	Τζιππάτ	Τζικατ	Τζηπατήρ
6.	Ἀμίρ	Ἀμώρ	Ἀκώρ	Ἀμόρ
7.	( )	Ὄρφωρ	Ορφώρ	Ὀρφόρ
8.	Οὐταήλ	Οὐταήτ	Οὐταήλ [τ]	Οὐκτάκ
9.	Ἐργοτάς	Ἐργωτάς	Ἔργοτας	Ἐργοτάς
10.	Ἀζουβούλ	Ἀζουβούλ	Ἀδοβούδ	Ἀζαβούλ
11.	Ἀπλήξ	Ἀπλήξ	Ἀπλήξ	Πλύξ
12.	Σιγός	Σίγως	Σιγώρ	( )
13.	Ἐμοδιάς	Ἀσμωδάς	Ἀσμοδί	( )
14.	Ὀούχ	Οὐώχ	Οὐώχ	Ὄνοχ
15.	Μονικονέτ	Νικοκέπ	Νικοκίπ	Ὀκοκές
16.	Κοπινός	Κοπινός	Σκοπινός	Κοπηνός
17.	Καῖτέ	Καητέ	Καῖτέ	Δραμακαῖτέ
				Ὀοχάτ
18.	Λαστόρ	Λάστωρ	Λαστώρ	Λαστόρ
19.	Ἔπιος	Ἐπιή	Ἐπιῆ	Ἐπιή
20.	( )	Ὀργάν	Ὀργᾶν	Ὀργάν
21.	Νιεριέρ	Νιεριέρ	Νιεριέλ	Νιερέρ
22.	Οὐαλιελῶ	Οὐαλιέλος	Οὐαλιελός	Οὐανλήΐλος
				Κυλικός
23.	Γαλιέλ	Γαλιελιώρ	Γαλιερώθ	Γαλιελιώρ
24.	Λιόρ	Χουκάν	( )	Μελτφρῶν

The Demons of Friday (Ἀφροδίτη)

	H	M	G	A
1.	Γουριήλ	Γουλίων	Γουλιώθ	Γουλιῶν
2.	Βιζούκ	Βιζήκ	Βιζίκ	Βιζική
3.	Ζορζοροάθ	Ζορζοροάθ	Ζορζοροάθ	Ζορζορί
4.	Ῥαριώφ	Ῥαφιώφ	Ῥαριώφ	Φαριώθ
5.	Ἑρμάν	Ἕρμάν	Ἑρμάν	Ἑρμάνερ
6.	Κροδάλος	Κεριονούδαλος	Κεριονουδάλ	Κακλοῦδαλος
7.	Ταβτάλιος	Ταβαλταλίς	Ταβταλήρ	Τανταλής
8.	Θαπνίξ	Θάπνιξ	Θαπνίζ	Θαπνύξ
9.	Ἐλισάμ	Ἐλισσέμ	Ἀλισσέμ	Ἐλισσεμ
10.	Ἀμίχ	Ἀμίχ	Ἀμήχ	Ἀμήχ
11.	Ἀλτιδών	Γαλγιδών	Γαλγιδών	Γαλγιδῶν
12.	Ἐφορίτ	Ἐφιρίτ	Ἐφιρήτ	Ἐφούξ
13.	Στρατιγέτ	Στραγέτ	Στραγέτ	Στραγιτόν
14.	Ἀνθηρός	Ἄνθηρος	Ἀνθηρός	Στανθυρός
15.	Πιξιτόρ	Πηζητός	Πιζητώρ	Πιζιτώρ
16.	Ἀπρίξ	Ἀπρίξ [ὀτρίχος]	Ἀπριζ	Ἄπρας
17.	Νιφῶν	Νίφων	Νήφων	Νυφῶν
18.	Ἀτρίχ	Ὀτρίχος	Ἐριχός	Ὀτριχός
19.	Λιμέρ	Χιμερί	Χιμερί	Χιμέρ
20.	Μύλιν	Μέλυ	Μύλη	Μολί
21.	Καπνιθέν	Καπνιθέλ	Καπνιθέλ	Καπνιθέλ
22.	Ταχμνάν	Ταχμάν	Ταχμάν	Ταχμάν
23.	( )	Οὐκισέμ	Οὐκισέμ	Οὐκισέμ
24.	Οὐνιφεριτούας	Οὐνιφρήρ	Οὐνιφέρ	Κνιφώρ

TABLE VII

The Demons of Saturday (*Κρόνος*)

	H	M	G	A
1.	Ἡλιδιτάρ	Κληνδατύρ	Κλιδητύρ	Ἀλιδαπύρ
2.	Λιρίκ			Λυρίκ
		Χειρίμ	Χοιρίμ	
3.	Σπονδύρ	Σπινδύρ	Σπιλδύρ	Σπυλδάρ
4.	Κηριάμ	Κεριάκ	Κεριακῶς	Κεριαέ
5.	Νικέμ	Νικέμ	Νεκέμ	Ἐνικύμ
6.	Κιριέ	Μιριήλ	Μιρήλ	Μοριέ
7.	Συνιγηρύμ	Συνιγειρύμ	Σηνεγεφόμ	Σιγγυρύμ
8.	Ἐφιός	Ἄφιος	Ἄφιος	Ἀφιός
9.	Θόνιος	Θόριος		Κυφθονιός
10.	Γοργοπιός		Γουργούπος	
11.	Στελφά	Στελφά	Στελφα	Στέλφα
12.	Κυτός	Κυπῶς	Κηπῶς	Κιπός
13.	Σιάρ	Σκάρ [Τηχάρ]	Σκάρ	Σκάρ
14.	( )	Τηχάρ	Τήχαρ	Τειχίρ
15.	( )	Ἀκρώχ	Ἀκρόχ	Ἀκρόχ
16.	Ἀρηιτάν	Ἀρηιτάν	Ἀρηιτᾶν	Ἀριτάν
17.	Ἀπόμιος	Ἀτόμεος	Ἄτόμος	
18.	Γνωτάς	Γνῶτας	Γνώτας	Γνωντάς
19.	( )	Μερκοῦ	Μερκοῦ	Μερκίμ
20.	( )	Ἐναριτάρ	Ὀκρΐτάρ	Ὠκετάρ
21.	( )	Νιουχάν	Ἰουχᾶν	Ἰουχάν
22.	( )	Ἄμφου	Ἀμφοῦ	Ἀμφοῦ
23.	( )	Μάνκως	Μαγγός	Μανικός
24.	( )	Μοιγρῶν	Μόγρον	Μαγρός
25.	( )	Νιγρίσφ	Νιγριέφ	Νιγριέφ
				Νιγριέφ

TABLE VIII: Lists of the Spirits of the Four Quarters

Spirits of the East

	H	G	A	B
1.	Λουτζιφέρ	( )	Λουτζήφερ	Λουτζιφερ
2.	ΠελτζαφατάΓ	( )	Πελτζαπούθ	Πελτζατεηθ
		( )	ΦαταΓ	Φαταγι
3.	Γαασή	( )	ΓαασΓ	Γαγασι
4.	Σακοβολάς	( )	Σαβολών	Σαβαλονοδ
5.	Τζελσιώδ	( )	Κελσιώδ	
6.	Πολλαικύναις	( )	Πολάσκόν	Παλακον
7.	Περριοράθ	( )	Περιοράθ	Περιοραθ
8.	Ὀονέκι	( )	ὈρεκορναΓ	Ὀρικορ
9.	ὈρθαΓ	( )		Ναγι
10.	Ὀρνιᾶ	( )	Ὀρνιάς	Ὀρνηας
11.	Ἀβεχέ	( )	Ἀβεχχέ	Ἀβελχε
12.	Βιναέ	( )	Βιναέ	Βηναγε
13.	Λαμπορές	( )	Λαμπορές	Λαμπορες
14.	Παρατόν	( )	Παράτών	Παρατον
15.	Βηκαρτον	( )	Βοκαρπά	Βοκαρκαν
16.	Ὀνισκελιά	( )	Ὀνος κελιδ	Νασκελης
17.	Λικατές	( )	Λυκοτας	Ληκοτας
18.	Πληξτεφῶ	( )	Πλιξτεφρά	Πληξτεφρα
19.	Κακιστή	( )	Κακηστή	
20.	Καιμκλανές	( )	Κεμλανες	
21.	Ῥιεριδῶν	( )	Ῥιεριδών	
22.	Σχοζινοξεν	( )	Ἀχυζηγοζεής	
23.	Χωζεί	( )		
24.	Ὀπεράλ	( )	Ὀπεράλ	Ὀπεραλ
25.	Μιαρέρ	( )	Μιαρέρ	Μηαρερ
26.	Κυνάς	( )	Κιωνάς	Κυονας
27.	Λασυρλαμπητα	( )	Λαεουρά	Λαεσιρ
		( )	Λακιτά	Λαπητε
28.	Μιγαδέλ	( )	Μιγαδέλ	Μηγαδελ
29.	Μεντιφρόν	( )	Μεντεφρών	Μεντεφρον
30.	Πορκίκι	( )	Πορκιήν	Κυνηπρο

Spirits of the North

H	G	A	B
1. Ἀσμοδαί	( )	Ἀσμοδαΐ	Ἀσκοδαι
2. Λεοντοφ	( )	Λεοντόφ	Λεοταφ
3. Τριαβόλ	( )	Τριαβόλ	Τροιβολ
4. Γαμεΐς	( )	Γαμφαΐς	Γαμφαης
5. Ἀνατόχ	( )	Ἀναπώχ	Ἀναποχ
6. Οὐλφάς	( )	Νουλφάς	Λουφας
7. Γαβαάπ	( )	Βαγωάπ	Βαγοαχ
8. Αἰνώθ	( )	Αἰνάθ	Ἔναθ
9. Γαλιός	( )	Γαλώς	Γαλος
10. Βιαρά	( )	ΒΒιαρρά	Βηαρα
11. Ἰνωκήξ	( )	Κυνοκέξ	Κυνοκεξ
12. Μαχώθ	( )	Μαχώθ	Μαχοθ
13. Ταρταρώνι	( )	ΤαρταρουΐΛ	Ταρταρουηλ
14. Ζαμαρφά	( )	Ζωμαρφά	Ἡαμαρφα
15. Ἀβλικόν	( )	Ἀβλίκον	Ἀβληκου
16. Σκαβαδιώδ	( )	Σαβαδιόδ	Σαβαδηοδ
17. Δαμαρόν	( )	Δαμουρουφ	Δαμουρουφ
18. Φιεβλάς	( )	Ἰεγουλας	Ἡγεγουλας
19. Βαρσεφιάλ	( )	Βαρσεφιάλ	Βαρσαφηαλα
20. Ἀρτουσούλ	( )	Ἀρτισούλ	Ἀρτισουλ
21. Ἰπεσιδών	( )	Πεσιδών	Πεσηδον
22. Κιναχάς	( )	Κιναχάς	Κυναχας
23.	( )	Ἀκοῦραφ	Ἀκουηραφ
24.	( )	Ῥιξγιουδάν	Ῥηξηουδα
25.	( )	Μαχουμεθού	Μουχου
	( )		Μεθου
26. Δοιοκοντά	( )	Δοιακοντά	Δοιακοντα
27. Ἀζεβοῦ	( )	Ἀζιβού	Ἀζηβου
28. Ἀβιζουθ	( )	Ἀζιβούθ	Ἀβηζουθ
29. Μιεσήρ	( )	Μεσύρ	Μηεσιρ
30. Σφαδωραπο	( )	Σφενδαράπ	Σφινδαραπ

Spirits of the North

	H	G	A	B
1.	Ἀσμοδαί	( )	Ἀσμοδαῖ	Ἀσκοδαι
2.	Λεοντοφ	( )	Λεοντόφ	Λεοταφ
3.	Τριαβόλ	( )	Τριαβόλ	Τροιβολ
4.	Γαμεῖς	( )	Γαμφαῖς	Γαμφαης
5.	Ἀνατόχ	( )	Ἀναπώχ	Ἀναποχ
6.	Οὐλφάς	( )	Νουλφάς	Λουφας
7.	Γαβαάπ	( )	Βαγωάπ	Βαγοαχ
8.	Αἰνώθ	( )	Αἰνάθ	Ἐναθ
9.	Γαλιός	( )	Γαλώς	Γαλος
10.	Βιαρά	( )	ΒΒιαρά	Βηαρα
11.	Ἰνωπήξ	( )	Κυνοπέξ	Κυνοπεξ
12.	Μαχώθ	( )	Μαχώθ	Μαχοθ
13.	Ταρταρώνι	( )	Ταρταρουῖλ	Ταρταρουηλ
14.	Ζαμαρφά	( )	Ζωμαρφά	Ἠαμαρφα
15.	Ἀβλικόν	( )	Ἀβλίκον	Ἀβληκου
16.	Σκαβαδιώδ	( )	Σαβαδιόδ	Σαβαδηοδ
17.	Δαμαρόν	( )	Δαμουρουφ	Δαμουρουφ
18.	Φιεβλάς	( )	Ἰεγουλας	Ἠγεγουλας
19.	Βαρσεφιάλ	( )	Βαρσεφιάλ	Βαρσαφηαλα
20.	Ἀργουσούλ	( )	Ἀρτισούλ	Ἀρτισουλ
21.	Ἰπεσιδών	( )	Πεσιδών	Πεσηδον
22.	Κιναχάς	( )	Κιναχάς	Κυναχας
23.		( )	Ἀκοῦραφ	Ἀκουηραφ
24.		( )	Ῥιξγιουδάν	Ῥηξηουδα
25.		( )	Μαχουμεθού	Μουχου
		( )		Μεθου
26.	Δριακοντά	( )	Δριακοντά	Δριακοντα
27.	Ἀζεβοῦ	( )	Ἀζιβού	Ἀζηβου
28.	Ἀβιζουθ	( )	Ἀζιβούθ	Ἀβηζουθ
29.	Μισήρ	( )	Μεσύρ	Μησιρ
30.	Σφαδωραπα	( )	Σφενδαράπ	Σφινδοραπ

TABLE VIII

Spirits of the West

	H	G	A	B
1.	Ἀσταρώθ	Ἀσταρώθ	Ἀσταρώθ	Ἀσταροθ
2.	Βελβεέ	Βελβιέ	Βελβιέ	Βελβης
3.	Κιτωήλ	Κωπακίλ	Κουταέλ	Κουταελ
4.	Νικοτέ	Νικοτέ	Νικοτέ	Νηκοτε
5.	Πθορά	Σατορά	Σαππώρά	Σαπτορα
6.	Φοβοκίλ	Φοβοκίλ	Φβοκίλ	Φβοκηλ
7.	Μηρτός	Μιρετός	Μυρετός	Μηρετος
8.	Ἀρτήρ	Ἀρμετής	Ἀρμετής	Ἄρμητης
9.	Μουβεσουήλ	Μουβεούλ	Μουβεούλ	Μεβιουλ
10.	Ἀπολοχάς	Μπλολαχέ		Πλολαχε
11.	Ἐλβεπρίζ	Ἐλβεπρίζ	Ἐλβεπερίξ	Ἀλβαπερξ
12.	Σφραγιέλ	Φραγιέλ	Φραγιέλ	Φαραγιελ
13.	Πορκικί			
14.	Νωά	Νονα	Νουαπώχ	Νουαποχ
15.	Πωχ και	Μεμπριδώχ		
16.	Πριούχ		Κυπριδούν	Νηπροδουχ
17.	Βασιγῶν	Βασιγώρ		Βασεγορ
18.	Ἐξουνεαργή	Ἐξινούς		Ἐξηνους
		Ἀκαρ	..αρκιγή	Ἀρκυγι
19.	Ἰαπέρ	Ἰάπερ	Ἠαπερ	Ἠαπερ
20.	Μελιδούς	Μελαδούς	Μελαδούς	Μελαδους
21.	Βαναχώρ	Βαναχώρ	Βαν..	Βαναχος
22.	Ἰοροήλ	Ὀροήλ		Ὀροηλ
23.	Ἰαζμοῦ	Ἰαζμοῦ		Ἠαμβουμ
24.	Τραξδατί	Πράξδατε		Τραξδατη
25.	Ὠπρινάς	Ὀπρινάς	Ὀπρινάς	Ὀπρινας
26.	Βοδιμέν	Βεδμεήλ	Βοδυκίλ	Βοδημηλ
27.	Ἀκοσγώ		Ἀκω..	Ἠκησυωρ
28.	Σαβρικέλ			Σαβληκερ
29.	Φθικέρ			Φηστισικερ
30.	Βιχερόν	Βεχορνοῦ		Βιλερου
31.	Ἀχθιόβ	Ἀχθησώβ	Ἀχθιώθ	Ἀχθιοχ

rits of the South

	H	G	A	B
1.	Θεοζεβούλ	Βιελζούζ	( )	Θεοζεβουλ
2.	Ἀκανήλ	Ὀακανίλ	( )	Ἀκανιλ
3.	Ἀχαννιώθ	Ἀχαννιώχ	( )	Ἀχαριωθ
4.	Ζιοθεούλ	Ῥιξθεούλ	( )	Ῥηξ θελου
5.	Ἠλιάχ		( )	Ἠλιαλ
6.		Οἰθαλμιανέθι	( )	Μηαννηθ
7.	Ἐφιστά	Ἐφιστά	( )	Ἐφηστα
8.	Μελτός	Μηλτοάλ	( )	Μητοαρ
9.	Καριτέρ	Καριτέλ	( )	Καριτερ
10.	Ὑποκαλτ	Ὑποχτάλ	( )	Ἠπολτατι
11.	Λιστιθώ	Λιστροθώ	( )	Λεστρηθ
12.	Καλιούθ	Καλιθούλ	( )	Καθηθουλ
13.	Βοιδοματεκάν	Βοιδών	( )	Βηοδον
14.	Μαλεκαμών	Μαλισκάρ	( )	Μαληοκαρ
15.	Λισκάξ	Παλισκάξ	( )	Παληοκαξ
16.	Βελιούχ	Βελιούχ	( )	Βιλιουλ
17.	Πελγιάθ	Πελγιάθ	( )	Βηγιαθ
18.	Γααθών	Γααθούλ	( )	Γααθηουλ
19.	Εἰσγονέλ	Ἰγνυέλ	( )	Ἠογινελ
20.	Ῥενδιμών	Ῥεννιδόν	( )	Ῥεδε
				Βοον
21.	Χαιελουλ	Χαιεούλ	( )	Λαιηουλ
22.	Δεγιασών	Δεμιασών	( )	Δεμιαθιν
23.	Ὑπεριεριμάς	Ὑπερίκ	( )	Ἠπεριηριαρ
		ἀήουσα	( )	
24.	Οὐκαλαθιτέν	Οὔλκας	( )	Οὔκας
		Λεζίτεν	( )	Λεγζιτεν
25.	Πτεθουέ	Πτεθαουέ	( )	Βοτε
				Θαοι
26.	Θεθυνίς	Λεθοκάρ	( )	Λεθοκας
27.	Οθονί	Οθονί	( )	Οὐνοι
28.	Κεθουον	καὶ Θαοι	( )	Ἠθαον

TABLE IX: Demons listed in Recension C of the *Testament of Solomon*. (Manuscript sigla are McCown's: square brackets indicate information not found in his edition)

	McCown	Variants
1.	Τζιανφιέλ (TV)	Τζηανφιέλ (UW)
2.	Φαράν	
3.	Μαχουμέτ	[Μαχουμε (T)]
4.	Νακούρ	
5.	Ῥοάπτ	[Ῥοάς (T)]
6.	Παρέλ	Παρελκοζίου (T)
7.	Ἀσμοδεῶ	Ἀσμοδέος (T), Ἀσμοδεώ (U)
8.	Μπηλέτ	[Absent in T]
9.	Λασαράκ	[T8]
10.	Ῥασμέτ	[T9] Ῥαεμέτ (V), Ῥαιμέτ (T)
11.	Τζερεπόνες	[T10] Τζεραπώνες (UW), [Τζερεπόνοβ T]
12.	Νταρωγάν	[T11] Ἰτάρογαν (T)
13.	Πελών	[T12] [Πελῶν T]
14.	Σουπιέλ	[T13] [Σοῦπιέλ T]
15.	Ὀριένς	[T14]
16.	Ἀμεμῶν	[T15] Ἀμαιμῶν (V), [Ἄμεμων T]
17.	Ἐλτζήν	[T16] Ἐλτζεῖν (V), Ἐλτζίν (T)
18.	Πανῶν	[T17] [Πανών T]
19.	Βούλ	[Absent in T]
20.	Ἀμπατζούτ	[T18]
21.	Ἀσταρώθ	[T19]
22.	Λουπήτ	[T20]
23.	Ἀπολήν	[T21] Ἀπόλην (W), Ἀπολιΐ (T)
24.	Ἀστερώθ	[T22] Ἀστηρώθ (W), ὁ ἕτερος ἀσταρώθ (T)
25.	Λάτζηφερ	[T23] Λατζιφέρ (T)
26.	Μαγώτ	[T24] Μαγότ (W)
27.	Καράπ	[T25]
28.	Οὔλεος	[T26] Οὐλατός (T)
29.	Κρινέλ	[T27]
30.	Τουγέλ	[T28] Τοῦγελ (T)
31.	Σεταριέλ	[T29]
32.	Φακανέλ	[T30]
33.	Ὀέλ	[T31]
34.	Λένελ (V)	[T32] Ὀελήνήλ (T), Νένελ (W)
35.	Σαρατιέλ	[T33]
36.	Μυρατζιέλ	[T34] Μυρακΐέλ (T), Μιρατζηέλ (W)
37.	Σανσωνιέλ	[T35] Σανσονιέλ (T)
38.	Ἀσιέλ	[T36]
39.	Καστιέλ	[T37] Ἀστιέλ (T)
40.	Μεινγέτ (W)	[T38] Μηνγέτ (V), Μινγότ (T)
41.	Ἐνοδάς	[T39]
42.	Ἀτανιανούς	[T40] Ἀντιναός (T), [Αντινιανός (T)]
43.	Μυραγκούς	[T41] Μιραγκούς (W), Μῦρακος (T)
44.	Ποτζέτιες	[T42] Ποτζέτῖος (T)
45.	Ἄνετ	[T43] [Ανέτ T]
46.	Παλτάφωτε	[T44] Παλταφάτε (T)
47.	Σαπαρατζήλ	[T45] Σαρατήλ (T)
48.	Ταρσεύς	[T46? Name absent in T] Ταρσές (V)
49.	Ναβέλ	[T47] Ναβάλ (T)
50.	Σαταήλ	[T48] Τασαήλ (T)
51.	Ναπαλαικόν	[T49] Ναμπαλαΐκόν (T)
52.	Μακατάκ	[T50] Μακκατάκ (W), Μαχατάκ (V)

Index of Biblical References

(Figures in italics indicate reference in footnotes)

OLD TESTAMENT

(References follow the LXX)

Genesis

2:8 35
2:9 47
2:15, 17 35
3:1-5 35
3:6 35, 41
3:9-11, 12-13 35
3:12-13 35
3:14 30
3:14-15, 16 46
3:16 46
3:17-19, 21-24 47
3:21-24 47
4:8 48
6 167, 173
6:2 *167*

Leviticus

17:7 *53*
19:26 *125*
19:31 *125, 129*
20:6, 27 *125*

Numbers

21:9 45

Deuteronomy

13:1-3 *125*
18:10-11 *125*
32:17 53

Judges

9:23 *23*

I Kings

15:23 *125*
16:14-16 *23*
19:19 *23*
28 *129*
28:3 *125*

II Kings

8:10 *30*

III Kings

22:21-23 30

IV Kings

17:17 *125*
21:6 *125*

II Chronicles

33:6 *125*
35:19 *125*

Tobit

3:8 *24, 90, 227*
3:17 *24, 227*
6:6, 15-17 *148, 227*
8:2-3 *148, 227*

Job

1:6 *8, 30*
1:7 *15*
1-2 75
2:1 *30*
10:21 *73*
26:13 44
40:10 - 41:25 44
40:20 44

Psalms

16:13 *132*
18:37-38 *140*
26:3 *140*
36:31 *132*
39:15-16 *140*
67:2 *140*
73:13-14 44-45
77:49 *8 24, 114, 138*
81:7 9, 18
90:5-6 20
90:6 *104, 225*
95:5 53
105 *55*
105:36-37 53
117:7, 10 *140*
139:4 *132*

Wisdom

2:24 36, 48
4:2 *132*
5:17-22 *131*
10:12 *132*
12:4 *53*

Sirach

10:13 40
34:5 *125*

Hosea

4:12 *23*, 106, *125*
5:4 *23*, 106
12:1 *23*

Zechariah

3:1 *30*
10:2 *125*

Isaiah

2:6 *125*
7:14 56
8:19 *125*
9:2 *64*
13:21–22 *82*
14:12 201
14:12–20 9, 25, 32
27:1 31, 44
34:9–15 *73*
34:11–14 *82*
41:11 *30*
44:25 *125*
59:17 *131*
61:1 *132*
61:3 *104*
65:3, 11 *53*
66:6 *30*
66:24 *74*

Jeremiah

14:14 *125*
34:9 *125*
36:8 *125*

Baruch

4:7 *53*
4:35 *73*

Ezekiel

13:6–9 *125*
13:23 *125*
28:2–19 9, 18
29:19–20 *138*

NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew

4:1–11 *57*
4:16 *64, 66*
4:24 *92*
5:37 *24*
6:13 *24*
6:24 *110*
7:21–23 *143*
7:22 *148*
8:12 25, *73*
8:16 *94*
8:28–34 *90*
8:29 73
8:31–32 *82*
8:32 *143*
9:32–33 *94*
9:34 *59*
10:1 *65, 94*
10:25 *59*
10:28 48
11:18 *59*
12:22 *94*
12:24 *18*
12:24–28 *59*
12:28
12:43 *148*
12:45 *144*
13:19 *20, 144*
13:24 *24*
13:24–28 *29*
13:38 70
14:1–12 *24*
14:5–12 *105*
15:19 *59*
17:15–20 98
17:18 *92*
22:13 *143*
24 25 *73*
24:24 72
25:30 *73*
25:41 25, *73, 74*
26:14–16, 25, 47–50 8, 73
27:3–10 *61*
61

Mark

1:12–13 *57*
1:23–26 *90*
1:24 *73, 80*
1:25 *143*
1:32–34 *94*
3:15 *65*
3:22 *18*
3:22–27 *59*
3:22–30 *148*
5:1–17 *90*
5:5, 7 *80*
5:8 *143*
5:12–13 *82*
6:7 *65*
6:13 *94*
6:19–29 *59*
6:21–29 *105*
8:29 *80*
9:17–29 *92, 94*
9:18 *144*
9:25 *143, 144*
9:29 *140*, 145, *210*
9:38–40 *143*
9:45, 48 *74*
12:33 *65*
13 72
13:22 *73*
14:10–11, 43–46 *61*
16:9 *20*
16:17 *64*
16:17–18 *143*

Luke

3:19–20 *105*
4:1–13 *57*
4:18 *132*
4:33 *80*
4:33–37 *90*
4:35 *143*
6:17–18 *94*
7:21 *94*
8:2 *20, 24*
8:26–37 *90*

8:28 *80*
8:29 *143*
8:31 *73*
8:32-33 *82*
9:1 *65, 94*
9:9 *105*
9:38-42 *92*
9:39 *80*
9:42 *143*
9:49 *143*
10:17, 19 *64*
10:17-20 *65, 143*
10:18 9
10:19 *29*, 44, *82*
10:20 *148*
11:14 *94*
11:15 *18*
11:15-23 *59*
11:20 *148*
11:21-22 *131*
11:24 *144*
11:26 *20, 144*
11:54 *133*
13:10-17 *94*
13:16-17 *30*
16:13 *110*
21 72
21:15 *30*
22:3-6, 47-48 *61*

John

1:5 25, *66*
3:14 *45*, 46
3:19-20 25
3:20 204
6:71 *61*
7:20 *59, 91*
8:44 31, 48
8:48 *59*
8:48-49 *91*
10:20 *59, 91*
11:33, 38 *114*
12:6 *60*, 109
12:31 *9*, 18, *73*
13:2, 27 *61*
13:29 *60*
14:30 *18*
16:11 *18, 73*
18:2-3 *61*

Acts

1:16-20 *61*
5:3 31
5:15 *147*
5:15-16 *65*
8 126
8:7 *65, 80, 94*
16:16-18 *125, 129, 143*
16:18 *65, 80, 143*
19 *78*
19:11-19 *143*
19:12 *65, 94, 147*
19:13 *143*
19:14-16 *90*
19:15-16 *144*
19:19 *125, 155*
23:16, 21 *133*
25:3 *133*

Romans

1:26 *96*
5:14, 21 51
6:13 *130, 131*
6:17-20 *50*
6:23 *48*
7:14-15, 18 51
7:23 *132*
8:24 117
12:1 *65*
13:12 *131*

I Corinthians

5:5 *138*
6:9-10 98
8:4-6 *65*
9:26 *132*
10:19-21 53
10:20-21 *65*
11:10 *167*
15:21-22 *48*
15:55 64
16:9 *30*

II Corinthians

2:7-11 *116*
4:4 *18*
6:14-16 *53*
7:10 *117*
10:3-4 *131*
11:3 39
11:4 *8*
11:14 83
12:7 *8*

Galatians

4:3, 8, 9 191
4:8-9 *53*
5:19-21 98, *125*

Ephesians

2:2 15, 18, *202*
5:5 *110*
6:11-17 129, *131*
6:12 15, *17, 24*, 25, *132*
6:16 *24, 131*

Philippians

1:28 *30*
1:30 *132*
2:16 *132*

Colossians

2:8 191
3:5 *96*

I Thessalonians

3:8-9 *72*
4:5 *96*
5:8 *131*

II Thessalonians

2 72
2:4 *50*
3 72
3:3 *24*
9 *73*

I Timothy

3:6 9, 32, *75*
3:7 133
4:1 31
5:14 *30*
6:9-10 *110*
6:12 *132*

II Timothy

2:26 133
4:7,8 *132*

Hebrews

2:14 48
10:1-13 *65*

James

2:19 *64*

I Peter

3:19 *64*
3:19-20 *167*
5:8 *30, 133*

II Peter

2:2-18 106
2:4 9, 50, *167*
3:10, 12 191

I John

2:13-14 *24*
2:18, 22 *72*
3:12 *24, 48*
4:3 *72*
5:18-19 *24*
5:19 *18*

II John

7 *72, 73*

Jude

6 23, 50, *167*

Revelation

9 *130*
9:20 *53*
12:7 8, 9, 36, 44, *130*
12:9 8, 9, 31, 36, 44, *82*
12:10 *30, 75*
20:2 36
20:2-3 *50*
20:7 31
20:8 *73*
20:10 73
19:19 *130*
20:2 *45*

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

(Figures in italics indicate reference in footnotes alone)

Aaron, 274
Aaron, Isaac, *155*, *248*
Abel, 48, 111, 173
Abezethibou (demon), 167, 179, *228*, *230*, *232*, *235*, *269*
Abraham, 51, 272, 274
Abzu (demon), 185–186
Adam, 12, 35–43, 46–50, 55, 62–63, 97, 102, 109, 111, 118, 120, *132*, 172–173, 301–302, 319
Adonai, 271
Aegina, *296*
Agallianos, Theodore, 11, 43
Agarenes, 87
Ἀγλά, 272
Agrath (demon), *185*
Ahab, 30
Akephalos (demon), *181*
Akropolites, Konstantine, 83, 198
Alexander, 205 *296*
Alexios I Komnenos, *170*, *246*, 265
Alpha and Omega, 272
Amalek, 14
Amarantina, *82*, *129*, *157*, 293
Amaymon (demon), *230*
Ἀμεμῶν (demon), 230
Amirutzes, George, 11
Ammon, *54*
Ampelius, *183*
Anael, 224
Anannias, 31
Anastasios of Sinai, 36
Anastasios (Pseudo), 13, 126
Andrew of Crete, 105
Anerada (demon), 189, *232*, 235, 241, 253, *263*, 269, *285*
Aninas, 113
Anna, *56*
Antichrist, *30*, 72–73
Antony, St., 15–17, 79–80, 82, 85, 87, 91, 106, 110
Aphrodite, *54*, 258, 284
Apocalypse of Abraham, *36*
Apocalypse of Moses, *36*, *83*
Apoleios (magician), 126
Apollo, *54*, 183
Apollonius (of Tyana), 126, 163, *270*, *289*
Apollonius Rhodius, *196*
Apuleius, *188*, *267*, *293*
Aquarius, 221
Aquinas, Thomas, *215*
Arabs, Arabia, Arabic, 13, 162, *163*, 179, *233*
Ares, *54*, 254, 256
Argyrus, 183
Arianism, *70*
Ariel, 224
Aristophanes, *128*
Aristotle, *95*
Armenian, *70*, *213*, 262
Artemis, *54*
Asia Minor, 65
Asmodaeus (demon), *148*, *159*, 167, 212, 221, 224, 226, *227*, 230, 234, 240, *242*, 264
Assyria, Assyrian, 185, *254*, *259*, *260*, *296*
Astaroth, Astoreth, Ἀσταρώθ (demon), 226, *227*, 230, 232, *243*, 267
Astarte, *227*
Athanasios I of CP, 20, 157, *265*, *267*
Athanasios of Alexandria, 13, 79, 82, 87, 91, 107, 127, *181*, *189*, *221–222*
Athenagoras, *20*, *53*, *214*
Athos, Mt., *169*, *170*
Augustine, St., *19*, *63*
Ayia Sophia, *174*

Babylon, Babylonian, *9*, 103, 185, *289*
Balsamon, Theodore, 93, *243–244*, 246, 254, 265
Barlaam of Calabria, *54*, 121
III Baruch, *12*, *36*, *38*
Basil of Caesarea, 25, 42, 49, 67, 74–75, 78, 102, 105, 111, 125, 200, *214–215*, 255
Basil (the Bogomil), *170*, 211
Bathsheba, 109
Beelzeboul, Berzeboul, Βεελζεβούλ, (demon), 7, 18, *59*, *86*, *91*, *148*, *168*, *221*, 225–226, 230, *232*, 234–235, 240–241, 267, 269, 275
Beliar, Belial (demon), 7, *82*
Βελζέα (demon), 235
Βίβλος Σοφίας, 163, 195, 259
Bogomils, *26*, *38*, *58*, *127*, *141*, *156*, 167, 169–175, *180*, *204*, *206*, 211, *231*, 234
Books of Adam and Eve, *12*, *36*, *83*
Borborites, 257
Bosota, Cyril, *170*
Βούλ (demon), 230
Bryennios, Joseph, 50, 56, *98*, 192, 246
Bukovik, *170*
Bulgaria, *170*

Cain, 43, 48, 111, 173
Calomena, 173
Cancer, 258
Canidia, *251*
Cappadocia, *86*
Capricorn, 181, 239, 258
Cassian, John, *99*
Cathars, *169*
Cecco d'Ascoli, *230*
Celsus, *54*, 128
Chaldean Oracles, 202
Chaldeans, 177, 202, *203*, *206*, 208, *268*, *278*, *288*
Cherubim, 47, 145, 272
Chloros, Demetrios, *94*, 158, *178*
Choniates, Nicetas, *248*
Choumnos, Nikophoros, *288*
Chrysostom, John, 10, 38–40, 60, 62–64, 105, 109, 113, 117, *129*, *265*
Clavicular, 161, 270
Clement of Alexandria, *196*
Constantinople, *158*, 162, *169*, *170*, *174*

Corpus Hermeticum, 163, 176, 199, 205, 216
Crete, Cretans, *55*, *190*, *296*
Cumae, 183
Cybele, *189*
Cyprian, *244*

Damaskenos, John, 21, *23*, 40, 62, 186
Dan, *274*
David, 109
Delilah, 109
Demetrios, St., 82, *157*, 196–197, 277
Demokritos, 197–199
Διάβολος, 7, 39–40, 234
Diadochos of Photike, 41, 88, 102, 114
Digenes Akrites, 192
Diocletian, 67
Dionysios the Areopagite (Pseudo-), 22–23
Domitian, 67, 126
Dorotheos of Gaza, 51, 116
Drimys, John, *81*
Droungarios, 243

Ebros, *170*
Eden, 35, 300, 302
Egim (demon), *230*
Egypt, Egyptian, 65, *79*, *87*, *97*, *162*, *173*, 177, *180*, 220, *221*, 237, 272, *278*, *296*
Elason, 292, *293*
Eleazar, *158*
Elijah, 57
Eloi, 271, *275*
Ἑλτζήν (demon), 230
Emmanuel, *63*, 272, 275
Enepsigos (demon), *188*, 192, *221*, 264, *269*
Ἑωσφόρος, 7, 9, *227*
Ephesia Grammata, *180*
Ephippas, *Ἐφιππᾶς* (demon), 179, 225, *229*, *233*, *235*, 242, 264, 275
Ephraim of Syria, 101, 122
Epicureanism, *196*
Epiphanios, 257
Epiphany, *146*
Erictho, *251*
Eros, *131*
Ethiopians, 82, 85
Euchites, *70*, *156*, *171*
Eurycles, *128–129*
Eusebios of Caesarea, *216*
Eustathios, *129*
Euthymios of Acmonia, *171–172*
Euthymios of Madyta, St., 82
Evagrios of Pontus, 78–79, *98*, *204*
Eve, 12, *26*, 30, 35–42, 46–47, *56*, 69, *83*, 102, 109, 120, 122, 172–173, *180*, 301
Evil One, *18*, 37, 48, 52, 56, *98*, 103, 117, 123, 124, 139, *174*
Exotrochina, 244

Fates, 222
Father of darkness, 26
Father of envy, 43
Father of lies, 31
Fishoti (demon), *181*

Gabriel, 56, 224, 273
Gabrielopoulos, *155*, 288
Gehenna, *Γεέννα*, *74*
Gello, see Gylou
Gentiles, 87
George, St., 274
Gerasene demoniac, 90, *110*, 117, 130, 137, *144*, *275*
Germanicus, *265*
Germanos II of CP, *169*, 171
Ghāyat al-hakīm, 162, 194, *203*, 290
Gnosticism, *172*, *271*, *277*
Goliath, 14
Gordios, martyr, 67
Gorgon, 183, 185
Gregoras, Nikephoros, 19, 155, 163, 176, 196, 198–200, 202, *208*, 209–210, 212–213, 247, 254, 294
Gregory Akindynos, 121–122, *169*
Gregory of Cyprus, 25–26, 67, 79, 86, 200, 213
Gregory of Nazianzus, 13, 18, 42, 52, 54, 87, 94–95, 124
Gregory of Nyssa, *63*, *98*, *103*, *115*, *129*
Gregory of Sinai, 47, 84, 87, *98–99*, 100–101, 107, 200, 205, *226*
Gregory the Great, *20*
Grimoires, 161, 270
Gylou (demon), x, *183–184*, 186–187, *188*, *228*, *232*, *274*

Hades, *Ἅδης*, 9, 50, *51*, 64, 69, 74, 114, *188*, *246*
Hecate, 185, *232*
Heliodorus, *267*
Hellenes, 13, 197–198
Hercules, 183
Hermes, *54*, 258
Herod, 57, 59, 105, 109
Herodias, 59, 109
Hesiod, *54*
Hesychios of Sinai, 27
Hippolytos, *129*
Holy Spirit, 57, 70, 84, 145, 148, 275
Horace, *251*, *267*
Hyrtakenos, Theodore, 113

Iamblichus, *88*, *210*, *233*
Iao, 271
Idumaeans, 87
Ignatios, *56*
Illyria, 197
India, *162*
Iran, *162*
Irenaeus, *30*
Irene (Bogomil), *170*
Isaac (patriarch), 272
Isaac of Syria, 84
Ishmaelites, 87
Isidore, *169*

Corpus Hermeticum, 163, 176, 199, 205, 216
Crete, Cretans, *55*, *190*, *296*
Cumae, 183
Cybele, *189*
Cyprian, *244*

Damaskenos, John, 21, *23*, 40, 62, 186
Dan, *274*
David, 109
Delilah, 109
Demetrios, St., 82, *157*, 196–197, 277
Demokritos, 197–199
Διάβολος, 7, 39–40, 234
Diadochos of Photike, 41, 88, 102, 114
Digenes Akrites, 192
Diocletian, 67
Dionysios the Areopagite (Pseudo-), 22–23
Domitian, 67, 126
Dorotheos of Gaza, 51, 116
Drimys, John, *81*
Droungarios, 243

Ebros, *170*
Eden, 35, 300, 302
Egim (demon), *230*
Egypt, Egyptian, 65, *79*, *87*, *97*, *162*, *173*, 177, *180*, 220, *221*, 237, 272, *278*, *296*
Elason, 292, *293*
Eleazar, *158*
Elijah, 57
Eloi, 271, *275*
Ἐλτζήν (demon), 230
Emmanuel, *63*, 272, 275
Enepsigos (demon), *188*, 192, *221*, 264, *269*
Ἑωσφόρος, 7, 9, *227*
Ephesia Grammata, *180*
Ephippas, *Ἐφιππᾶς* (demon), 179, 225, *229*, *233*, *235*, 242, 264, 275
Ephraim of Syria, 101, 122
Epicureanism, *196*
Epiphanios, 257
Epiphany, *146*
Erictho, *251*
Eros, *131*
Ethiopians, 82, 85
Euchites, *70*, *156*, *171*
Eurycles, *128–129*
Eusebios of Caesarea, *216*
Eustathios, *129*
Euthymios of Acmonia, *171–172*
Euthymios of Madyta, St., 82
Evagrios of Pontus, 78–79, *98*, *204*
Eve, 12, *26*, 30, 35–42, 46–47, *56*, 69, *83*, 102, 109, 120, 122, 172–173, *180*, 301
Evil One, *18*, 37, 48, 52, 56, *98*, 103, 117, 123, 124, 139, *174*
Exotrochina, 244

Fates, 222
Father of darkness, 26
Father of envy, 43
Father of lies, 31
Fishoti (demon), *181*

Gabriel, 56, 224, 273
Gabrielopoulos, *155*, 288
Gehenna, *Γεέννα*, *74*
Gello, see Gylou
Gentiles, 87
George, St., 274
Gerasene demoniac, 90, *110*, 117, 130, 137, *144*, *275*
Germanicus, *265*
Germanos II of CP, *169*, 171
Ghāyat al-hakīm, 162, 194, *203*, 290
Gnosticism, *172*, *271*, *277*
Goliath, 14
Gordios, martyr, 67
Gorgon, 183, 185
Gregoras, Nikephoros, 19, 155, 163, 176, 196, 198–200, 202, *208*, 209–210, 212–213, 247, 254, 294
Gregory Akindynos, 121–122, *169*
Gregory of Cyprus, 25–26, 67, 79, 86, 200, 213
Gregory of Nazianzus, 13, 18, 42, 52, 54, 87, 94–95, 124
Gregory of Nyssa, *63*, *98*, *103*, *115*, *129*
Gregory of Sinai, 47, 84, 87, *98–99*, 100–101, 107, 200, 205, *226*
Gregory the Great, *20*
Grimoires, 161, 270
Gylou (demon), x, *183–184*, 186–187, *188*, *228*, *232*, *274*

Hades, *Ἅδης*, 9, 50, *51*, 64, 69, 74, 114, *188*, *246*
Hecate, 185, *232*
Heliodorus, *267*
Hellenes, 13, 197-198
Hercules, 183
Hermes, *54*, 258
Herod, 57, 59, 105, 109
Herodias, 59, 109
Hesiod, *54*
Hesychios of Sinai, 27
Hippolytos, *129*
Holy Spirit, 57, 70, 84, 145, 148, 275
Horace, *251*, *267*
Hyrtakenos, Theodore, 113

Iamblichus, *88*, *210*, *233*
Iao, 271
Idumaeans, 87
Ignatios, *56*
Illyria, 197
India, *162*
Iran, *162*
Irenaeus, *30*
Irene (Bogomil), *170*
Isaac (patriarch), 272
Isaac of Syria, 84
Ishmaelites, 87
Isidore, *169*

Jacob, 272
Jacobites, *170*
Jerusalem, 108, 158, *174*, 179
Jews, 48, 55, 59, 61, *78*, 87, 111, *132*, 275
Jezebel, 43
Joasaph, *109*
Job, 51, 58, 77–78, 109, 118, 121, 136–137, *140*
John Karpathios, 43, 119
John Klimakos, *23*, 78, *97*, 102, 104, 108, 110, 115
John Mauropous, 66, 68
John of Thessaloniki, *198*, *277*
John the Baptist, 57, 59, *78*, 105–106
John the Grammarian, *295*
Joseph, 109, 111
Josephus, Flavius, *158*
Judaism, 55, *161*
Judas, 19, 43, 60–61, 109, *110*, 117–118
Julian, 14, *67*
Julian (magician), 126
Juppiter, 292
Justin martyr, *30*, *53*, *183*, *200*, *214*

Kale, ἡ Καλή, 189, 231, 253–254, 259, *281*, 295
Kalekas, John, 62, 247
Kalimachos and Chrysorrhoe, *183*, 193, 250–251
Kallistos, *169*, *226*, *293*
Kantakouzenos, John, 22, 29, 41, 51, 66, 247
Kappadokes, 245, 255, 278, 283
Karpokrates, *16*
Katenitzina of Prousa, *80*
Katrones, John (Katrarios), *157*, 163, 176, 196, 199, 205, 216
Kleidas, Steilianos, 243
Kommnena, Anna, 211
Konstantine, 81, 257
Koryphe Drakonton (demon), *180*, 239, 243
Kos, 259
Kosmas the Presbyter, *171*, *174*
Kronos, 188, 192, *223*, 254, 257–258
Kudogeroi, *170*
Kydones, Demetrios, *288*
Kynopegos, Κυνόπηγος (demon), *180*, 225, 232, 235, 239, 263
Kynnides, 157–158, 177–178, 181, 186, 192, 205, 239, *242*, 262, 264, 269, 279–281, 283–285, 290

Lactantius, *200*
Lamashtu, 185
Lamies, 185
Lazar (Bogomil), *170*
Lazaros Galesiotes, 78, 80, 82, 93, 108, *140*
Lazarus, 60
Leo, 258
Leontios of Neapolis, *232*
Leontophorn, Λεοντοφόρον (demon), *180*, *229*, 235, 239, 275
Licinius, *81*
Lilith 185, *187*
Lix Tetrax (demon), 179, *221*, 224, *229*, 239, 241
Lucan, *251*
Lucian, *188*, *213*, *289*
Lucifer, Λουτζιφέρ, 7, *102–103*, 201, 226, *227*, 230, 234–235, 267
Λυκοῦργος, *279*

Makarios of CP, 49
Mammon, *110*, *174*
Manaiath (demon), *185*
Manes, Manicheeism, *170*, 175
Manuel II Palaiologos, *294*
Marcionites, *169–171*, *173*
Marina, St., 86, 200, 213
Marinianus, 197, *202*
Mark the Ascetic, 103
Mars, 254, 256
Mary, 56
Mary Magdalene, *20*
Maximian, 67, *81*
Maximos Homologetes, *23*, 25
Maximos Kavsokalyvetes, 15, *188*
Medusa, 185
Mehmed, *73*, *81*
Melchizidek, 274
Meletios Homologetes, 17, 29, 78, 104, 110–111, 123, 127, 138
Melitene, *274*
Mercury, 258,
Mesopotamia, *162*
Messalianism, *70*, *169–170*
Michael (archangel), 9, *12*, *130*, 184, 224, 273
Michael the Syrian, 257
Michael Palaiologos, *246*
Montanism, *70*
Mortze (demon), 193, 214, 259, 263, *290*, 294
Moschampar, George, *169*
Moses, 45, 57, *173*, 272, *274*
Muses, 185

Naaman (demon), *185*
Naboth, 43
Neilos of CP, 69
Nektanabo, 205, *296*
Nemesis, 285
Neoplatonism, 194, *268*, *283*
Nero, 67
Nestorios, *70*
Nicaea, *169*
Nicholas of Methone, *214*
Niphon of CP, *288*
Noah, 51, 173

Obyzouth (demon), 183, 186, *188*, *228*, *230*, 239, 264, *280*
Oceani, 54
Olympiodorus, 202, *204*
Onoskelis (demon), *168*, 182, 186–188, 212, *213*, 221, 229, 232, 241, 269, 273, *280*
Oriens, Ὀριένς (demon), 230
Origen, *9*, *11*, *22*, 128, *129*, *214*, 237

Ornias (demon), 167, 188, 208, *213*, 221, 223-224, 229, 241, 269, 273
Ouriel, 273
Ourouel, *273*
Ovid, *267*

Pachon, *85*
Pachymeres, George, 246
Palamas, Gregory, 20, *23*, 37-38, 49, *54*, *72*, *74*, *81*, 82-83, 92, *97*, 121-122, *169-170*
Palestine, *233*
Pamphile, *188*
Pantokrator, 272, 275
Papikion, *169*
Pappaeus, *54*
Παρηέζορε (demon), 235
Paterini, *170*
Πατική, 275
Paul, St., *138*, *147*
Paulicians, *170-171*, *173*
Pausanias, *288*
Paymon (demon), *230*
Peliel, *224*
Περὶ δαιμονών, see *Τιμόθεος*
Περὶ δαιμονών δοξάζουσιν, *156*, 209
Περὶ ἐνυπνίων (de Insomniis), 156, 163, 176, 196, 202-203, 209, 294
Peter, St., *60-61*, *147*
Peter the Athonite, 83-84, 92, *124*
Petronius, *183*
Phanetes, 54
Pharoah, 14
Philadelphia, *169*
Philippi, 129
Philistines, 103
Philvan (demon), *189*, 232, 235, 269
Phoenicians, *55*
Phonos (demon), 180, *217*, 239
Phoudoulis, *244*
Φθηνεώθ (demon), 238
Phundagiagitae, *172*
Picatrix, *162*
Pisces, *227*, 258
Planoudes, Maximos, *267*
Plato, *99*, *111*, *128*
Pleiades, 191
Plethon, *176*, *178*, 205, *288*, *294*
Plotinus, *94*, *96*, *209*
Plutarch, *128*
πνεῦμα Πύθωνα, 129
Porine, *169*
Porphyry, *215-216*
Posidonios, *144*
Poseidon, *209*
Potiphar, 109
Proclus, *177*, *212*, 215, *268*
Prodromos, Theodore, *177*
Proklos of CP, 49
Proteus, 87
Pseudo-Ptolomaeus, 194
Pterodrakon (demon), 180, 240
Pythagoreans, 205

Quran, 12, 22, *159*, *179*, *204*, 209

Raphael, 183, 224, *227*, 273, *280*
Red Sea, 179, 189, 232, *295*
Rhabdos (demon), *180*, *221*, *240*, 243
Rome, 121

Sabaoth, 142, 271
Sacchoni, Rainerio, *169*
Sagana, *251*
Sammael, *8*, *56*
Samson, 109
Sappho, 186
Sarael, *224*
Sarah (Tobit), *227*, 264
Sarakatsani, *16*, *86*
Satan, *Σατανάς*, 7-8, 30, *56*, *60*, *72*, 83, 91, 94, *99*, *116*, 122, 138-139, 173, 234, 285, 312
Satanael, *Σατανάηλ*, 7, *12*, *15*, *38*, *58*, 171-174, *180*, 211, *230*, 234
Saturn, 223, 254, 257-258
Saul, 129
Scholarios, George, 10, 20-21, *98*
Sefer ha-Razim, *162*
Seraphim, 145, 272
Sextus, 198-199
Sgouros, *288*
Sibyl, 183, *189*
Sicily, *189*
Simon Magos, *70*, 126
Sines, *274*
Sissinios, 274
Solomon, 109, 158, *159*, *163*, 179, 182-183, 188, *189*, 191, 205, 211, *221*, *227*, 237, 243, 263-264, 269, *270*, 273, 279-281, 287, *295*
Solomon's Magic Treatise, 157, 159-163 and Part II passim
Spain, 162, *189*
Sparta, 269
Stavrakios, John, *157*, 196-199, 277
Stethatos, Nicetas, *201*
Stoicism, 95, *96*, *98*, *129*
Symeon of Thessaloniki, 47, *170*
Sympilia (demon), *183*, 189, 214, *229*, 234, 253, 269
Synesios of Cyrene, 156, 163, 196, 198, 203, 294
Synodoros, *274*
Syria, *86*, *162*
Syropoulos, *245*, *288*

Tacitus, *265*
Ταρταρουέλ (demon), 223, *229*
Tartarus, *Τάρταρος*, 9, *17*, 50, *73*, *75*, *144*, 145, 173
Tatian, *200*
Tehom, 185
Testament of Reuben, *98*, 222
Testament of Solomon, ix, 157-159, *239*, 270, and Part II passim
Tertullian, *214*
Tethytes, 54
Tetragrammaton, 271
Thailand, *262*
Theocritos, *246*, *267*

Theodore II Laskaris, 92, *246*, 247
Theodoret (heretic), *231*
Theodosios of Trnovo, *169*
Theoleptos of Philapdelphia, 107
Theophylact of Bulgaria, 19, 41, 57, 62, 102, 117
Theotokos, *140, 288*
Thessaloniki, *81, 169–170*, 196
Thrace, 169
Tiamat, 185
Τιμόθεος ἢ περὶ δαιμόνων, x, 155–156, 182–183, 189–190, 200, 203–207, 210–212, 214–217, 233–234, 247, 256, 262, 266, *292*
Τοβεδιδὴ (demon), 235, 240, 266
Trajan, 67
Trophonius, *288*
Turks, *73*, 80, *170*
Tzerentzes, George, 255, 278

Valens, *170*
Venus, 258
Vergil, *267*
Virgo, 258

Watchers, *167*
Witch of Endor, 129

Zeus, *54*
Zigabenos, Euthymios, *141*, 170, *206*
Zoe, 265
Zoroaster, *230*

GENERAL INDEX

(Figures in italics indicate reference in footnotes alone)

abyss, *144*, 185–186, 205, 210
accidie, *79*, 87, 97, 104–105
adultery, 105–106, 240
air, demons in or of the air, 15–18, *28*, *64*, 177, *179*, *197*, 198–207, 210–211, *214*, 226, *230*, *254*, *265*
altered perception in sorcery/magic, 291–291
ambush, 87, 133
amulets, *127*, *161*, 188, 194, 197–198, *244*, *248*, 252, 255–256, *259*, 262, 273, *274*, 277–285, 290, *295*
angel of death, *48*
angel of light, *8*, *36*, 83–84, 123
angelic aspects of demonic nature, 6, 13–22, 198, 200–201, 310
angelic form adopted by demons, see under metamorphosis
angelic origin of Devil and demons, 7–13, 18, 21, 32, 40, *64*, 135, 167, 171–173, 198, 200, 234, 300, 302, 309–310, 312
angels, downcast, 28, 75
angels, evil, 8, 75, *138*
angels in sorcery/magic, 160, 210, 222–224, *231*, *243*, *259*, 268, 270–273, 276–277, *279*, 281, *294*, *297*, 299, 309, 313
anger, 37, 42, 90, 97, *101*, 112–114, 116, *146*, *227*, 310
anger, positive use of, *42*, *96*, 114, *140*
animals, used by or associated with demons and in sorcery/magic, 15, 26, 82–83, 85–87, 107, 128, 133–134, 157, 172, 177, *180*, 188, 194, 215, 242, 253–254, 282–285
annointing, 146, 289, 298, 301
apokatastasis, *22*
apostate, 43, 44, 122
aquatic demons (see also water), 202, 204–205, 215, *232*
archangels, 145, 184, 273, *282*, 312
archon/archontes, 9, 15, 18–19, 26, *31*, 102, *103*, 205, *206*, 234, 269
army, demonic, 130, *287*
arrogance, 10, 32, 211, 319
asp, 86, 123
ass, 87, 186, 188, 254, 284
assistant, sorcerer's, 286, 290–291, 299, 302
astral powers (see also celestial, astrology), 175, 191, 194, 220–222
astrology, astrological sorcery/magic, 160–161, 175–176, 191, 193, 195, *196*, 197, *198*, 199, 205, 216–225, 257–259, 270, 278, 283, 296, 311–312, *316*
athletes, Christians as against demons, 15, 68, 132
avarice, 42, 58, 60, *98–99*, *103*, 109–111

babies, 183–186, *188*, 190, *257*
bandit, Devil as, 56, *134*
baptism, 45, *99*, 102, 123, 139, 141, 146, 190, *288*, *291*, 319, 324–325
baptism of Jesus, 57
basin/bowl in sorcery/magic, 160–161, 254, 257–258, 266, *278*, *291*, *295–296*
bat, 282
baths, demons connected with, 216, *233*, *237*
beans, *146*
bears, 86
beasts, demons as, 14, 69, *134*
bell, in sorcery ritual, 253
binding, magical, 94, 180, 246, *248*, 267–268, *283*
birds, in divination, sorcery/magic, 128, 157, 242, 266, *267*, 282–283, 285, *291*
birth, 183, 190, *280*, 282
birth of Jesus, 56–57
bitterness, 22, 28, 64–65, 75, 123
blackness associated with demons, 26, 75, 82–83, 85, 102, 107, 173, *187*, 250, 253–256, 300
blasphemy, 116, *121*
blindness, *27*, 78, 181, 183, 237, 239, 246
blood, 55, 67, *214*, *216*, 253–256, *257*, 266, 282, *294*
blowing, in exorcism, 146
boar, *134*
boastfulness, 32, 68, 211
body waste in sorcery/magic, 210, *266*, 301
bondage, 50, *53*, 62, *132*, 191
books of magic, 155, 158, *163*, 249, 269–270, 273, *286*, 288
boxing, 132
brain, 92, 183, 216, 238
bread, *146*, *189*, 241, 275, *285*, 289
bricks, *53*, *267*
bronze, *267*, *279*
bryony, 285
bulls, 86, *180*

calumny, 39–40, *59*, 91, 115
camel, serpent like, *37*
cannibalism, 256
castration, 124
catechumenate service, 141, 145
categorisation of demons, 20, 107, 202–211, 219–248, 257, 312–313
categorisation of demons by actions, 20, *87*, 204, 206–211, 236–248, 321 categorisation of demons, elemental, 202–211, 231
caves, *78*, 80, 83, 187, *188*, 231–232, *240*, 260, 275
celestial powers in sorcery/magic, 160, 162, 176–177, 192, 194, *231*, 268, *270*, *283*, 290, 312
characters (χαρακτῆρες) in sorcery/magic (see also signs), *147*, 177, 193, 197, 255, 277–278, 281, 283, 286
charm, 195, 197, 241, 254, 258
cheese, *146*
children, 81–82, 85, 88, 106–107, 138, 181, 183–185, 190, 239, 290–291, 296, 299
Christ, demon appearing as, *73*
Christ's defeat of demons, 6, 34, 50, 56–65, 67, 69, 71, 126, 132, 135–136, 140, 142, 145, 264, *269*, 318–319, 320

GENERAL INDEX

(*Figures in italics indicate reference in footnotes alone*)

abyss, *144*, 185–186, 205, 210
accidie, *79*, 87, 97, 104–105
adultery, 105–106, 240
air, demons in or of the air, 15–18, *28*, *64*, 177, *179*, *197*, 198–207, 210–211, *214*, 226, *230*, *254*, *265*
altered perception in sorcery/magic, 291–291
ambush, 87, 133
amulets, *127*, *161*, 188, 194, 197–198, *244*, *248*, 252, 255–256, *259*, 262, 273, *274*, 277–285, 290, *295*
angel of death, 48
angel of light, *8*, *36*, 83–84, 123
angelic aspects of demonic nature, 6, 13–22, 198, 200–201, 310
angelic form adopted by demons, see under metamorphosis
angelic origin of Devil and demons, 7–13, 18, 21, 32, 40, *64*, 135, 167, 171–173, 198, 200, 234, 300, 302, 309–310, 312
angels, downcast, 28, 75
angels, evil, 8, 75, *138*
angels in sorcery/magic, 160, 210, 222–224, *231*, *243*, *259*, 268, 270–273, 276–277, *279*, 281, *294*, *297*, 299, 309, 313
anger, 37, 42, 90, 97, *101*, 112–114, 116, *146*, *227*, 310
anger, positive use of, *42*, *96*, 114, *140*
animals, used by or associated with demons and in sorcery/magic, 15, 26, 82–83, 85–87, 107, 128, 133–134, 157, 172, 177, *180*, 188, 194, 215, 242, 253–254, 282–285
annointing, 146, 289, 298, 301
apokatastasis, *22*
apostate, 43, 44, 122
aquatic demons (see also water), 202, 204–205, 215, *232*
archangels, 145, 184, 273, *282*, 312
archon/archontes, 9, 15, 18–19, 26, *51*, 102, *103*, 205, *206*, 234, 269
army, demonic, 130, *287*
arrogance, 10, 32, 211, 319
asp, 86, 123
ass, 87, 186, 188, 254, 284
assistant, sorcerer's, 286, 290–291, 299, 302
astral powers (see also celestial, astrology), 175, 191, 194, 220–222
astrology, astrological sorcery/magic, 160–161, 175–176, 191, 193, 195, *196*, 197, *198*, 199, 205, 216–225, 257–259, 270, 278, 283, 296, 311–312, 316
athletes, Christians as against demons, 15, 68, 132
avarice, 42, 58, 60, *98–99*, *103*, 109–111

babies, 183–186, *188*, 190, *257*
bandit, Devil as, 56, *134*
baptism, 45, *99*, 102, 123, 139, 141, 146, 190, *288*, *291*, 319, 324–325
baptism of Jesus, 57
basin/bowl in sorcery/magic, 160–161, 254, 257–258, 266, *278*, *291*, *295*–*296*
bat, 282
baths, demons connected with, 216, *233*, *237*
beans, *146*
bears, 86
beasts, demons as, 14, 69, *134*
bell, in sorcery ritual, 253
binding, magical, 94, 180, 246, *248*, 267–268, *283*
birds, in divination, sorcery/magic, 128, 157, 242, 266, *267*, 282–283, 285, *291*
birth, 183, 190, *280*, 282
birth of Jesus, 56–57
bitterness, 22, 28, 64–65, 75, 123
blackness associated with demons, 26, 75, 82–83, 85, 102, 107, 173, *187*, 250, 253–256, 300
blasphemy, 116, *121*
blindness, *27*, 78, 181, 183, 237, 239, 246
blood, 55, 67, *214*, *216*, 253–256, *257*, 266, 282, *294*
blowing, in exorcism, 146
boar, *134*
boastfulness, 32, 68, 211
body waste in sorcery/magic, 210, 266, 301
bondage, 50, *53*, 62, *132*, 191
books of magic, 155, 158, *163*, 249, 269–270, 273, *286*, 288
boxing, 132
brain, 92, 183, 216, 238
bread, *146*, *189*, 241, 275, *285*, 289
bricks, *53*, *267*
bronze, *267*, *279*
bryony, 285
bulls, *86*, *180*

calumny, 39–40, *59*, 91, 115
camel, serpent like, *37*
cannibalism, 256
castration, 124
catechumenate service, 141, 145
categorisation of demons, 20, 107, 202–211, 219–248, 257, 312–313
categorisation of demons by actions, 20, *87*, 204, 206–211, 236–248, 321 categorisation of demons, elemental, 202–211, 231
caves, *78*, 80, 83, 187, *188*, 231–232, *240*, 260, 275
celestial powers in sorcery/magic, 160, 162, 176–177, 192, 194, *231*, 268, *270*, *283*, 290, 312
characters (χαρακτῆρες) in sorcery/magic (see also signs), *147*, 177, 193, 197, 255, 277–278, 281, 283, 286
charm, 195, 197, 241, 254, 258
cheese, *146*
children, 81–82, 85, 88, 106–107, 138, 181, 183–185, 190, 239, 290–291, 296, 299
Christ, demon appearing as, *73*
Christ's defeat of demons, 6, 34, 50, 56–65, 67, 69, 71, 126, 132, 135–136, 140, 142, 145, 264, *269*, 318–319, 320

Christ's life, 34, 56–61, 141, 145, 173, 318
Christ's life as deception of Devil, 56–63, 318
Christian elements in sorcery/magic, 274–275, *288*, *297*
circle, magic, 160–161, *195*, *226*, *230*, 234, 254, 256, 258, 263, 269, *272*, 277–278, 286–288, 294, 299, 302
cliffs, demons causing falls from, *17*, 78, 82, 217
coercion of demons, 251, 253, 260–285, 325
cold, and demons, 204, 215, 217
colic, *79*, 104, 237
community, *79*, *80*, 232, 260–261, 301, *302*
composition of demons, 198–201, 209
conceit, 9–10, 32, 40, 115, 119
confession, *39*, 123, *124*
confining demons, 262–264
confusion of good with evil, 120–125
conjuration of demons, 160, 166, 192–193, 206, 210, 213–214, 226, *229*, *233*, 240, 244, 263, 266–267, 276, *291*, *297*
control of demons, by God, 21, 135–139, 165–167, 313–325
control of demons, by men, 139, 141, 147–148, 158, 160, 176–178, 210, *215*, 234, 237, 242, 249–302, 315–317, 322–325
coprophagy, 91, *204*, 256
corruption, 47, *99*, 114, 118, 298, 300-301
cosmetics, 109
cosmic interrelation (see also sympathetic magic), 175–177, 192, 194, 209, 283–285, 290, 316
covetousness, 87, 97, 104, 109–110
cows, 86, 282
creation, 35–36, 42, 91, *124*, 172
creators, demons not, 21
crookedness, 31, 38, 44
cross, 45, 50, 60, 62–63, *64*, 65, *75*, 140, 143, *146*, 147, 174, 211, 275, 277, *280*, *288*, 325
crossroads, 232, 259, *260*, 266, *287*, *291*
crow, *26*, 86–87, 187, 292
crowds of demons, 88, 292
crucifixion, *60*, 61, 145, 275
cunning, 45, 68, 69, 87
custom's officers, demons as, 16–18, *75*, 319

darkness, 18–19, *21*, 22, 24–27, 51, 63, 65–66, 73, *75*, 76, 89, 117–118, *182*, 183, *197*, 201, 204, 208, 211, 221, *222*, 300, 310
darkness, outer, 25, 73
darts (burning), 101, 105, 131
days, demons or angels of, 222–225, *229*, 234, 257–259, 276, 313
deafness, *144*, 181, 237, 239
death, 36–38, 46–52, 55, 59, 61–64, 132, *134*, 136–137, 145, 241, 300, 318
decans, 158, 175, *180*, 181, *183*, 191, 220–222, 225, 227–228, 232, 237–238, *240*, 241, 279–280, 313
deceit, deception, 6, 22, 30–32, 38–42, 55–56, 65–66, 69, *75*, 91, 119–128, 133, 137, 144, 166, 173–174, 197, 205–206, 211, 221, 310, 314, 319–321
deer, 278, 285
defilement, 28, 104, 106, 118
depression, 97, 116–117
descent into hell, 64
desecration, 255
desert, 57, 60, 82, 110, *144*, 188, 233
desert, ascetics in, *78–80*, 82, 85, 110, 123, 292
desire, 41, 47, 87, 106–112, 311
despair, *61*, 85, 104, 114, 116–117, *118*, 124
directional movement, 226, 299
discernment, *26–27*, 84, 88–89
disciples, of Jesus, 59–60, 64–65, 143
disease, and demons (see also illness), *159*, *180–181*, 197, 220, 237–240, 245–247, *280*, *287*, 313, 321
divination, as non-demonic, 296–297
divination, by dreams, *89*, 193, 293–294, 296
divination, by possessing demon, *90*, 93, 128–129, *208*, 262–263, 293
divination, general, *99*, 125, 160, 165, 176, 197, 200, 208–209, 222, 237, 242–243, *252*, 254, 258, *260*, 263, 290–297, 312, 319, 322–323
divination, used by demons to deceive, 120, 125–128, 296–297
doctors, *178*, 217, 288
dogs, 86–87, 101, 113, 122, 134, 180, 188, *268*
dove, 282
dragon, Devil or demons as, 14, 31, 42, 44–46, 50, 66, *75*, 86, 139, 180, *182–183*, 184–185
dragon, of Revelation, 8, 50, *130*
dreams, and demons, 14, 87–88, *93*, 107, *116*, *207*, 247, 293–294, 319, 322
dreams, divination by, see under divination
dreams, natural causes of, *88*, *294*
drugs, 292
drunkenness, 51–52, *59*, 87, 90, *94*, 102, 105, 107, *216*
dryads, 190
dryness, from or of demons, 93, 95, 215, 217
dualism, 135, 166–169, 257, 309–310
dumbness, *144*, 180–181, 217, 239, 246

earthly demons, *176*, 177, 202–203, 205–207, 209, 217
earthquakes, 204
earthworms, 207, 215
eidola, *88*, 196–199, 312
elemental categories of demons, see under categorisation
elemental spirits, 190–193, 195, 222, 313
emperors of the demons, 234–235, 312
enchanting, 39, 208–209, 217, 246
end of history, 672–676
enemies, Devil and demons as, 15, 17–18, 29, 41, 44, 51, 67, 69, 122–123, 130–131, 139
enemy of the truth, 31
enmity, 22, 29–30

envy, *10*, 12, 22, 29, 32-33, 36-37, 42-44, 48-49, 52, *58-59*, *61*, 71, *82*, 95, *101*, 111-112, 117, 122, *124*, *130*, *144*, 238, 310
epilepsy, 90, 92-93, 116, 217, 239-240, 247, 285
eryngo, *262*, 283-285
ethereal demons, 202-203, *205*, 206-208, *254*
evil, demons as, 22-24, 178, 209, 252, 287, 310
evil, nature of, 126, 135-138, 166-169, 175, 234, 307, 309-310, 314-315
evil, not originating from God, 11, 135, 309, 314
evil, unoriginate, *124*, 135, 168, *171*, 175
evil eye, 112, 238, *239*, 249
exorcism, 59, *90*, 139-148, 164, 210, *216*, *221-222*, *227*, 230, 232, *240*, 247, *259*, 263-264, 270-271, 276, 324-325
exorcist, 142-143, 147-148, 210, *213*, *259*, 262, 311, 324
exorcist, resisted by demons, 143, 210, 325
exotika, 190, *301-302*

fall of Devil and demons, 6-13, *17*, 18, *27*, 29, 32, 36-37, 40, 45, 101, 115, 128, 135, 143, 167, *171*, 173, 200-201, 208, 213, 236, 300, 302, 309, 311, 314
fall of man, 6, *26*, 34-48, 82, *98*, *106*, 120-121, *132*, *134*, 136, 139, 255, 300-302, 318
fantasy, 38, *58*, 85, 88-89, 100, 107, *134*, 206, 211, 290
fasting, 57, *103*, *140*, 145, *146*, 288-289, 292, 298, 300
favour derived from demons, 178, 222, 245, 281, 322
fear caused by demons, 16, 64, 82, 84-85, 87, 89, 119, 210, 238, *286*, 319
feeding, ability of demons, *180*, *189*, 213-215, *216*, 253-254, *255*, 257, *261*, 268-269, 311
female demons, *104*, 182-190, *192*, 231, *232*, 311-312
fertility, *245*, 322
fever, 104, 237, 239, 285
fiery, demonic nature and appearance, 28, 75, 86-87, 181, 184, *200-201*, 203, *204*, 205-207, 211
fig, 35, *279*
figurines in sorcery/magic, *195*, *248*, 254, 265-268, 279, *296*
fire, eternal, 8, 22, 73-75, *212*
fish, 107, 148, 157, 177, 180, 185, 189, 192, *227*, 262, 264-265, 283-284, 289
fixing of powers in sorcery/magic, 194-195, 262-263
food, 35, 41, *216*, 263, 301
fornication, 107, *138*, *167*
foxes, 87
frogs, *82*, 107
future, demons knowledge or ignorance of, 21, 89, 127-128, 198, 208, *209*, 319, 322

garfish, 262, 265, 284
garlic, 177
gasteromancy, 262-263, 275, 278, *291*
giants, 103, 167, 173
gluttony, 40-42, 58, 97, *98-99*, 102-103, 110, *204*
God, use of name or symbols in sorcery and magic, 143, 255, 270-272, 276-277, *279*, 281-282, 286, 298-299, 302
gods, pagan, 53-54, *79*, 121, *131*, *144*, *176*, 178, *180*, 191, 196-198, 206, 213, 219, *233*, 255, 264, 269
gold, 110, 137, 243-244, 285
good, confused with evil by demons, 120-125
good demons, *178*, *206*
good, demons use for ultimate, *16*, *114*, *118*, 126, 136-138, 276, 314, 320
graveyards, graves, *168*, *195*, 231, 259, *260*, *294*
grief, 116-117

hair, *182*, 183-184, 189, 264, 266, 284
hallucinations, 77, *89*, 211, 292
harm caused by sorcery/magic, see under sorcery
harpies, 185
hatred, 22, 28-29, 40, 75, 114-115, 245, 257
hatred, positive use of, *96*, 114
headache, *79*, 104, 238-239
headless demon, 180-181, *217*, 285
hedgehogs, *82*
hell, 9, 27, 40, 50, *51*, 55, *63-64*, 73-75, 102
help, from demons in sorcery/magic, 160, 242-245, 281, *285*
heresy, 68-71, *81*, 121-122, *124*, 126-127, 153, 165, 169, 219
heretics, 70, 72, 89, *98*, *156*, *231*, 234, 256-257
hesychasts, hesychasm, *170*, *211*
hiding, of demons in possessed, 144-145, *146*
hierarchies, demonic, 18-19, 175-178, 183, 210, 219-220, 226, 229-230, 232, 234-237, 268-270, 312-313, 316
holy name, of God, 143, 255
holymen, 78, 84, 107, 113
homosexuality, 108, 240
honey, 123
hook of divinity, 63
hoopoe, 284-285
horse-racing, *105*
horses, 87, 180
hour, dangerous, 113, *225*, *259*
hours, demons of, 222-225, 313
humiliation, 52, 138
humility, 22, 27, 32, 84, *140*, 323
hunters, 14, 105, 133
hydromancy, hygromancy (see also lecanomancy), 160, 258, 270, 290, *291*, 295-296
hyenas, 82
hypnosis, 292

iconoclasm, *70*
icons, *53, 119*
idleness, 102–103, *104*
idolatry, 52–53, 55, 110, *127*
idols (cf. *eidola*), 53, 55, 65–66, 100, *196*, 204
illness, and demons (see also disease), 49, 78, *79*, 93–95, *131, 144, 159*, 185, *189*, 217–218, 237–240, 245–247, 285, 320–322, 324
illness, natural explanations for, *94*, 217
immateriality of demons, 13, 198–199, 200, 203, 209, 311
immortality of demons, 13, 310
impotence, 246–247
imprisonment, 49–50
impurity, 27–28, *222*, 253–254, 287
incantations, 127, *245*
incarnation, 56, 61–63, 72, 136, 142, 145, 173, 318
incense (see also smoke), *53, 178*, 192, 215, 253–254, 256, *265*, 290, 299
incest, 108, 256
incorporeality of demons, 13–14, 37, 201, *212*, 311
individualisation of demons, 20, 28, 31, *59, 79*, 87, *101, 103*, 104–107, 114, Part II passim, 313, 321
inducement in sorcery, 252–261, 276, 325
infanticide, 57, 256
ink, inks, *178*, 255, 282–283, 290
insanity, see madness
inside/outside symbolism, *233*, 299–302
intercourse, 38, 167, 173, 180, 300
invisibility of demons, 15, 18, 78, *200*, 203
invocation of demons, 213, *243*, 246, 252–253, *254*, 257, 268, 283, 290, *296–297*
iron, 11, 112, 177, *213*
irrationality of demons, 209, 217

jackdaws, 87
jasper, 284–285
jealousy, 40, 42–44, 65, 111–112, 173, 222, 241, 319
Jewish demonology and magic, 8, 12, *87, 90, 143, 158–159, 161–162, 167, 185, 202, 206, 209, 216*, 220, *221, 225, 227, 231, 259, 262, 271, 281*
jinn, 22, *204*
Judgement, last, 9, *17*, 28, 34, 50, *51*, 73, 75–76, 111, 114, 142, 145, 314, 319

katoptromancy, 160, *189, 195*, 214, 254, *255*, 263, *270*, 278, *285*, 290, *291*, 292, *294*, 295–296
kids, 253, 256
kings of the demons, 234, 269
knife, sorcerer's black handled, 195, *213*, 255, *256*, 263, 266, 282, 286, *287*, 290

laughter, 89
lead in sorcery/magic, 210, 266
lecanomancy, 161, 209, 256, 258, 263, *278*, 290, *291*, 292, 295–296
leech, *82*, 107
legions of demons, *130*, 230, 232, 235–236, 275
leopard, 86, *133*
lettuce, 84
licentiousness, 87, 106–107
light, 22, 24–25, *51*, 66, 74, 83–84, 123, 201, *204*, 211, 300, 310
light-hating demons, 204–205, 215, 217
lightning, 9, 44, *131*, 208
lion, 86–87, 133, 188
lists of angels and demons, 160, 162, *171*, 175, 219–235, 241–242, 244, 247, 253, 256, 272–273, 278, 313
liver, *148, 227*, 264, 285
love, sorcery/magic for, see under sorcery
lunacy, 91, *239–240*, 263
lust, 97, *180*, 185, 187, *188*, 222, 240, 319
luxury, passion of, 102, *103*
lying, 22, 30–31, 40, 123, *172*, 203, 208, 210

madness, 52, 90–91, 206, 217–218, *240*, 246, *247, 286*, 320
magic, and religion, *249*
magic, demonic (see also sorcery), *86, 99*, 125–126, 155–156, 158, 165–166, *176*, 177, *178*, 193–195, 197, 208–209, 213, 215, 219, 222, 237, *240*, 243, 249–302, 316–317, 322–323
magic, distinguished from sorcery, 209
magic, used by demons to deceive, 120, 125–127, *148*, 166
magnet, 177
marital problems, from demons, 240–241, 245, *247*
martyrs, 67–68, 80, *118*
materiality of demons, *14, 105*, 127, *180*, 182, 193, 199–203, 206–210, 213, 215, 219, 226, 250, 257, *259*, 261, *296*, 310–311, 313
meat, *146, 216*, 254, 289
medicine, for illness, *94*, 217–218
medicine, magical, 157–158, *178, 217*, 237, *239, 260, 262*, 265, 283
mediums, 290, 295
men worse than demons, 29, 111
metamorphosis by demons, general, 6, 14, 26, 37–38, *50, 75*, 83–89, *124*, 133, 180–182, 188–189, 196–197, 199, 207, 311, 319, 321
metamorphosis, to angel of light, *8, 96*, 83–84, 123, 319
metaphors for demons and their activity, 14, 21, 24–25, 27, 39, 46, 51–52, 56, 101, 103, 129–134
metaphors, military, 21, *30*, 129–133, 145, 312
midday demon, 20, *21*, 104, 145, *189, 225, 240, 259*
migraine, see headache
mirrors, 160, *189, 195*, 254, 263, *278, 285*, 295
misfortune, from demons, 197, 218, 220, 237, 240, 313, 315, 321 322

modern Greek belief, *163*, *168*, 181–182, 184, 186, *189*, 190, *192*, *206*, *231*, *239*, *246–247*, *256*, *259*, *267*, *286–287*, *295*, 296, *299*, *301–302*
monks, evil, 81–82, 85, 93, *231*, 245, 281, 288
monks, victims of demons, *70*, 78–79, 84, *98*, *103*, 104, 108–110, 119, 123–124, *226*
monsters, 87, 101, 180
moon, 91, 192, *221–222*, 257–258, *259*, 260, 267, *270*, 289, *291*, 302
mountains, and demons, *189*, 206, 231, 253–254, 259–260, 295
mullein, see verbascum
murder, 51, 95, 255–256, 260, *294*
murderer, Devil as, 48, 66, 112
muscles, 92, 212, 216
mythical history, 6, 34, 66, 71, *109*, 118, 120–121, 300
mythology, Greek, 54, *180*, 185, 190

names and naming in sorcery/magic, 193–195, 197, 210, 219–220, 222–242, 244–245, 252–253, 255, 266–279, 282, 299, 302, 313
nature of the demons, 13–33, 133, 148, 179–218, 275–276, 310–312
necromancy, *129*, 247, 258, 265, *289*, 294, *295*
needles, 267–268
negroes, 82–83, 85, 107
nereïdes, *181*, 185, *189*, 190, *232*
nerves, 92, 212, 216
nervous illness, 237–238, 240
night, as demonic, 27, 75, 185, *225*
night, as time of demonic activity, 27, 83, 145, 181, *182*, 183, 186, *231*, 257, 259, *287*
night, sorcery at, *27*, 256–257, 259
noise, made by demons, 79–80, *104*, 198–199, 211–212
nudity, 35, 85, 266, *287*
numbers of demons, 236
nymphs, 185

oil, holy or blessed, *146*, 147
omnipotence of God, 62, 314–315, 317, 320
onychomancy, *255*, 263, 279, *290*, *291*
opponent, demons as, 30, 111, 116, 130, 133, 142, 257
origin of demons, 6, 7–13, 167–168, 309–310
ourania of Solomon, 273, 280, *282*, 287
ox-tongue, 84

pact with Devil, 250, 255–257, *261*
pagan philosophy, 54, 95–96, 124, 165, 196–198, 202, 219
pagan religion, general, 26, 46, 51–55, 65, 67, 71, *79*, *89*, *98*, *105–106*, 121, 126, *144*, *161*, 165, 178, 196, *204*, 219, 255, 268, 311
pagan religion, Greek, 53–54, *103*, *227*, *232*, 268, *288*
pain, caused by demons, 78, 183, 238
pain, demons ability to feel, *180*, 201, 211–213, 311
panther, 87
papyri, magic, 161, *163*, *181*, *221*, *254*, 266, *268*, *295*
paradise, 9, 31, 34–36, *38*, 47, 51, *106*, 136, *138*, 300–302, 319
parchment, 197, 253, 256, 281–282, 287, 290
parrot, 262
passibility of demons, 198, 200–201, 213
passion of Christ, 59–63, *96*, 174
passions, already in men, 99–100, 112–113, *115*
passions, aroused and used by demons, 6, 14, *20*, 47, 58, 95–118, *124*, *130–131*, 197, 313, 320–321
passions, not necessarily bad, *96*
passions, sequences of, 97–99
pentalpha, 263, 277, 279, 286
peony, 264, 283, 285
perigeial demons, *16*, 19, 198, 208
persecution of Christians, 67–68, 80
persecutors, demons as, 15, 17, 19, 28, 111
phalanx, *21*, 26, 104, 130
phantoms, 82–84, *196*, 198
physical harm caused by demons, 77–83, 90–91, 93–95, 120, 143, *144*, *146*, 180, 182–184, 206, 217, 232, *233*, 237–239, 320, 326
pibaktromancy, 192, 225, *255*, 258, 269, *291*, *295*
piercing in sorcery/magic, 266–268
pigs, *82*, 83, 87, *134*, 137, *144*, 216
pimp, Devil as, *55*
place, demons or angels of, 192–193, 231–233, 254, 276, 294, 313
place, sorcery at particular, 259–260, 316
planets, 175, *176*, *178*, 191, 194–195, 198, 222–225, 270, 276, *278–279*, 282, *283*, 313
plants in sorcery/magic, 157, *159*, 177, 188, 194, 242, 258, 264, 279, 283–284, 292
pleasure, taken by demons, *27*, 213, 257, 301, 311
pleasure, used by demons, 40–41, 52, 102–107, 205, *217*
poison, 39, *41*, 75, 95, 111, 123, *124*, 247
pole-cat, 86, 254
pollution, polluted, 28, 40, 102, 107, 118, 256
possession, 6, 14, *26*, 46, 52, 59, *61*, 77, 80, 82, 89–95, *103*, 105, *110*, *118*, 120, 137, 141, 143, *144*, 146, 168, 174, 199, *204*, 206, 208, 210, *212*, 215–218, *239*, 240, 249, 258, 262–263, 265, 281, 285, 292–293, 300, 311, 320–323
possession, as punishment, *138*
possession, caused by sorcery/magic, *240*, *247*, 258, *266*
possession, faked, 93
possession, pity correct attitude to, 91, 93, *95*
power, real attributed to demons, 125–126, 165–167, 249, 313–317, 320–323, 326
powers, 17–18, 60, 145, 161, 176, 191, 194, 196, 205, 268, *273*
practitioners of sorcery/magic, 155, 176, 214, 219, 226, 237, 242, 244, 249, 302
prayer, disrupted by demons, 79, 82, 104, *119*, *140*, *188*

prayer, power of against demons, 140, 145, 315, 323–324
pregnancy, 183–185, 239
presumption, 11
pride, 10–11, 22, 27–28, 32, 36, 40–41, 52, 97, 115–116, 123, 138, 172, 300, 310, 319
prince of the air, 15, 17–18, 205, *206*
prince of this world, *9*, 18, *172*, 205
prince of lies, *172*
principalities, 17–18, *191*
prophets, 55–56, 273, *274*, 292–293
prophets, false, 72, *73*
prostitutes, 106, 108, 185
protection in sorcery/magic, 251–252, 262, 280, 285–291, 310, 325
punishment, demons use in, *8*, 21, 28, 46, 48, 55, 74–75, 91, 95, *114*, 136, 138–139, 314, 318–320
punishment, of demons, 9, 31, 45, 50, 62, 69, 73–76, *97*, 111, 143, 173, *174*, *179*, *212*
purity, 22, 27–28, 109, 300
purity in sorcery, *27*, 260, *276*, 282, 287–291, 298–302

quarters, demons of, *183*, *188*, *206*, 225–230, 234, 299, 313

ıbies, 122, *189*
ınk of demons, 19–20, 130, 236
ıpe, 81, 248
:al history, 6, 32, 71, 77
ebellion, 27, 32, 50, 55, 81, 172, 240–241, 300, 314
elics, 147, *280*
epentance, *61*, 74, 123, 136, 319, 323
epentance, inability of demons to feel 21–22, *200*
eptiles, 86, 184
esistance, human to demons, 21, 135, 139–148
esponsibility of man for fall, 36, 46
esurrection of Christ, 63–64, 173, *269*, 318
eturn of demon to possessed, 144
hinoceros, 262, 284
ing, use of in sorcery/magic, *212*, *270*, 279–281
ituals, of sorcery/magic, exorcism, 141–148, 160–162, 195, 223, 226, 231, *243*, 249–302, 324–325
robes in sorcery, 287, 289–290, 298–299, 301
rod, 138–139, 285
rulers of demons, 183, 269, 312

sacrifice, general, 53, 55, 64–65, 67, 80, *103*, *205*, 210, 213–214, *231*, 255
sacrifice, human, 53, *55*, 255–256
sacrifice, in sorcery/magic, *252*, 253–254, *259*, 261, 266, 290, *291*
saints, named in sorcery/magic, 272–275, *288*, *297*
sali[illegible]
sal[illegible] prevent, 73, 255, 257
[illegible]e, 121
[illegible], 82, 86, 112
scorpions, in sorcery, 284
scripture, demons knowledge of, 56
sea, and demons, 185–186, *189–190*, *204*, 206, 231–232, 242, 260
seal (animal), 284–285
seals, used against demons, 145, *147*, *259*, 277, *279*, 281, 285
serpent, 30–31, 35–38, 42, 44–46, 82, 86, 122, *124*, *138*, 172–173, 300, 302
servants, demons as, 21, 176, 230, 240
seven evil sisters, 188, *189*, 191, 222, 227, 229, *237*
seven or eight sins, passions or vices, *20*, *85*, *87*, 97, *98*, 102, *212*, 222
seven wicked spirits, 20, 97, *98*, *175*, *222*
sexuality, 41, 85, 87, 90, 106–109, 123–124, *146*, 167, 173, 180, *185*, 205, *216–217*, 240–241, 253, 266, 288, 298, 300–301
shame, *26*, 11, 75, 87, 114, 116, 289
shark, 86
sharp objects, 213, 262
sheep, 50, 134
shooting, 27, 109, *131*
shouting, *80*, 89
sign of departure in exorcism, 144
signs/symbols in sorcery/magic (see also characters), 193–194, *229*, 277–281, 284–287, *296*, 298–299, 301
silver, 110, 244
sin, *39*, 40, 46, 48–51, *58*, 62, 96, 98–102, *103*, 106, 116, 119, 123–124, 132, 135–139, 289, 315, 318–320
sin, and disease, *94*
sin, original, *51*
sinners, 28, *51*, 74–76, 93, 98, 102, 114
sirens, 185
slackness, 103–104
slander, 59
slaughter of innocents, 57
slavery, 49–50, *53*, 55, 110, 132, *133*, 136
sleep, caused by demons, 78, 104
smell, associated with demons, 80, 86, *134*
smoke, against demons, *147*, 215, *227*, 264–265
smoke, demons dissolve as, 15
smoke, liked by and nourishing demons, 55, 64, *214*, 215, 253–254
snakes, and demons, 14, 46, 66, 75, *82*, 86–87, 101, 107, 122, 184, 186, *189*, 254
snares, 133
soldiers, form taken by demons, 85, 89, *130*
solidity of demons, 198, 200, 209, 213, 216
sorcerer, 192–193, 205, 207, 209, 213–214, 220, 222–223, *233*, 242–302, 326
sorcery, and witchcraft, 249–251
sorcery, as deceit, 125–127, 247
sorcery, at night, *27*, 256–257, 259
sorcery, basic principles of, 251–252
sorcery, causing death, 241, 246, *247*
sorcery, causing harm, *92*, *232*, *240*, 242, 245–248, 265–268, *280*, 322
sorcery, causing [illegible] 245, [illegible] *247*, 248, 254–25[illegible] 281, 285, 322
sorcery, for benefit, 160, 242–245, 322

sorcery, general, 51, 156, 176, *193*, *199*, 209–210, 219, *232*, 237, 242, 249–302, 312, 315–317, 322–323 sorcery, involving priests/monks, 288
sorcery, purity in, *27*, 260, *276*, 282, 287–291, 298–302
soul, liable to passion after fall, 47
soul, of demons, 209
soul, tripartite, 99, *209*
souls, affected by demons, 26, 28, 46, 55, *75*, 88, *98*, 107, 111, 122, 193, *200*, 216, 255, 320
souls, and demons after death, 16–18, 28, 168, *174*, *196*, *294*, 319
souls, passage thorugh air, 16–18, *75*, *98*
speech, demonic, 38, *142*, 180–181, 198, *207*, *212*, 217, *233*, *262*
spells, *127*, 177, 213, 248, *252*, *260*, 263, *279*
sperm, *180*, 215
sphinx, *180*
spirits, 13, 88, 90, 104, *144*, 145, 175, 184, *193*, 195, 212–213, *226*, 229–230, *231*, *239*, 256, 262–263, 285, 288, 290, 320
spits, in sorcery/magic, 213, 262
statues in sorcery/magic, 194, 266, 268
stealing, 39, *60*, 87, 134
stoichea, x, *53*, 190–195, 214, *222*, 225, 231, 234, 250, 254, 263, 269, 294, 312–313
stones, in sorcery/magic, 157, 177, 194, 242, 254, *268*, *280*, 283–285
stones, thrown by demons or intermediaries, 78, 81, *82*, 113, 210–211
storms, and demons, 87, 101, 204, 232, 240–242, *245*
strangling, *182*, 183–184, 187
striggles, 186
stupidity of demons, 210, 261, 266
subterranean demons, *185*, 201–202, 204–205, 210, 215, 217, *254*
subtle nature of demons, 14, 46, 127, 182, 199–201, 205
subtle nature of serpent, 35–36, 42, *124*
suicide, 61, 116–118
swallow, 282
swearing, demons to obey sorcerer, 269–270
swine, see pigs
swords, in sorcery/magic, 213, 262
symbolism in sorcery rituals, 298–302
symbols in sorcery/magic, see under signs
sympathetic magic, 192, 267–268, 283–285, *296*

talismans, 194–195, *202*
tares, 70
tax-collectors, demons as, 16–18, *75*
teachers, demons as, *31*, 127
temptation, 6, 12, 100, 102, *103*, 107–109, 116–120, *130*, 139, *140*, 172, 185, 205, 301, 318–319
temptation, inability of angels to feel, *22*
temptation, of Jesus, 41, *53*, 57–58, 60, 98–99, 102, *103*, 109–110, *115*, 117, *121*, *140*, *145*, *172*
terrestrial demons, see under earthly
theatre, 105–106
theurgy, *175*, 268
thief, Devil as, 66, 134
thorns, 47, 262, 284
threats, 6, 89, 118–120, 210, 319
tiger, 112
timing, of sorcery/magic, 257–259, 266–267, 289, *296*, 316
tin, *279*
tithe, of men taken by Devil, 19, *61*
tombs (see also graves), 85–86, 90, *168*
tortoise, 86, *155*
traditions, distinction between standard and alternative, 3, 125–126, 147–148, 153–154, 165–168, 234, 240, 249, 261, 270–271, 274–277, 296–297, Conclusions passim
transfiguration, *59*
transmission of texts, 155, 219–220
traps, 133
treasure, 127, 243–244, 258, *270*, 275, *289*, *294*
tree of knowledge, 35, 37, 39–41, 47, 102
tree of life, 35 ,47, 145
trees, 193, 195, *291*, 242, 254, 259, *260*, 263, 293
trick, Christ's life as, 56–63
trickery, 38, *39*, 48, 108, 110, 112, 120, 122, *178*, 197, 319, 321
Trickster, 31, 38
tripping up, 39, 43, 132
truth, demons telling, 166, 208, 270, 290, 310
turning men aside, 28, 77, 103, *109*, 119–120, 126, 128, 320
tyrant, Devil as, 14, 18, 28, 49–50, 56, 62–63, 132, *133*, 145, 173

uncleanness, 22, 27–28, *99*, 128, *144*, 145, 184, 209, 233
unity, apparent of demons, 29
urine, 238

vainglory, 41, 58, 97, *98–99*, 115–116
vampires, *168*, *295*, *299*
vanity, 32, 84, 111, 115, 319
ventriloquism, 128–129, 293
verbascum, 265, 284–285
vigil, *79*, *140*, 145, *146*, 288
vipers, 87
virgins, virginity, *124*, 240, 263, 282, 290–291, 298–300, 302
virtue, opposed by demons, 22, 32, 42, 104, 121, 123–124, 131, 137, 140
visions, and demons, 14, 77, 87–88, *89*, 116, 120, *175*, 205, 211, 214, 253–254, *255*, *261*, 290–292, 319, 322
visions, of St. Antony, 16–17
vulture, 254, 285

war, and demons, 241
washing, ritual, 289, 298, 301
water, and demons (see also aquatic), *146*, 172, 185, *189*, 190, 204–207, 215, 217, 231–232, *233*, 257, 263, *291*, 295–296
water, holy, *146*, 147, *211*
waterless places, *144*
waters, of baptism, 45, *146*, 325
waters, primeval, 44, 172
wax, 210, 254, 265–267, 279, *296*
weakness, "real" of demons, 21, *59*, 65–66, 87–88, 119–120, 126, 135–137, 139–140, 166, 208, 249, 276, 313–314, 318, 324
wealth, 243–244
weather, forecast or controlled, 127, *245*, 323
wells, and demons, 190, 204, *233*
wickedness, spirits of, *21*, 87, *98*
wilderness (see also desert), 90, 233, 301
wind, and demons, 179–180, 185, *189*, *193*, 203, *206*, 226, 230, *231*, 232, 241, 249–251, 313
wine, *146*, 214, 289
witchcraft and sorcery, 249–251
witches, *187*, 193
wolf, in sorcery/magic, 285
wolves, demons as, 14, 86–87, 134
women, 42, 108–109, 112, *130*, *146*, 167, *180*, *192*, 249–251, 289
women, used by demons in appearance or reality, 84–85, 108–109, 182–184, 188–189, 319
women, victims of demons, 42, 81, *108*, 180, 183–185, 239–240, 262, *280*
wonderworking, 72, *73*, 126–127, 174, 211
worldrulers, 19–20, *58*, *61*, 175, *197*, 221, *222*
wrestling, 39, 50, 129, 132
written elements in sorcery/magic, 253, 255, 263, 267, 277–284, 286, 298–299

zealots, *81*
zodiac, *175*, 194, 220, 258, 313